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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 1.

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RIDDLES.

Only during the past few years has the popular riddle received its meed of critical attention from scholars. Until this very recent time investigators were generally content with presenting without historical comment—and sometimes even, as in Sinrock's well known *Rätselbuch*, without regard to the home of their contributions—the results of more or less accurate observation.¹ There were, it is true, a few noteworthy exceptions to the prevailing rule of neglect of comparative study. As early as 1855 Müllenhof made an interesting comparison of German, English, and Norse riddles;² Köhler, about the same period, traced carefully the originals and analogues of some forty riddles in a Weimar ms. of the middle of the fifteenth century;³ Rolland noted many parallels to the French riddles of his collection;⁴ and finally Ohlert, in a monograph of admirable thoroughness,⁵ followed the riddles of the Greek world through the centuries of their early and later history.⁶ An epoch in the history of our subject was created, however, by Richard Wossidlo's monumental collection of over a thousand carefully localized North German riddles,⁷ in which the work of the accurate tabulator was supple-

mented by the labor of the painstaking philologist. Petsch has turned the material of Wossidlo, Rolland, and others to good account in his study of the forms and the style of the popular riddle.⁸ And Heusler, in his illuminating article upon the *Heiðreks Gatur* of the *Hervarar Saga*,⁹ has applied the comparative method to these thirty-five Old Norse riddles.

Yet, despite all this excellent work, one aspect of the history of the riddle, the interdependence of literary and popular problems, has remained almost unconsidered, though its importance has several times been recognized. Wilmanns, in his critical examination of the borrowings from Symphosius and the other Latin riddles, fifteen in all, in the "Disputatio Pippini cum Albino (Alcuin),"¹⁰ shows the close connection of "Kunsträtsel" and "Volksrätsel," but the range of his subject is too limited to permit the necessary breadth of outlook. Wossidlo, who overlooks nothing, groups the riddles of the study with those of the cottage, but the statistical character of his records forbids any general philological discussion. And Heusler's treatment of the topic is practically confined to one interesting problem, that of the Pregnant Sow (Aldhelm, VI, 10; *Exeter Book Riddles*, XXXVII; *Hervarar Saga*, XII). Because he overlooks the true import of the relation between these two great classes of riddles, Petsch's otherwise praiseworthy dissertation is marred by such faults of omission as his failure to observe how direct were the borrowings of the Latin enigmatographs of the sixteenth century from popular sources, and his exclusion of the Anglo-Saxon riddles as "translations of the Latin and genuine 'Kunsträtsel'" from all ties with puzzles of the people (p. 13, footnote). For this latter error the responsibility rests perhaps with

¹ For a résumé of work in the German field, see Hayn, "Die deutsche Rätsel-Litteratur. Versuch einer bibliographischen Uebersicht bis zur Neuzeit." *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VII (1890), pp. 516-556.

² *Wolfs und Mannhardts Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie*, III, 1 f.

³ *Weimar Jahrbuch*, V (1856), 329-356.

⁴ "Devinettes ou Énigmes Populaires de la France. Avec une Préface de M. Gaston Paris. Paris, 1877.

⁵ *Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen*. Berlin, 1886.

⁶ Friedreich's *Geschichte des Rätsels*, Dresden, 1860, at its best but a collection of widely scattered material, makes no pretence to scientific classification based upon the principles of comparative literature.

⁷ *Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen*, Part I. Wismar, 1897.

⁸ *Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Volksrätsels*. Palaestra, IV, Berlin, 1899.

⁹ *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XI (1901), 117 f.

¹⁰ Vienna parchment ms. of 9th century (Cod. Vendob. 808, earlier Salisb. 234, fol. 221-225). *Haupts Zeitschrift*, XIV (1869), 530 f. Henceforth cited as DPA.

the unsound and perverted attempt of Prehn¹¹ to find for every *Exeter Book* riddle a contemporary Latin source, and with the entire disregard by this critic of the folk-elements in that valuable collection. My present purpose is to pave the way for an historical examination of many riddles of the Anglo-Saxons in the light of the popular traditions of their own and other races, by copious illustration of the close connection between literary enigmas and folk-problems and by detailed discussion of the scientific principles that should govern the study of both.

I begin with a three-fold thesis:—

(A.) The literary riddle may consist largely or entirely of popular elements, may be, and often is, an elaborated version of an original current in the mouth of the folk; (B.) conversely, the popular riddle is often found in germ or in full development in some product of the study, and our task is to trace its transmission from scholar to peasant; (C.) through a more complicated sequence, a genuine folk-riddle may be adapted in an artistic version which, in a later day or in another land, becomes again common property; or, by a natural corollary a literary riddle, having passed into the stock of country-side tradition, may fail of its popular life and survive only in some pedantic reworking that knows nothing of the early art-form.

A. Folk-Riddle > Literary-Riddle.

(a.) The enigmatograph, Lorichius Hadamaris, whose Latin riddles are among the best in the early seventeenth century collection of Reusner,¹² borrows all his material from the widely known Strassburg Book of Riddles.¹³ Indeed, though scholars have hitherto overlooked this obvious connection, his enigmas are merely classi-

cal versions of the German originals. The famous folk-riddles of the Oak (Str. 12), Dew (Str. 51), Bellows (Str. 202), Egg (Str. 139), Hazelnut (Str. 172), Lot's Wife (Str. 273), Cain (Str. 284), and dozens of others are twisted into hexameters. To his puzzles of the Walnut (Reusner, I, 281), Alphabet (R. I, 285), Coffin (R. I, 291) and Eve (R. I, 264), Lorichius appends German versions as his professed sources. Nor was this old pedant alone in his methods of borrowing. His contemporary Joachim Camerarius of Papenberg presents by the side of the German form the widely extended Sun and Snow riddle in Latin¹⁴ and Greek dress (R. I, 254, 258), and Hadrian Junius (R. I, 243), fossilizes in like fashion the genuinely popular riddle of the Cherry (*infra*).

(b.) Therander, whose *Ænigmatographia* of 420 numbers purports to be a Germanizing of 'the most famous and excellent Latin writers ancient and modern,'¹⁵ is usually indebted—either indirectly (*supra*, sub "Lorichius") or, despite his assertion of sources, directly—to current versions in the vernacular. His themes of Script (227), Pen (236), Weathercock (304, 306), Haw (307), Poppy (320), Oak (325), Stork (354), Ten Birds (356), Two-legs (401), Egg (405) and Year (411)—to cite a few out of many—were favorite possessions of folk-riddles at the beginning of the 17th century; and we can hardly doubt that Sommer had heard these puzzles in the mouth of peasants or met them in the riddle-books then popular.¹⁶ But, whether the connection between

¹¹ *Komposition und Quellen der Rätsel des Exeterbuches*. Paderborn, 1883.

¹² Nicholas Reusner, *Ænigmatographia sive Sylloge Ænigmatum et Griphorum Convivialium*. Two vols. in one. Frankfurt, 1602. The earlier edition of Lorichius, Frankfurt, 1545 (Petsch, p. 107, foot-note) was not accessible to me in the libraries of Munich and the British Museum.

¹³ *Strassburger Rätselbuch*. Die erste zu Strassburg ums Jahr 1505 gedruckte deutsche Rätselsammlung, neu hersg. von A. F. Butsch. Strassburg, 1876. As Hoffmann von Fallersleben has shown, *Weimar Jhrb.* II (1855), 231 f, this little book of 336 numbers is the chief source of later popular collections of German riddles.

¹⁴ For a far earlier Latin version of this world-riddle ("Volavit volucer sine plumis, etc."), see Reichenau ms. 205 (3) of the beginning of the tenth century (Mone, *Anzeiger*, VII, 1838, 40; M. & S., *Denkmäler*, 1892, p. 20; Friedreich, 199).

¹⁵ Huldrich Therander, *Ænigmatographia Rhythmica*. Magdeburg, 1605. Therander, or Johann Sommer, for such was his true name, tells us in his Preface that 'he had read the *Sphinx Philosophica* of Joh. Heidfeld, the *Ænigmatographia* of Nic. Reusner and the *Libri Tres Ænigmatum* of Joh. Pincier; and in order not to sit idle at home during the dog-days, when others were working in the fields, had turned these into German rimes.'

¹⁶ It is, however, going too far to declare with Müllenhof, *Wolfs Zs. f. d. M.*, III, 130, that Therander's riddles are simply expansions of those in the *Reterbüchlein*, Frankfurt, 1562. See Hoffmann, *Monatschrift von u. für Schlesien*, I, (1829), 160; *Mones Anzeiger*, II, 310.

his little poem-problems and the more naïve versions of the folk be mediate or immediate, his book brings everywhere strong proof of the close interdependence of art-riddles and those of the people.

(c.) Heinrich von Neuenstadt (Vienna) includes in his late thirteenth century version of the Apollonius of Tyre story,¹⁷ not the usual translations of Symphosius but six "Kunsträtsel" drawn in part from popular sources. Indeed three of this group—those of the Year, Oak, and Bellows—are direct borrowings from tradition (*supra*). In exactly the same category as these riddles stand Reinmar von Zweter's use of the interesting chariot-motive of the Year-puzzle, and Tanhuser's and Freidank's variations of the well-worn theme, the Ass in Noah's Ark.¹⁸

(d.) Symphosius himself, in one sense the father of the riddles of our era, uses in many enigmas—for example, those of Smoke, Vine, Ball, Saw, and Sleep (17, 53, 59, 60, 96)—the queries of the Palatine Anthology, current in the mouths of men for centuries before his days (Ohlert, 138 f.).

B. Literary Riddle > Folk-Riddle.

(a.) The riddles of Symphosius have often a varied history. His Flood and Fish enigma (No. 11) is found in the *Exeter Book*, LXXXV, DPA. 93, the "Flores" of Bede (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 94, 539) and, with others by the same author, in the *Apollonius of Tyre* (Weismann, *Alexander*, 1850, I, 480). So it came into the *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 153, and passed then into the possession of the people (*Strass. Rb.* 150). His enigma of Sleep (96) appears in popular form in both the *Angenehmen Zeitvertreib* (Frankfort, 1772, p. 244) and Simrock's *Rätselbuch* (3d ed. p. 52).

(b.) The Latin riddles of the DPA. have been traced by their editor, Wilmanns, to many modern popular versions.¹⁹ For example, both the riddle

of Bells (87) and the riddle of Wick (91), which appears in the "Flores" of Bede (No. 15 "Vidi mortuum sedentem super vivum"), are in the *Strass. Rb.*

(c.) The germs of other popular riddles are found in Bede's collection. To cite only one instance:—"Two-legs sat upon three-legs," etc., very widely known in Europe, appears in embryonic form, "Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem; cecidit bipes, corruit tripes" ("Flores," 13, M. P. L. 94, 539; Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn*, 326). So we must not decide against the popular character of a riddle, even though a Latin or learned enigma stands at the head of its ancestry.

C. Literary Riddle > Folk-Riddle > Literary Riddle, or

Folk-Riddle > Literary Riddle > Folk-Riddle.

Between the problem of the people and the puzzle of the study the connection is often so intimate and yet so involved as to form in itself a very interesting "relationship-riddle." Now the vexing question appears in some learned collection, now it surprises us on the lips of the ignorant. I select a few noteworthy instances. The history of the riddle of Flea or Louse ("What we have captured we have lost, and what we have not captured we have kept"), which tradition tells us so outwitted Homer that the baffled poet died of shame (*Vita Homeri* by Plutarch, Westermann, p. 23, Bergk, *Gr. Lit.*, I, 244), has been carefully outlined by Ohlert, p. 41. It passed into a proverb (Strabo, III, 2, 9, p. 147; Athenaeus VI, 233e) and was written on the walls of Pompeii (Dilthey, *Epigr. gr. Pomp. rep. trias.*, p. 12). In Christian times it gained a new vogue in the collection of Symphosius (30, *Pediculus*) and is cited by Alcuin, DPA. 90; and, still in a Latin form, appears in a Tyrolese ms. of the first half of the 14th century (*Anz. f. d. Alt.* xv, 1889, 143) and in Reusner (*Ænigmatographia*, I, 378). Ohlert finds it still living in Spain and Gascony; and Wossidlo (No. 450) marks its occurrence in Mecklenburg, in the Aargau (Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 254) and in the Tyrol (Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.* v., 147, No. 1). In England this riddle has a wide popularity. As a

abgegeben haben und züge an ihnen hervorheben die allmählich volkstümlich geworden sind u. s. w."

¹⁷ Schröter, *Mith. der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterl. Sprache und Alterthümer*, v, Heft 2 (Leipzig, 1872).

¹⁸ Reinmar, Roethe's *Ed.*, 1886, p. 503, Str. 186 (cf. *Exeter Bk. Rid.* xxiii); Tanhuser, *M. S.* II, 70 and Freidank, Grimm's ed., 1834, 109, 10 (cf. Wossidlo, No. 648).

¹⁹ Wilmanns remarks (*H. Z.*, XIV, 555):—"Die fragen dieses zweiten theiles haben für uns im allgemeinen mehr interesse als die des ersten, zum theil deshalb, weil sie gegenstände behandeln die häufig den stoff zu rätseln

Latin enigma it takes its place in Sloane ms. 955, fol. 1 (c. 1612), and is conspicuous in no less than three vernacular versions among the *Holme Riddles*, 4, 12, 131 (Harleian ms. 1960, fols. 1b, 2a, 13b).²⁰ The many seventeenth-century editions of the *Book of Merry Riddles* (No. 2.)²¹ give it circulation; and *The Royal Riddle Book* (Glasgow, 1820, p. 10) quotes it in the third Holme form. Finally, it is amplified into an art-riddle in *Notes and Queries*, 3d Ser., VI, 288 (Oct. 8, 1864).

The riddle of the Ice ("My mother brought me forth, then shortly I her daughter brought her forth again") has had almost as famous a history. The Roman grammarian, Pompeius, tells us that this question was often bandied about by the small boys of Rome (Keil, *Scriptores art-grammaticae*, v, 311, cited by Ohlert 30, footnote). Symphosius' Ice-riddle does not contain the metaphor, but it is present in the "Flores" of Bede, 11 (M. P. L., 94,539; Kemble, *S. & S.*, 325), the *Exeter Book*, xxxiv, the Vienna ms. 67 (9th cent.), No. 39 (*Mones Anz.*, VIII, 224), the Karlsruhe ms. v. Engelhusen (*Mones Anz.*, VIII, 316), and in many of Reusner's authors (I, 21, 82, 259). I have discovered several versions of this in the unpublished mss. of the British Museum: in Latin form in Arundel 248 (14th cent.), fol. 67b. and in Harleian 3831 (16th cent.), fol. 7a; in the guise of a folk-riddle in the Holme collection, No. 5 (Harl. 1960, fol. 1b); and finally elaborated into a four-verse enigma in Harl. 7316 (18th cent.), p. 60, fol. 28b. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Bk. III, p. 198 (Arber's Reprint) selects a popular version of this to exemplify "Enigma." The question holds a place among modern German "Volks-rätsel," as Carstens (Schleswig-Holstein), *Zs. d. V. f. V.* VI (1896), 422 and Simrock,³ p. 96, show.

²⁰ This most valuable among English collections contains 144 popular riddles, partly in the handwriting of the 3d Randle Holme of Chester (c. 1650). Hitherto known only through a few citations by Halliwell (*Popular Rhymes*, 1849, p. 141f.), it will soon be published by me with introduction and notes.

²¹ Of *The Booke of Meery Riddles* (76 numbers), Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 508, notes eight editions:—1600, 1617, 1629, 1631, 1660, 1672, 1673 and 1685. The edition of 1629 has been reprinted by Halliwell (*Lit. of XVI and XVII Centuries Illustrated*, London, 1851) and copies of the 1631 and 1660 editions are on the shelves of the Bodleian and the British Museum, respectively.

The long and complicated story of the Year-riddle, discussed in great detail by Wünsche (*Kochs Zs. für vergl. Literaturgesch.* N. F. IX (1896), 425–456), will be touched upon by me under *Exeter Book Rid.* xxiii.

Enough has been said to show that the literary riddle and the popular have many points of meeting and that neither should be neglected in the study of the other. Yet, as in the case of "Kunstlied" and "Volkslied," the necessary comparison must be made with extreme caution, and conclusions must often be revised and even rejected in the light of new discoveries. Even after the thorough examination of the style and the careful investigation of the history of each riddle so urgently recommended by Petsch (p. 45) and hitherto so much neglected, we cannot be sure that this apparently popular product is not an adaptation of some classical original or that this enigma smelling so strongly of the lamp is not a reshaping of some puzzle of peasants. Treasures entrusted to tradition so often escape decay only through the selective energy of some wisely assimilative mind which revivifies the dormant and dying motives, and coloring them with a fine beauty converts them into an eternal possession of literature. Even men of mediocre talent, Loriclius, a pedant, and Therander, a poetaster, turn to the account of scholars and men of letters the riddles of the *Strassburg Book* and the *Reterbüchlein*: perhaps a hundred other folk-riddles survive only in such guise. A few of the enigmas of Symphosius have become the current coin of village jesters. We cannot even guess from whose mint of poetry thousands of such pennies sprang. Yet this much is surely demanded of us, that with open minds we probe into the elements of the literary enigma; that, with opinions unbiased by some perilous thesis we look, as far as we may, into the origin of the riddle of the people.

At the very outset of our study of origins, of our comparison of the riddles of different authors or of various folk, we are met by a dangerous pitfall to the unwary, the association of problems through their solutions rather than through their treatment of motives. Riddles totally unlike in form and yet dealing with the same theme exist in different mss. of nearly the same period or even side by side in the same collection. Let us take

for our example the interesting group of 65 Latin enigmas in the Vienna ms. 67 of the ninth century.²² The subjects are often those of Symphosius and Aldhelm, but only in a very few cases (compare 24, "Fire" with A. v, 2; 26, "Letters" with A. iv, 1; 30, "Fishes" with S. 11) can we detect similarity of treatment.²³ No relationship beyond that of title exists between 3, "Salt" and A. i, 3; 10, "Mill" and S. 51; 12, "Ship" and S. 13; 14, "Vine" and S. 53; 16, "Palm" and A. vii, 4; 19 "Broom" and S. 78; 33, "Sponge" and S. 63; 35, "Rose" and S. 45; 39, "Ice" and S. 10; 46, "Earth" and A. i, 1. Within the collection itself, as in the Symphosius group, one subject receives a second handling of quite another sort: 24, 58, "Fire" and 35, 53, "Rose." Had Prehn realized this very obvious truth, that similarity of solutions is often co-existent with entire independence of treatment, he would not have erred so often in tracing the riddles of the *Exeter Book* to Latin sources with which they have naught in common; but of this much more in my second article.

What is more interesting still, is that two riddles with the same topic may be handed down from an early time, appearing and reappearing together in many collections literary and popular, yet ever kept distinct, until perhaps at a late day they are blended by the pen of a writer of enigmas or in the mouth of a folk. A very famous example is that of the two riddles of "Flood and Fish." The first—with the motive of "noisy house and quiet guest"—is, as we have seen above, traceable through a long ancestry, to Symphosius; the second

—with the separate motive of "the house escaping from robbers (the net), while the guest is captured"—lives at present in many French, German, Italian, and English forms (Rolland, No. 71; Petsch, p. 138), and has been noted by me in 13th century Latin dress (ms. Arundel, 292, fol. 114; Wright, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, Leipzig, 1836, II, 148.) The two riddles, however, are finally combined in a Russian version (Sadovnikon, *Zagadki Rousskago Naroda Sostavil*, St. Petersburg, 1876, No. 1623) discussed by Gaston Paris (Introd. to Rolland, p. ix), whose conclusions therefrom are, however, impaired by his ignorance of the history of the first motive.

After thus marking that the same subjects are developed by different motives, we must note, too, that the converse is equally common, and that the same motives are often accorded to different subjects. For this there are at least four reasons that seem to deserve attention.

(a.) We are struck by the manifold use of motives appealing to men through the antithetical statement of an apparent impossibility. Wossidlo (No. 78, p. 282) shows that the contrast of dead and living appears in many riddles: Oak and Ship, Ashes and Fire, Tallow and Flame, Brush and Lice, Bed and Man. Again the motive of "the child begetting its parent" is found not only in the riddle of Ice (*supra*), but in the Greek enigma of Day and Night (Ohlert, p. 31) and in the art-riddle of Smoke and Fire.²⁴ In the Holme collection, No. 131, the Louse riddle-motive of contrast that has already done service twice in this set of problems (Nos. 4, 12) leads to the answer, "Thorn in the Foot"—a solution attached to all the later English versions (*supra*).

(b.) The riddle is retained in memory but the answer is forgotten and is eventually supplied with an inevitable loss of force. Symphosius' fine Book-moth riddle (16) appears in *The Royal Riddle Book* (p. 14) with the tame solution, "Mouse in a Study;" and in *Holme Riddles* 61, 62 (Harl. 1960, fol. 7a) and 51 (fol. 6b.), the weak answers, "Egg in a Duck's Belly," "Penny in a Man's Purse" and "Custards in an Oven," are given to

²² Strange to say, no one has yet noted that the 39 riddles of ms. Berne 611 (Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, 1869, I, 296) are, with a few verbal changes, but replicas of the following enigmas in the Vienna ms. 67 (*Mones Anz.* VIII, 1839, 219):—4 (fragment in Berne), 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 57 (frag. in B.), 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 62. Hagen, the editor of the Berne codex—though on the authority of K. W. Müller (*Paulys Realencyclopädie des classischen Alterthums*, I, 392) he hints at some relation between the two collections—was not aware in 1869, thirty years after Mone's output, that the Vienna riddles had been published (Hagen, *Antike und Mittelalt. Rätselpoesie*, p. 45, Note 14).

²³ See too Ebert, *Ber. der. k. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1877, I, 33, 43 for resemblances to Tatwine and Eusebius.

²⁴ Symphosius, 17; Sloane, ms. 848 (early 17th cent.), fol. 32; *Holme Riddles*, No. 14 (Harl. 1960, fol. 2b; Therander, *Ænigmatographia* No. 31 (*Zs. f. d. M.* III, 130).

the excellent folk-riddles of "Maid on Bridge with Pail of Water on her Head" (*N. and Q.*, 3d Ser. viii, 492), "Blast of a Horn" (*Bk. Merry Riddles*, 67) and "Boats on Water" (*N. and Q.*, 3d Ser. viii, 503).²⁵ Biblical riddles furnish strong proof of this lapse of solutions. The riddle of Lot's Daughters, perhaps the most widely known of "relationship" problems, is found at many periods and among many folk with the proper answer.²⁶ Only in Germany (Wossidlo, 983), appears a general solution, that reveals an ignorance of the scriptural story. Petsch (p. 14) is doubtless right in his statement that, after the school-time of the German peasant, he troubles himself little about the Old Testament, not hearing each Sunday his First Lesson like men of his class in England; but this critic's conclusions regarding the riddle before us must be modified in view of its extensive range—only the answer, not the question, fails. To this ignorance of the Bible is due the Tyrolese solution of the old problem of a dozen countries (traced by Ohlert, 155 and Wossidlo, p. 304, No. 413), "A water lock and a wooden key; the hunter is captured and the game escapes." In Renk's collection from the Tyrol (*Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.* v, 154, No. 121), this riddle of the "Red Sea, Moses' Wand and the Destruction of Pharaoh's Hosts" is found only in its first part with the answer, "Sea and Boat."

(c.) A motive long connected with a certain solution may, in a later time or among another folk, become attached to other subjects and do double or triple duty. The well-known English Cherry riddle has much in common with three German puzzles—those of the Cherry, Arbutus, and Haw ("Hagebutte").²⁷ Side by side with

²⁵ The cleverness of a riddle in cunningly suggesting a false solution sometimes overreaches itself and the true answer is in course of time crowded out by the usurper. Certain recently proposed answers to our Anglo-Saxon riddles are surely emendations of Baruch.

²⁶ I shall present in detail the history of this interesting riddle in connection with *Exeter Book*, XLVII.

²⁷ *Holme Rid.*, 29 (Harl. 1960, 4b), Halliwell, *Nursery Rhymes*, p. 75, No. CXXX, Chambers, *Pop. Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 109, Gregor, *Folk-Lore of N. E. of Scotland*, 1881, p. 80, Lincoln Riddles, 6 (*N. and Q.*, 3d Ser. viii, 503)—all with Cherry motive. German = Lorichius, R. 1, 281 (Arbutus). Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.* ix, 67, No. 11, and Wossidlo, No. 181 (Cherry); Wossidlo, No. 209, notes, p. 295, many references (Haw).

this may be placed the onion-hemp-pepper motive of early Latin and English riddles.²⁸

(d.) By far the most numerous of all riddles of lapsing or varying solutions are those distinctively popular and unrefined problems, whose sole excuse or lack of excuse for being lies in double meaning and coarse suggestion. And the reason for this uncertainty of answer is at once apparent. The formally stated solution is so overshadowed by the obscene subject, implicitly presented in each limited motive of the riddle, that little attention is paid to the aptness of this. It is after all only a pretence, not the chief concern of the jest. Almost any other answer will serve equally well as a grave and decent anti-climax to the smut and horse-laughter of the riddle, so every country, indeed every section, supplies different tags to the same repulsive queries. Wossidlo's material garnered directly from the folk furnishes a dozen examples:—Dough and Spinning-Wheel (No. 71a., p. 43); Kettle and Pike, Yarn and Weaver, Frying-pan and Hare (No. 434, a-e, p. 131); Soot-pole, Butcher, Bosom, and Fish on the Hook (No. 434, 1*, p. 309); Trunk-key and Beer-keg (No. 434n*, p. 309); Stocking and Mower in Grass (No. 434s*, p. 310); Butler-cask and Bread-scoop (No. 434u*, p. 310). These instances abundantly prove the absurdity of dogmatizing over the answers to the Anglo-Saxon riddles of this class. It is probable that the collector himself knew and cared little about the original solutions, since any decorous reply would adorn his unseemly tale.

I pass now to the likeness of motives in riddles of different times or localities. Three hypotheses in explanation of this similarity have been advanced by Gaston Paris in his suggestive Introduction to Rolland, p. ix:—(A) Common origin; (B) transmission; (C) identity of processes of the human mind.

(A.) Common Origin.

(a.) Foremost among problems of like ancestry are "world-riddles," those puzzles that may be traced for thousands of years through the traditions of every people. In this list are the queries of the Sphinx (Friedreich, 87; Ohlert, 31-35), Year

²⁸ Symph. 44 (Onion); *Exeter Bk.*, 26 (Hemp), 66 (Onion); Vienna ms. 67, No. 38 (Pepper). See also *Royal Riddle Bk.*, p. 11.

(*supra*), Louse (*supra*), Fire (Ohlert, 60, 72), Sun and Snow (Aronsen, *Islenzkar Gatur*, 1887, Introd; Wossidlo, No. 99, p. 283; *supra*), Cow (Rolland, No. 44, p. 22, No. 400, p. 152; Wossidlo, No. 165, p. 291), and Pregnant Sow (Heusler, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, xi, 141).²⁹

(b.) Of a narrower range than the riddles of our first class are those of one race in its various branches. Distinctively Teutonic examples are the German Ilo riddle (Wossidlo, No. 962) with its ghastly English parallel (*Holme Rid.* 34; *Royal Rid. Bk.*, p. 7; Petsch, pp. 17-18) and the German-English problems of Chestnut and Nettle and Rose.³⁰

(c.) Less extensive still are the riddles of one folk in its many sections and dialects: for example, the German queries of Ten Birds (Wossidlo, 170; known for centuries in every corner of the Fatherland), Mirror (Wossidlo, 63), and Alphabet (Wossidlo, 469); or the peculiarly English problems of Leaves, Rope and Andrew.³¹

(B.) Transmission.

Extensive range, particularly of a modern riddle, is not in itself a proof of "common origin," but often merely an indication that it has been borrowed by neighboring nations from the land of its birth. Adjoining races, though but distantly related, possess in common far more riddles than widely separated people of one stock. In France, and Germany appear so often versions of the same

problem (Rolland and Wossidlo, *passim*) that we can only suppose that legions of puzzles have crossed at one time or other the Rhine and Moselle and found ready adoption in the new land and speech. And Schleicher's list of Lithuanian riddles³² includes a score of correspondences to Germanic queries, which surely cannot all be traceable to the cradle of the two races. But the best proofs of borrowing are these. Sometimes we are able to observe the very act of transmission. The *Demaundes Joyous*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1511),³³ is in the main but a series of selections from the *Demaundes Joyeuses en manière de quolibet*,³⁴ as Kemble has shown (*S. and S.*, p. 286). Then, too, the riddles that in the Middle Ages had the widest vogue at least in ms.—if we may judge from the scanty evidence of extant medieval collections were not "Volksrätsel" at all, but Latin logogriphs which are ever the product of the study.³⁵ There is, of course, no possibility of "common origin" with such compositions as these: they must perforce be directly lent or borrowed.

Even, however, with riddles of different periods or sections of one country, genuine folk-products

²⁹ *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder*, Weimar, 1857, pp. 193f.

³³ This interesting collection was reprinted in Hartsorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*. London, 1829, pp. 1-8.

³⁴ A copy of the French text—a very rare little octavo—is in the British Museum. It bears no date, but is assigned by the Catalogue to 1520, by Kemble with greater probability to 1500 or before.

³⁵ I class with their continental analogues a few examples from material gathered among the mss. of the British Museum:—Castanea = Arundel 248 (14th cent.), fol. 67b; Cotton Cleopatra B. ix (14th cent.), fol. 10b, No. 6; Sloane 955 (c. 1612) fol. 3a., No. 2; also in mss. of Brussels, Laon, Ghent and Heidelberg (Mone, *Anz.* vii, 42f., Nos. 42, 56, 138, 119). Paries = Arundel, 248, fol. 67b; Arundel 292 (13th cent.), fol. 113b. (Wright, *Alld. Blätter*, ii, 148); Brussels ms. 34 (Mone, p. 43); Reims ms. 743 (Mone, p. 45); Reusner, ii, 116. Formica = Arundel, 248, fol. 67b; Arundel, 292, fol. 113b; Innsbruck ms. 120, 14th cent., (*Anz. f. D. A.*, xv, 1889, 143); Reusner, ii, 106. Dapes = Arun. 248, fol. 67b; Cott. Cleop. B. ix, fol. 10b. No. 5; mss. of Brussels and Ghent (Mone, pp. 42, 49). Lux = Arun. 248, fol. 67b; Arun. 292, fol. 113b; Cott. Cleop. B. ix, fol. 10b, No. 4; Sloane, 513, fol. 57b, No. 1; German book-cover of 16th century (Mone, *Anz.* viii, 317, No. 87); developed at end of 13th cent., into a German "Kunsträtsel," by Heinrich von Neuenstadt, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Rid. 6 (Schröter, *supra*).

²⁹ Heusler, *Id.*, 126, notes that 'the material of world-riddles belongs to "Wandermotiven," like proverbs and fables and tales, and underwent exchanges before the time of literary barter.'

³⁰ Chestnut = *Holme Rid.*, 31, Harl. 1960, 4b; Haase (Ruppin), *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, iii, 74, No. 43; Simrock,³ p. 18. Nettle = *Holme Rid.*, 32, l. c.; *Royal Rid. Bk.*, 17; Chambers, *Pop. Rh.*, 109; Gregor, 80; Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.* ix, 76, No. 69; Wossidlo, No. 51. Rose = Vienna ms. 67, No. 35; Arundel ms. 248 (14th cent.), fol. 67b; *Bk. Merry Rid.* No. 28; *Holme Rid.* 144, Harl. 1960, 15a; ms. Graven D'Hage, (17th cent.), *Mones Anz.*, vii, 49, No. 141; Ghent Stammbuch (16th-17th cent.), *Id.*, 48, No. 126; Reusner i, 373, 380; Simrock,³ p. 20; *N. & Q.* 3d Ser. v, 153, 199, 309, 365; Wossidlo, No. 155 (modern German examples).

³¹ Leaves = *Bk. Merry Rid.*, 76; *Holme Rid.*, 57, 105, fols. 7a, 11a; *Royal Rid. Bk.*, p. 13; Rope = *B. M. R.*, 37; *Holme Rid.*, 115, fol. 12b; Lincoln Rid., 18, *N. & Q.* 3d Ser. viii, 503. Andrew = *Holme Rid.*, 111, fol. 12a; Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 77, No. 138; Lincoln Rid., 2, l. c.

though they may appear, we must often be prepared to find direct transmission through either literature or tradition. To select two of many instances. Five of the riddles in the Holme collection, Nos. 17-21, Harl. 1960, fol. 3a—Cocoon, Bell, Oyster-women, Candle and Pound of Candles—are found in *Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus*, London 1598, Nos. 27-29, 50-51. At first we are inclined to regard this correspondence as evidence of a common origin and of the wide range of the riddles; but, when we observe that the sequence is practically the same and that the versions are verbal counterparts in the two groups, we can no longer doubt that the Holme collector borrowed his material as directly from the earlier volume as Master Slender his wit, perhaps from this very "Book of Riddles." The few parallels between the 35 *Heiðreks Gatur* in the *Hervarar Saga* and the modern Icelandic folk-riddles (*Islenzkar Gatur*—1194 numbers) are rightly regarded by Heusler (*Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, XI, 128) as due to the immediate literary working of the Old Norse queries.

(C.) Identity of Mental Processes.

The third cause of the similarity of riddles must always be taken into account after careful study of origins and comparison of motives have eliminated all possibilities of a common source and of direct or indirect transmission. When the counterpart of the Flood and Fish riddle of Symphosius (*supra*) meets us among Turkish queries (*Urquell* iv, 22, No. 10), we are naturally inclined to believe that this widely known riddle has penetrated even to the Bosphorus; but we can hardly explain thus the similarity of the motives in the Persian Ship problem of Nakkasch, d. 938 A. D. (Friedreich, p. 164), "It makes its way only upon its belly, cutting though footless through the girdle of the earth," to those in the 151st riddle of the *Islenzkar Gatur*; or the surprising likeness of many Sanskrit riddles³⁶ to our modern charades; or even the parallels between the Anglo-Saxon problems of musical instruments (xxxii, lxx) and the Lithuanian "Geige" riddles (Schleicher, p. 200). Indeed, the case seems to be this. While, —as we have seen (*supra*),—similarity of subject

does not necessarily imply similarity of motives, there are, of course, certain themes that, from their limited nature, prescribe a particular treatment. However unaided may be the act of composition, essential traits of these subjects must be named, described, disguised, or summarized. Surely all likeness entailed by the very nature of the topic cannot be regarded as irreconcilable with a perfectly independent creation. Riddles, remote and unrelated though they be, must, after all, say somewhat the same things of the commonplaces of life. At times, indeed,—and now I must point to my present heading,—this correspondence is carried far beyond the necessities of the subject through many combinations and permutations of motives, for riddle-literature like every other has its striking coincidences; but those instances are comparatively rare, since diversity of development, unlikeness in likeness, is here as elsewhere the badge of independence. The rarity of cases of complete resemblance between two riddles with no historical kinship gives them a peculiar value for us; and the evidence of such "Doppelgänger" for a solution is surely of far more weight than the random guesses of a modern critic.

In discussing the Anglo-Saxon riddles, I shall seek to apply the principles adduced in the present article.

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NOTES ON MURNER'S *Schelmenzunft*.

The chief difficulty connected with the study of the writers of the sixteenth century is due to some extent to the great number of peculiar and now obsolete words, which their writings contain and more especially to the numerous allusions to personages and incidents of a local character, of which often no other record has come down to us. Some of these words are to be found neither in the Middle High German period nor in modern German, except perhaps in the various dialects. The popular character of the writings of men like Sebastian Brant, Hans Sachs and Thomas Murner and the nature of their satire led them to employ

³⁶ Führer, *Zs. der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxiv (1885), 99-102.

many words not ordinarily introduced into literature and whose origin and history it is often difficult to trace. The commentator who is called upon to interpret these obscure words and allusions finds himself face to face with a task of peculiar difficulty, which in many cases he is unable to solve either to his own or other peoples' satisfaction. So paramount are these difficulties in the case of Fischart's *Geschichtklitterung* that no one has as yet felt equal to the formidable task of providing this work with an exhaustive commentary.

Among the commentaries to authors of this period that of Zarneke to Brant's *Narrenschiff* is easily first in its completeness and in the patient research of which it gives evidence. For Murner we have the commentaries of Goedeke and Balke, which while excellent in their way do not pretend to be exhaustive and in many cases fail to solve all the difficulties connected with the interpretation of the author. It is therefore with the hope of adding a little to Balke's commentary to Murner's *Schelmensunft*, of throwing additional light on a few of these difficult words and of correcting in some instances certain errors of interpretation, that this article has been written. For the sake of convenience the passages selected have been arranged in the order of their occurrence in the poem. The references are all to Balke's edition, which appeared as volume 17 of Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*.¹

In the *Vorrede* to the poem where Murner speaks of the rogues whom he intends to portray, we find the following lines:

Ich truw in allen nit ein hor,
Wenn si gott *driegent* schon entbor.

Balke glosses *driegent* by 'betrügen,' but this could give no possible meaning with the word *entbor*, which is of course the modern *empor* and is correctly translated 'in der Höhe.' What we have here is not as Balke supposes the verb *triegen* (betrügen), but the pret. subj. of *tragen* with the usual Alemannic fronting of *üe* to *ie*, so common in Murner.² We thus obtain the verb *emportragen* and the passage then reads: 'I would not trust

any of them a hair (i. e. a whit) even if they bore God on high (i. e. even if they marched under the banner of God).' That this is the meaning is evident from the context.

In the second chapter, ll. 167-168 there occurs the expression:

Vor juristen solt dich bieten,
Und vor niderlenschem bieten!

Balke interprets *bieten* as *Gesetz*. One naturally wanders why one is told to guard against the laws of the Netherlands. I can find no trace of any such meaning of *bieten* in the dictionaries of Schade, Lexer, Grimm or Schmeller. On the other hand *bieten* in the sense of 'offering for sale' is quite common.³ One or two examples will suffice here to illustrate the usage: 'Bieten und Widerbieten macht den Kauf,' and 'zu theur bieten jagt den Käufer fort,' Musäus. As the Dutch were the great merchants of the time and the Rhine formed a direct means of communication between Holland and Strassburg, Murner's home, it is quite probable that the people of Strassburg had often been victimized by the sharp mercantile practices of the thrifty Dutch and that Murner is simply voicing in the passage a common saying of the people, to beware of the offers of the Dutch merchants. I do not recall any passage referring to such sharp dealings on the part of the Dutch, but the meaning seems quite clear here.

In l. 188 Murner makes use of the expression:

Der kechen von der neuen stat.

(*Der Köchin von der neuen Stadt*). This has never been satisfactorily explained. Murner uses it in at least one other place, N. B. 3017:

Die köchin von der nüwen stat.

In both cases it is apparently used merely as an exclamation. Neither Goedeke nor Balke attempts to explain it. The allusion is evidently of a local nature as it does not seem to occur in other authors. I have not succeeded either in clearing up the mystery, but the thought has come to me, that it might be in some way connected with the 'schefer von der nüwen stat' (*Schäfer von der neuen Stadt*) mentioned by Murner N. B. 4880 and which is a well known dance song preserved for

¹ The abbreviation N. B. stands for Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung* and S. Z. for his *Schelmensunft*.

² Cf. the instances collected in my article, *The Verb in Thomas Murner*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. 1, p. 61.

³ See, for example, the instances cited in Grimm under *Bieten* 10.

us, for example, in Burkhard Waldis' *Esop* 4. 81, 190 ff.

In l. 248 we read:

Des sühstu in oft den leimen klopfen.

This Balke translates correctly enough '*Du siehst wie sie Prügel oft empfangen.*' Attention should, however, be called, I think, to the fact that *leimen* is the Upper German form of the more usual form *Lehm*, which is of Low German or Middle German origin. The expression *den leimen klopfen* was very popular in the sixteenth century. Murner uses it again, N. B. 6994:

So muss man in den leimen klopfen,

and also N. B. 7147 and 7539. It occurs likewise in Hans Sachs, Fischart and Eckstein, as the examples in Grimm's dictionary show. As is there suggested, the expression was borrowed from the practice of making clay walls and floors firm by beating.

Line 338 reads:

Jo wol wir sind die nassen knaben.

This is likewise a favorite expression of the sixteenth century. It occurs frequently in Murner's works, e. g. S. Z. 640 and 990, N. B. 5619 and 7239, in the writings of Hans Sachs and is still used in the seventeenth century by Gryphius and Stieler, as the examples in Grimm show. As the instances indicate *ein nasser bruder* was originally used of a tippler and was then later extended to apply to all sorts of lazy, goodfornothing, but cunning rogues.

Chapter 9 of the S. Z. bears the title: *Ein grouw rock verdienen*, and begins as follows:

Weicht aus ir frummen, erbren gssellen

Die grouwen reck nit verdienen wellen.

The satire is directed here against servants, who in their anxiety to please their masters shrink from no scurvy trick against others. The title of the chapter becomes, however, clear only when we recall that gray was formerly the color worn by menials and the lower classes. Luther writes, for example, 3. 426, *giengen alle in grawen bawers-röcken*. A cloak of gray was often donned by those of the upper classes as a sign of humility. Thus there occurs Myst. 1. 244 the following passage illustrating this custom '*si (die Landgräfin) was ouch vro, daz si demütikeit geuben (üben)*

mochte, wanne si tet dicke tragen einen grāwen mantel ane.'⁴ Murner uses two forms of the word *grau*. The one given above, *grouwen* is the result of confusion between the nom. form *grau* and the form in the oblique cases, e. g. gen. *grāwes*. The other form *groen*, l. 435, shows the influence of the nom. *grā* with the apocopation of the *w* and the Upper German darkening of *ā* to *o*.

The expression l. 494:

Das mag wol sein ein lürlietz dand

is another one which is frequent among sixteenth century writers. Two etymologies have been suggested for it, first that it is connected with the word *lörten*, Swiss *loerlen* meaning to deceive, to cheat. Another is that it is the diminutive of *Lori*, which in turn is a nickname of *Lorenz*. It is possible that the verb is a derivative of the noun. *Lorenz* was a common name among the people and might have been used proverbially as Hans, Elstein, and Gret were. This thought receives corroboration from chapter 48 of Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung* entitled *Lorenz ist keller* (i. e. *Kellner, Verwalter*) and which contains the lines:

Sit uns herr Lorenz keller ward

Hant wir nit überigs gespart,

.

Die fürsten, herren hont grosz acht,

Wie Lorenz keller ward gemacht,

Das sie all tisch hont vierzig tracht.

.

Das sind der Tütschen fulen sachen,

Wann sie Lorenzen keller machen.

The satire here is directed against excessive eating and drinking. *Lörlein* is used by Jacob Ayrer, 261^b, as the name of a fool: '*Lorlein der narr läuft ein, schlecht mit seinem pengel um sich.*' The full form of the word is of course *lörlein* or *lörlin* but it appears more frequently as *lörles* or as here *lürliß* with syncope of *n* before *s* due to the lack of accent. In the form *lörles* it is frequent in the writings of Hans Sachs.⁵ In all probability the word is connected with the first component of the famous *Lorelei*.

In l. 590 there occurs the word *wurfel leger* which Balke glosses '*Würfelleiher, Veranstalter eines Würfelspiels.*' He was perhaps influenced in

⁴ See Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1, 1237.

⁵ For examples see Grimm's dictionary, 6. 1151.

this by the MHG. *wurfel-lîher* and the meaning for it given by Lexer⁶ and by the expression *wûrfel lîhen*.⁷ This is correct enough as far as the general meaning goes, but the word *wurfel leger* cannot possibly be connected with the form *wurfel-lîher*. There are many instances of *ege* becoming *ei*, e. g., *geleget* > *geleit* but there are, to the best of my knowledge, no examples of the reverse of the process. There is, however, no reason to depart from the form in the text, as *wurfel-leger* is also found in late MHG. in the poem, *Des Teufels Netz*.⁸ The verb also occurs in the Wartburgkrieg 23, 2. *einem ungelîche wûrfel fûr legen*. In the similar expression *Kartenlegen* the verb *legen* has been retained as the usual form.

In ll. 650-655 Murner remarks:

Kum ich fur herschaft mit der schenken,
So darf ichs offlich nit gedenken,
Worum ich solche gaben bût;
So witzig sind iezund die lût,
Das sie solches wol verston,
Wie das es sei um dienst der lon.

Balke translates the word *bût* by 'erbeute' as if from the verb *erbeuten*. That this, however, is not the meaning is evident from the very next two lines:

Den wo ich nichts zu schaffen hett,
Kein solch goben ich im det.

It is not a question here of obtaining something, as *erbeuten* would imply, but of offering presents in return for service either done or desired. *Bût* is evidently the first sing. pres. (MHG. *biute*) of *bieten*. Murner means to say: 'when I approach people with gifts I do not need to mention openly why I offer such gifts as people are clever enough to understand that it is a reward for service.'

In line 710 we find the expression:

Schmacken bretli ist mein nam.

Here we evidently have one of those numerous compounds coined in imitation of a large class of family names. These names are formed by prefixing the imperative of a verb to some case of a noun. Many of them are compounded with the

⁶ Lexer, *Mhd. Wb. Nachträge*, 404 and *Taschenwb.*, 395.

⁷ Cf. Grimm, 5. 238 and Schmeller, 3. 354.

⁸ Ed. by Barack, Stuttgart 1863, Pub. Lit. Verein No. 70; cf. also Lexer, 3, 1007.

accusative, as here, the article being reduced when the noun is masculine to *en*.⁹ These words are very frequent in Fischart's writings, especially in his *Geschichtklitterung* where they are largely imitations of Rabelais. The form in our text must have had its starting point in the masculine, as otherwise the *en* could not be accounted for except by analogy. It must have been originally, as the title of the chapter (*Den braten schmacken*) indicates, *Schmackenbraten*. As the Alemannic prefers diminutives *braten* was changed to *bretli*, while the first part of the word remained unaltered, the syllable *en* probably no longer being recognized as the article. That this was the common form of the name is shown by the following example from S. Frank, *Sprichwörter*, 1541: '*Schmeckenbrätlin* riechen so ein lecker bisslin uber drey gassen.' As this example shows, *schmacken* (*schmecken*) has also in Murner the Upper German meaning of 'smelling.'

Line 723 reads:

Ein stieli bringen wer das best.

This sentence Balke translates '*einem*¹⁰ *den Stuhl vor die Thüre setzen, hinauswerfen*.' How he arrives at this meaning is quite incomprehensible to me. The satire of the chapter is directed against sycophants, who make a practice of visiting festivals of all sorts in the hope of being entertained at the expense of others. Murner says in effect: 'If thou runnest away when it is time to pay and takest much and givest naught in return, thou shalt sit down some day in a place, where rascals of all sorts and unworthy guests are seated.' Then follows the line quoted above, which is but loosely connected with what precedes and is used mainly for the sake of the rhyme, but which, in my opinion, can have only the meaning, 'it were best to bring a chair along,' implying that no seat would be provided for so unwelcome a guest.

In ll. 1054-1058 Murner remarks:

⁹ Cf. upon these compounds R. Schulze, *Imperativisch gebildete Substantiva*, Archiv f. d. Studium der neueren Sprachen, Bd. 43, S. 13-40. Schulze gives a full list of such words. A few masculine examples may be given here to illustrate the case in point: *Suchenwirt*, *Störenfried*, *Schreckengast*, *Griepenkerl*, *Haltenhof*, *Hauenstein*, etc.

¹⁰ Balke's edition has *einen*, an evident misprint for *einem*.

Und klagen des Franzosen gewalt

Und wie der künig von Narragon
Die von Venedig nit wel lon.

The word *Narragon* Balke here translates '*Arago-nien*.' Historically this may be correct enough, but from the form of the word it is evident that Murner was not thinking of the kingdom of Aragon, but of the 'land of the fools' as he uses it in almost the same form coined by Sebastian Brant. The indebtedness of Murner to Brant is too well known to need any proof, in fact Murner himself tells us frankly at the beginning of his *Narrenbeschwörung*, that it is his purpose to exercise the fools brought into the country by Sebastian Brant. Now in chapter 108 of his *Narrenschiff*, Brant proceeds to ship all the fools off to the land of the fools. The wood-cut contains the motto: *Ad Narragoniā*, and in the text we read:

Wir faren vmb durch alle landt,
Von Narbon inn Schluraffen landt,
Dar nach went wir gen Montflascun
Vnd inn das land gen *Narragon*.

This latter form is evidently due to the rhyme. Murner's form agrees with that of the Latin motto. At the beginning of chapter 27 (ll. 1150-1155) we read:

Wer do bult ein closter frouwen,
Die er mit ougen nit kan schouwen,
Zu sehen im nit werden mag,
Der beiszt die nusz do durch ein sack;
Der schaum im maul, der kern ist *dein*,
Und ist das küwen nur sein gwin.

Balke explains: '*dein* = *dhein*, *syncopirt aus dehein*, *kein*.' This explanation is impossible, for as far as I know there is no instance of MHG. *dehein* becoming *dein*. Neither Schade nor Lexer in their dictionaries nor Weinhold in his *MHD. Grammatik* give any such example. The syncopated form *dhein* occurs frequently, but the resultant form is always *kein*. Had Balke noticed the rhyme, he might have hit upon the correct solution. The impure rhyme *dein*: *gwin* is of course not due to Murner, who wrote as was his custom *din*: *gwin*.¹¹ The printer who mechanically diphthongized Murner's long *i*'s and *u*'s to make them agree with the *gemein deutsch*, failed

¹¹ See Stirius, *Die Sprache Thomas Murners*, Diss. Halle, 1891, p. 24, and my above-mentioned article, p. 36.

to notice that the vowel was short here, mistaking the word *din* no doubt for the pronoun. The correct reading is therefore not *dein* but *din*. This is a common Alemannic form of *drin* or *drinnen* and occurs together with its complement *dus* (= *draussen*), quite frequently in Murner. Thus, for example S. Z. 1499:

Was *din* stat, felt nit ein hor

and N. B. 1070:

Die geuchin dinn, der gouch ist *dusz*.

In both these instances Balke translates the word correctly. In the case in question he was misled by the false diphthongization. Substituting the correct form *din* the meaning of the passage at once becomes apparent: He who courts a nun, whom he cannot see merely bites a nut through a bag. He has foam in his mouth, but the kernel is on the inside and his chewing is his only gain, or as we should say, he has his trouble for his pains.

In chapter 28 (ll. 1218-1221) we find

Ein schelm wil gon regieren leren,
Der nie kunt ein suw stal keren,
Und strafen gott in seinen sachen,
Der nie kein *loffel holz* kunt machen.

loffel holz Balke explains as *Löffelstiel*. His authority for this I do not know. Grimm's dictionary gives but three meanings of the word: 1. 'Holz worein in den küchen die koch- oder rührlöffel gesteckt oder gehängt werden—löffeltret. 2. Holz woraus man löffel schnitzt.' The third is figurative and does not apply here. This very quotation from Murner is given as illustrating the first meaning. The meaning of the line is evidently, 'who could not make the simplest thing,' as Balke has correctly suggested. As such a device for holding spoons would be one of the first things which a beginner could make, this meaning accords well with the thought of the passage. As far as I know spoons were made either entirely of wood or of some metal and not of a combination of both as Balke's interpretation would imply.

In the following passage, ll. 1439-1443:

Wolt er aber zornig *schnurren*
Und wider meine zunft genosz murren,
Er miest sich stellen lon von mir
In dise zunft und vornan dran.

Balke glosses the word *schnurren* by 'losfahren.' A better word would have been *brummen*. In Grimm's dictionary ix, 1418. 3 *schnurren* is defined as follows:

'übertragen auf zornig brummende widerspenstige Menschen besonders in älterer Sprache, landschaftlich bis heute (schweiz. *schnurre*, tirol. *schnurren*, sich laut und unwillig äussern *brummen* (Schöpf 642).'

Schnurren in this meaning is a favorite word among sixteenth century writers. Murner uses it frequently, in addition to this passage, e. g., in N. B. 211 and 2203, where Balke glosses it correctly 'murren, brummen, zornig sein,' and also in N. B. 7917 and 8016. Grimm's dictionary also quotes examples from Geiler von Keisersberg and Luther, where it is used in the same way.

In ll. 1445-1448 Murner remarks:

Ich hab ir manchen dar gestelt,
Der hett verwetet als sein gelt,
Das ich so frevel nimmer wer,
Zün schelmen in verordenen her.

Balke translates *verordenen* by 'befehlen.' This meaning is, however, only secondary and not in accordance with the usage of the sixteenth century, where it still has the meaning of placing in order, i. e., in rank and file, and then of arranging and making provision for. In these meanings it is frequently used by Luther in his translation of the Bible.¹² The meaning of the passage accordingly is, 'I have placed¹³ or depicted many of them here, who would have wagered all their money, that I would not have been so bold as to place them in the ranks of the fools.'

In the following passage ll. 1458-1461:

Die schelmen kamen ein mol zamen
Und batent um ein andren namen;
Das ichs doch nant der gsellen rott.
Nein ich, werlich, und bi gott!

Balke translates the expression *nein ich* by 'vernein ich, ich schlage ab.' The general meaning is correct enough, but what we have is not a verb *neinen* but a survival of the MHG. form of negation, in which the personal pronoun was added to

the negative particle, e. g., *nein ich, du, ir*, etc. The verb *neinen* does occur occasionally. One instance is given by Lexer in MHG. and it is also used by Stieler in the seventeenth century, but its use here would weaken the thought of the passage, which requires a strong negation. Moreover, it is forcing the meaning of *neinen* or *verneinen* to gloss it by 'abschlagen' as Balke does. The custom of adding the personal pronoun to the particle *nein* occurs as early as Notker, e. g., Psalms 436, *sol din helfa nun hina sin? nein sie*. It is frequent throughout the MHG. period.¹⁴ That it still survived in the sixteenth century is proved by instances in Nicolaus v. Wyle, Geiler von Keisersberg, whom Murner took in many respects as his model, and in Albrecht von Eyb. In Eyb's *Spiegel der Sitten* (1511) there are two very clear examples of this usage: '*wiltu nichts anders? nain ich*,' 149^b and '*weist du des nicht? nain ich*,' 177^b. In neither of these cases is it possible to construe *nain* as a verb. It is, therefore, more than probable, from what has been said, that in the passage in hand we have likewise a survival of this old usage.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. Goth. *sidus* 'sitte' is supposed to come from pre-Germ. **sedhu-s* and to be connected with Skt. *svadhā*, Gk. *ἔδος*, etc., from a base *sye-dh-*. Other words in Germ. which may be combined with *sidus* point rather to a pre-Germ. **sidhu-s*. For with Goth. *sidōn* 'üben,' OHG. *sitōn* 'ausführen, in stand setzen, tun, machen, machinari' we may compare OE. *sidian* 'extend,' be-*sidian* 'regulate, determine,' *sīd* 'long, broad, spacious', ON. *sīðr*, Dan. *sīd* 'lang, weit, niedrig', OHG. *sīto* 'laxe.'

These are from a base *seidh-* 'extend, stretch, straighten, direct, regulate', etc., which is also in Gk. *ἵδύς* 'straight', *ἵδύς* 'undertaking', *ἵδύω* 'press forward', *ἵδύνω* 'straighten', Skt. *sīdhyate* 'kommt zum ziel, hat erfolg, wird vollkommen, gelingt, kommt zustande', Welsh *haeddu* 'porrigere, assequi'. (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἵδύς*, who con-

¹² Cf. the examples given by Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 3. 1230.

¹³ The verb *darstellen* seems to be used here in its original meaning of *dahinstellen*.

¹⁴ Cf. the examples in Grimm's dictionary, 7. 589.

nects Goth. *sidus* with this group, and Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v. *sidhyati*.)

2. ON. *siða*, *seiða* 'zaubern, zauberei treiben, durch zauber etwas wirken, wohin zaubern' belongs to the above group. Compare especially OHG. *sitōn* 'ausführen, machinari', Skt. *sidhyati* 'hat erfolg, wird vollkommen', *siddha-s* 'vollkommen, wunderkräftig; vollendeter, seliger, seher, zauberer', *siddha-m* 'zauberkraft', *siddhi* 'das ans ziel gelangen, gelingen; vollendung, erfolg, vollkommenheit, zaubermacht'.

These words seem to be formed on a base *sēi*. At any rate we find *sēdh-* with similar meanings: Skt. *sādhati* 'zum ziele kommen oder führen', *sādhāyati* 'in ordnung bringen, schlichten, ausführen, zubereiten, verschaffen, erlangen', *sādhā* 'gerade, richtig, heilsam, tüchtig, edel, gut'.

3. With Gk. *ἰδύω* 'dringe vor', Skt. *sidhmā* 'drauf losgehend' compare Gk. *ἰδμα* 'gang bewegung', Skt. *sēdhati* 'scheucht, vertreibt', OE. *side*, OHG. *sita* 'seite'. The meaning 'side' comes from 'turned, giving way, sinking', which is seen also in ON. *siðr* 'herabhängend', Dan. *sid* 'niedrig, tiefliegend', Sw. *sidlånd* 'tiefliegend', OHG. *sīto* 'laxe' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Seite*, where ON. *siðr* is compared).

3a. So also Lith. *szlėju* 'lehne an', *szlajūš* 'schief, schräg, nach einer seite abhängig', *szlartas* 'bergabhäng', ON. *hlīð* 'slope', *hlīð* 'side', *hlīða* 'turn aside, give way'; OE. *hlinc* 'slope, hill', *hlanc* 'lank, lean', i. e., 'falling away', OHG. *hlanca* 'hüfte, lende'; Gk. *πλάγιος* 'quer, schief', *τὰ πλάγια* 'seiten, flanken'; MHG. *weich*, 'weich, biegsam', *weiche* 'die weiche am menschl. körper'; Gk. *λῆγω* 'leave off, cease, end', *λαγρός* 'slack, hollow, sunken', of an animal's flanks; Lith. *silpnas* 'schwach', *slėpiù* 'verberge, verstecke', Gk. *λαπαρός* 'slack, loose', *λαπάρα* 'flank', Lith. *slėpsna* 'die dünnung, weichen'; MHG. *smal* 'schmal', *smele* 'schmalheit; taille'.

4. From the secondary meaning 'give way, fall away, sink' come words for 'flow, flow out', etc. Here belong Skt. *sidhu* 'rum', *sindhu* 'strom, fluss, flut, meer', OHG. *sint-fluot*, *sin-fluot* 'sünd-flut'. This is not an "umdeutung" of an older form *sin-fluot*, for we find *sint-fluot* in OHG. and *sint-vluot* in MHG. The connection with *sünde*, OHG. *suntea* must be comparatively recent. We may therefore refer the first part of the compound

to a Germ. **sindu-* 'flood', to which was later added the explanatory *fluot*, just as to OHG. *lind* 'schlange' was added *wurm*, giving *lindwurm*.

From 'fall away', 'drop' come also OE. *sinder* 'dross of iron', ON. *sindr* 'slag or dross from a forge', OHG. *sintar* 'sinter'.

5. Similar meanings are also seen in the base *sei-q-*: Gk. *ἴκω* 'komme', *ἱκανός* 'hinreichend', *ἀφικνέομαι* 'gelange hin', *ἰκέτης* 'um schutz flehend'. Lith. *sekiu* 'strecke die hand aus, schwöre' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἴκω*), *seksnis* 'klafter', OHG. *sigan* 'sich vorwärts bewegen, sich niederwärts bewegen, sich senken, sinken, tropfend fallen', *seigen* 'senken, neigen; schleudern, werfen; wägen, abwägen', *seiger* 'langsam tröpfelnd, matt, marcidus', *sihan* 'seihen, durch ein sieb laufen lassen, tröpfelnd durchsickern', Du. *zijgen* 'durchseihen, hinfallen, in ohnmacht fallen', ON. *siða* 'sink slowly', *signa* 'sink slowly, slip away', *seiga* 'sink', *seigr* 'that can be stretched without breaking, tenacious, tough', Dan. *seig* 'zähe', OE. *sigan* 'move, go, fall, descend; strain, filter, drain out, ooze', *sægan* 'cause to sink, lay down, destroy', *sigend* 'wave', *sihte* 'marshy', MHG. *sihte* 'eingefallen, mager; seicht', Skt. *siñcati* 'giesst, begiesst', *sēcayati* 'begiesst', Av. *haecayēiti* 'trocknet', ChSl. *siñcati* 'mingere', OE. *ūt-siht* 'diarrhoea', Lith. *seikiù* 'messe mit einem hohlmasse', *saikas* 'hohlmasse', ON. *sáld* < **saiha-ðla* 'eimer, tonne', *sila* 'seihen', *seila* 'hollow, depression in the ground'.

6. To this group may also belong Goth. *sihu*, *sigis*, OHG. *sigu*, *sigi*, etc. 'sieg'. The *h* in Goth. *sihu* may therefore be regular. And so far as the meaning is concerned, we certainly do not need to separate these words from OE. *sægan* 'cause to sink, lay low, destroy', *on-sigan* 'attack', *sige* 'setting' (of the sun), etc. For as we have seen, the meaning 'flow out', comes from 'fall, sink'.

Perhaps here also Skt. *sāyaka* 'wurfgeschoss, pfeil', Lat. *sica*, Lith. *sykis* 'hieb', OE. *sagol* 'club, staff'. Compare OHG. *seigen* 'schleudern, werfen'.

7. With these compare **sei-go-* in OHG. *seich* 'urine', *seichen* 'mingere', LG. *sik* 'sumpfige niederung', ON. *sik* 'graben, grube', OE. *sic* 'watercourse', *sicerian* 'ooze, sickern', Norw. *sickle* 'geifern, speicheln'.

8. The bases *sei-po-* and *sei-bo-* occur in Skt.

siprā 'flusname', *sipra* 'schweiss', OHG. *seivar* 'schaum, geifer, speichel', MHG. *seifel* 'speichel', *siften* 'flüstern, zischeln', ON. *sifra* 'knurren', Lith. *syprus* 'fein, gebeutelt', OHG. *sib*, OE. *sife* 'sieb', *siften* 'sichten'; Lat. *sibilo*, MLFr. *sipen* 'rinnen', LG. *sipen*, *sipern* 'tröpfeln, sickern', OE. *sipian* 'macerate, be soaked', *sāp* 'amber, resin, pomade'.

9. We see here the developed meaning 'hiss, whisper, murmur, sigh'. Such meanings may come from 'flow out, gush'; or rather 'flow out, gush out' and 'sigh, puff, breathe' come from the common meaning 'come forth, burst forth'. For example: Sw. *frusa* 'hervorströmen': *frusta*, ON. *frysa* 'schnauben'; ON. *fraud* 'schaum': Skt. *próthati* 'schnaubt'; Gk. *φλέω* 'flesse über': OE. *blāwan* 'blow, breathe', *blāsan* 'blow'; Gk. *φλίω* 'flesse über': ON. *blīstra* 'pfeifen zischen'; Skt. *ātati* 'läuft', OE. *ædre* 'quickly, at once': *water-ædre* 'torrent, spring'; *ædre* 'vein': *æþm* 'breath'.

So also: OHG. *seivar* 'schaum, geifer': ON. *sifra* 'knurren'; OE. *sic* 'watercourse', Norw. *sikle* 'geifern': OE. *sican* 'sigh', *sice* 'sigh', *sicetan* 'sigh, lament'; OE. *sigan* 'drain out, ooze': ME. *sighe* 'sigh', and perhaps Goth. *saiwala* 'seele' < **saiǵwalō* 'breath'. Compare OHG. *pi-siwaniu*, OE. *siven*, etc. of *sihan*.

10. The base *sēi-* 'extend, stretch' (see No. 2 above) may be in Goth. *seiprus*, OE. *sip* 'late', OHG. *sīd* 'seitdem, später, seit'. Here the meaning 'late' comes from 'extended, long' as seen in OE. *sīd* 'long, broad, spacious', etc. The same development of meaning is seen in Ir. *sír* 'lang, ewig', Lat. *sērus* 'late', base *sē-ro-* 'stretched, extended, long'.

These words have also been connected with Goth. *seiprus*. This is possible if we refer them to a base *sēi-* or *sē-īo-*, which in composition was felt as *sē-* instead of *sēi-*. But in any case we may compare Lat. *sērus*, Ir. *sír* 'directly, with OHG. *sār* 'sogleich', primarily 'straightway, directly, stracks', and more remotely with OHG. *sān*, Goth. *suns* 'sogleich'.

11. Goth. *galeiks*, OE. *gelic* 'similar, like', OHG. *gilik* 'gleich', etc. are explained as meaning 'dieselbe gestalt habend, einen übereinstimmenden körper habend' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *galeiks*, Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *gleich*). But with the connection that has been made outside of

Germanic, this explanation is impossible. For there the primary meaning is 'even, level.' So Lith. *lygus* 'gleich, eben', *lygumas* 'ebenheit; gleichheit', *lygumà* 'eine eben liegende stelle, ebene', *lyginu*, 'mache gleich, vergleiche, ebne' *paljginu* 'ebne den boden'.

The meaning 'level, even' comes from 'bend, give way, fall away'. We may therefore compare, ON. *likna* 'bend back, give way', MHG. *sich leichen* 'sich biegen' OHG. *gileih* 'gelenk', OPrus. *laygnan* 'wange' and also Goth. *laikan* 'springen', Gk. *ἐλλέζω* 'swing', etc. Compare Skt. *vāñcati* 'wankt, geht krumm': OE. *wange* 'cheek': *wang* 'plain, field'.

12. From 'bend, give way, fall away' come the following: Alb. *l'igu* 'lean, bad', Gk. *ὀλίγος* 'small', *λοιγός* 'ruin, destruction, death', Lith. *ligà* 'krankheit' (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 15), Goth. *leik* 'dead body, body, flesh', pre-Germ. **ligo-m* 'anything fallen; dead body, flesh from a dead body; body, flesh in general'.

This is a common development of meaning. So Lat. *cado* 'fall': *cadāver* 'corpse'; Gk. *πτῶμα* 'fall': 'corpse'; OPrus. *krūt* 'fallen': OE. *hrēaw* 'raw', Lat. *cruur*, etc.; Skt. *skhālati* 'wankt, taumelt, stolpert', Gk. *σκολιός* 'crooked', ON. *skæla* 'verdrehen', *skolla* 'wanken': OHG. *scalmo* 'seuche', MHG. *schelme* 'pest, seuche; die im kampf gefallenen' (cf. author, *Color-Names and their Congeners*, I, 60b); E. *crinkle, crank*: MHG. *kranc* 'schmal, schlank, gering, kraftlos, schwach', NHG. *krank*, OE. *crincan* 'fall in battle, perish'.

13. Germ. *hraiwa-* 'corpse, carrion; death' in Goth. *hraiwa-dūbō* 'turteltaube', OHG. *hrēo*, MHG. *rē* 'leichenam; tod; tötung; grab', ON. *hræ*, OE. *hrāw* 'corpse' may likewise be explained as coming from a pre-Germ. **groiuo-* 'bent, fallen'. Compare Lith. *kreivas* 'gewunden, schief', *kreivūti* 'schief treten', *krividà* 'list, betrug', ChSl. *krivŭ* 'schief'.

These come from a base *qrī-* 'whirl, twist, turn', which is also in Lith. *kreipiū* 'wende, kehre', ON. *hreife* 'wrist'; OE. *hrisian*, ON. *hrista* 'shake', Lat. *crispo* 'swing, wave, curl'; OHG. *ridōn* 'zittern', Lett. *kraitūt* 'taumeln'; *krails* 'gebogen', ChSl. *krilo* 'flügel'; Gk. *κρίκος* 'ring' (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 106, 166).

14. Goth. *drigkan*, OE. *drincan* 'drink', etc., may be compared with Lith. *drėgnas* 'feucht',

drangùs 'lauwarm'. For the connection 'feucht': 'lauwarm' compare OHG. *welc* 'feucht, milde, lau, welk'.

15. The connection of Goth. *weihs* 'heilig' with *weihan* 'kämpfen', Lith. *veikiù* 'mache, verrichte' has little in its favor. More probable is the combination with Skt. *vinākti*, *vivēkti* 'sondert, siebt, sichtet', etc. (Osthoff, *IF*, vi, 39). Compare OE. *wāh* 'fine' (meal), pre-Germ. **woigo-* 'sifted'.

Another possibility is to explain Goth. *weihs* as meaning primarily 'surrounded, guarded, protected'. In that case we may compare OE. *wāg*, OS. *wēg* 'wall', which are not the same as ON. *veggr*, Goth. *-waddjus* 'wall', but from pre-Germ. **woiqō-* 'twining, binding', and related to Lat. *vinciō* 'bind'. For this connection compare OE. *ealgian* 'schützen': Goth. *alhs* 'tempel', Lett. *elks* 'götze'.

16. Goth. *wis* 'windstille' is given by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v., as meaning, according to Cosijn, 'heiteres wetter', from the root *ues-* 'heiter sein' in Goth. *wizōn* 'schwelgen', *wisan* 'sich vergnügen', *wisan* 'verweilen, bleiben, sein'.

It is much more probable, however, that *wis* 'calm' comes directly from the root *ues-* in the sense 'remain, rest, settle'. This, and not 'be', is the earlier meaning in Goth. *wisan* 'verweilen, bleiben, sein', Skt. *vāsati* 'wohnt, verweilt', etc. Compare especially Ir. *foss* 'das bleiben, die ruhe'.

17. OHG. *west-*, OE. *west* 'west', etc., as well as Lat. *vesper*, Gk. *ἑσπέρα* 'evening', are likewise from the root *ues-* 'rest, settle'. Compare again Ir. *foss* 'das bleiben, die ruhe', and *feiss* 'das bleiben, rasten', OHG. *wist*, ON. *vist* 'aufenthalt, wohnort', Skt. *vasati* 'verweilen, wohnung, aufenthalt'.

18. ON. *efne* 'stoff, material; vermögen, vorräte', OE. *æfesn* 'luxury, wantonness; special pasturage' may be compared with Skt. *āpnas* 'ertrag, besitz, habe', Lat. *opes*, etc.

19. ON. *gymbell* 'he-lamb', *gymbr* 'she-lamb' are evidently related to *gambra* 'make merry', OHG. *gambar* 'strenuus', *gambri* 'sagacitas, agonia', MHG. *gampf* 'schwanken', *gampen*, *gumpen* 'hüpfen, springen', etc.

20. ON. *nef* 'nasenbein, nase', OE. *nebb* 'nose, face, beak', *nebbian* 'snub, rebuke', E. *neb*, *nib* probably go back to the primary meaning 'protuberance, projection' and may be compared with

OE. *nafu*, OHG. *naba* 'nave, hub', Skt. *nābhā* 'nave, navel', Lat. *umbō* 'boss, knob, promontory', *umbilicus* 'navel', Gk. *ὀμφαλός* 'navel; boss', OHG. *nabalo* 'navel', etc.

21. ON. *sōa* 'feierlich töten' we may refer to an earlier **swōhan* and connect with OE. *geswōgen* 'in a swoon; dead; silenced', *ā-swōgan* 'suffocate, choke.' These are related to Lith. *sukù* 'drehe', *sukrus* 'wer sich leicht dreht, agil, beweglich, flink, schnell', *sunkus* 'schwer', i. e. 'swaying, drooping', ChSl. *sukati* 'drehen', Lett. *sukt* 'entwischen, schwinden', OHG. *swingan* 'schwingen', OE. *swangor* 'sluggish', etc. For the development in meaning 'swing, sway, droop, fall away, cease', etc. see many other examples in author's *Color-Names and their Congeners I*, 51b.

22. ON. *sättr* 'versöhnt', whence *sætt* 'vertrag, versöhnung', *sætta* 'versöhnen', has been referred to an earlier **sanhtaz* and compared with Lat. *sanctus*. So Lidén as quoted by Noreen *Urg. Lautlehre*, 25.

Without setting aside this explanation, compare Skt. *sājati* 'hängt, haftet', *sanjatē* 'giebt sich hin an, beschäftigt sich mit', *saktā* 'hängend, haftend an', ChSl. *sega* 'berühre', Lith. *segù* 'hafte.' The primary meaning of *sättr* was therefore 'clinging together, joined.'

23. ON. *tapa*, Dan. *tabe* 'verlieren', ON. *tape*, Dan. *tab* 'verlust', ON. *tæpr* 'kurz, knapp, eng' go very well together with Lat. *damnum* 'loss, injury', which may come from **dab-no-m*.

24. ON. *poku* 'bewegen; platz machen, weichen', *pukla* 'fühlen, befühlen', OE. *þocerian* 'run about' contain a base *tug-* 'move, stir' which is also in Skt. *tujāti*, *tuñjāti* 'drängt, stösst, treibt an', and in *tvāngati* 'springt.' Perhaps here also E. *thwack* 'strike with something flat or heavy, thump, bang.'

25. ON. *þrifa* 'ergreifen, erfassen', *þrifask* 'gedeihen', whence E. *thrive*, represents a pre-Germ. **treipo-* 'press, take hold of'. A cognate verb meaning 'press with the feet, tramp, stamp' occurs in Lith. *trypiù* 'stampfe, trample, trete'. These are enlarged from a base *terēi-*, *tri-* in Gk. *τριβω* 'rub, thresh, grind', Lith. *trinù* 'reibe', Lat. *trivi*, *tritrus*, etc. (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 222). The meanings 'press, grasp' and 'press, tread' are but slightly divergent from each other.

26. OHG. *lentin*, OE. *lenden*, ON. *lend* 'lende',

Icel. *lundir* 'rückenstück', to which add OE. *gelyndu* 'joints of the spine', *lund-laga* 'kidney', have been compared with ChSl. *lēdvija* 'lende, niere', Lat. *lumbus*. These presuppose a base *lendh-*, *londh-*, for which we may assume the primary meaning 'bend, give way' or the like, as in the examples given under 3a above. We may therefore compare Lith. *lendù* 'krieche', *landà* 'ein loch zum ein- oder durchkriechen', *lândynė* 'winkel', *lendonis*, *lindynė* 'schlupfwinkel, versteck', MLG. *lenden* 'aufhören, enden; aufhören machen', OE. *lendān* 'go, arrive'. Here also belongs OPruss. *lindan* 'tal', and perhaps Goth. *land* 'land', etc.

27. OE. *lēosca*, OSw. *liuske*, Dan. *lyske* 'leiste, weiche' are from a similar meaning. Compare Dan. *luske* 'schleichen', Lat. *luscus* 'hollow-eyed', OHG. *loscēn* 'versteckt, verborgen sein'.

28. NHG. *leiste* 'inguen', E. dial. *last* 'groin', Goth. **laistō* (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v.) represent a Germ. **laistō* 'sunken, hollow place'. Compare Lith. *lėsas* 'mager', *lįstu* 'werde mager', ChSl. *lichū* 'arm, beraubt, böse, schlecht'. These we may regard as derivatives of the base *leis-* 'slip, glide, trace, track': OE. *gelisian* 'slip, glide', MHG. *leise* 'spur, geleise', Goth. *laists* 'spur', etc.

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NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE *Libre d'Apolonio.*

I.

Florencio Janer, in his *Libre de Appollonio*,¹ refers to the earlier edition of Alejandro Pidal² and gives the following justification for republishing this Old Spanish poem:

"Nosotros hacemos esta edicion, reproduciendo paleográfica y fidelísimamente el códice, único conocido . . . teniendolo á la vista (*Biblioteca del Escorial*, III, K, 4), y por lo mismo nos vemos precisados á rectificar y citar las lecciones modernizadas ó falsas dadas en la edicion de aquel eminente literato.³

Several years ago the present writer examined the Escorial manuscript of the *Libre d'Apolonio* and found that while Janer had corrected many mistakes in Pidal's edition, his own text was still far from perfect. The object of the present study is to correct or mention the errors noted in the text which Janer aimed to copy "paleográfica y fidelísimamente." The variants of Pidal's edition are not mentioned since these variants are readily accessible in Ochoa's reprint⁴ and in Janer's footnotes.

In the ms. palatal *n* is represented indiscriminately by *ȳ*, *ny*, and *nȳ*; J. transcribes the first two by *ny* and the last by *nny*. In the following cases, however, the *nȳ* of the ms. is rendered by

¹ *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV*, in *Bib. de aut. esp.* Vol. LVII, Madrid, 1864, pp. 283-305.

² *Revista de Madrid*, 1841.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 283, note 1.

⁴ *Colección de poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV*, Paris, 1842, pp. 531-561.

ny in the printed text: *sennyor* 41b, 73c, 192a, 396a; *compannya* 168b, 327a; *duennya*, 235a; *sennyeros* 513b. The inverse process is noted in *senyor* 473a; *senyora* 272d.

The author or scribe makes frequent, but not consistent, use of *ss* even in cases when this double consonant is historically and phonetically inadmissible; J. substitutes *s* in: *essa* 116a; *sseruir* 138b; *deuissar* 263d; *combussco* 272b; *dessuso* 299a; *ssu* 285a, 597a, 607b, 617d, 656b, 656d; *sso* 507a, 509a, 553b, 587a, 588a; *dexasse* 399b; *passaron* 419b; *passado* 420a, 629a; *reyessele* 420d; *ssabor* 428b; *assmar* 449a; *asentosse* 464d; *fastas* 514c; *consseio* 515c; *cossa* 517a; *ssegudamos* 522b; *quissieron* 534b; *ssenyallado* 570c; *ssenyor* 573b; *Effessio* 593a; *ssi* 599a. The inverse process is noted in *sopieses* 537b; *asentados* 157d.

J. uses the form *commo* while the ms. with but few exceptions has *como*, cf. 2d, 22a, 22d, 67a, etc., etc. Both *grant* and *gran* are used in the ms., but in the following cases J. transcribes the former as *gran*: 52c, 65c, 66b, 99d, 171d, 227d, 236b, 251d, 253c, 253d, 267b, 281d, 311d, 317d, 318a, 332a, 334b, 351a.

In the ms. the nasal consonant, when followed by a labial, is rendered by *m*, *n* or a bar over the preceding vowel; J. transcribes the written *n* by *m* in: *conpra* 87a; *siempre* 26b, 357d, 530b; *enbargado* 380a; *enperezes* 516b; *ssienpre* 538c; inversely *combidauan* 152c.

J. has *r* for *rr*: *honrrado* 45c; *onrra* 96a;—*bd* for *pd*: *capdal* 19c; *copdicia* 57b, 72a; *recapdar* 207c;—*sg* for *g*: *pregio* 76d; *meregia* 83c;—omits inorganic *h*: *ha* 14c, 450d, 611d; *hun* 14c, 37d;—*g* for *z* *Rezar* 585b; *fzo* 445b; *plazie* 469b.

The following miscellaneous errors seem worthy of note: *de appollonio* for *d'Appollonio* in the title; *Antiochia* for *antiocha* 3b, 19a, 20a, 126a, 250d; *sos* for *sus* 94b, 94c; *traygo* for *trayo* 123b; *marauilleledes* for *marauelledes* 176b; *creo* for *creyo* 231c; *Pentapolim* for *Pentapolin* 272b; *soror* for *seror* 324b; *queria* for *querie* 353d; *auelo* for *auuelo* 359b; *moltal* for *mortal* 408b; *golpe* for *colpe* 442c; *home* for *omne* 469b; *anyadir* for *anyader* 525c; *dixeron* for *dizieron* 542d; *sieruentas* for *seruientas* 633b; *adugiste* for *aduxiste* 647a; *matarian* for *matarien* 79d; *Antiocho* for *Antiocho* 81c; *maguer* for *mager* 185d, 217a; *otre* for *otrie* 221b; *Lieuar* for *Leuar* 254c; *para* for *pora* 328c,

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Occasionally J. emends scribal errors without comment: *toda* for *toto* 93c; *Taliarco* for *Talierco* 41a; *tierra* for *tiera* 95b, 98b, *fuereamos* for *fuermos* 100d; *non* for *no* 136b, 653a; *que me* for *quen* 141c; *corazon* for *corzon* 229b; *del* for *de el* 250b; *era* for *eran* 271d; *con* for *com* 469b; *deues* for *deuos* 553a; *casamiento* for *casmiento* 557b; *nin* for *ni* 625d; *ssinon* for *ssino* 634d; *quando* for *quado* 634d.

In regard to Janer's *Dixoron* 475d, the scribe wrote *Dixo* by mistake, then added *ron* and changed the previous *o* to an imperfect *e*. Consequently, the reading should be *Dixeron*.

In the following verses the meaning, the grammatical construction or the metre has been vitiated by an incorrect rendering of the original; manuscript readings are in italics:

- 2b. Que por las aventuras vistó⁵ (*visco*) grant tenporal.
- 10a. Demas yo uo conseio e uos creyo (*creyer*) me lo deuedes.
- 20a. La corte de Antiocha, frenme (*firme*) de grant uertut.
- 21b. Toda la corte escuchaua, teria (*tenia*) buena saçon.
- 27c. Que non lo querria fer por nenguna exedat (*eredat*).
- 46b. Touoselo a onra (*onta*) por sin ella tornar.
- 59b. Tornados se le (*les*) son enemigos mortales.
- 67c. Non se partien (*partie*) del null omne despagado.
- 84b. ¿Contral (*con el*) Rey Antiocho porque ouiste contienda?
- 92c. Salie (*Valie*) por la villa mas que nunca valio.
- 103d. Que conosçen los vientos que se camina (*camian*) ayna.
- 107a. El mar que mengua (*nunqua*) touo leyal-tat ni belmez.
- 108cd. Nadauan las arenas, al (*el*) çielo leuantado.

⁵ Janer's accentuation has been omitted except in words which are otherwise incorrect.

- Non avie hi marino (*marinero*) que non
fues conturbado.
- 119d. Eso (*O se*) querian ellos comigo engraçiar.
- 133b. Recudiol como omne que hauia atal (*del*)
grant dolor.
- 160b. Non podie Apolonio las lagrimas terror
(*tener*).
- 161d. Dios te daria conseio, non se (*se te*) podrie
tardar.
- 194a. Con (*E con*) esto la fija quel padre seguraua.
- 222b. Dixol a (*Dyo la*) Apolonyo que mensajero
era.
- 222d. Saber (*Sabet*) que fue ayna andada la
carrera.
- 257c. Si el leuar vos quisiere seyer (*seyet*) su
companyera.
- 257d. Dios uos guie mi fija la su potència uerdadera
(*uera*).
- 258b. De bestias e de aueres (*daueres*) e de condu-
cho cargadas.
- 260c. Que (*Quel*) guiase la fija hiuverno e verano.
- 272c. Quando vos sedes (*sodes*) muerta, ¿que far-
mos (*faremos*) nos agora?
- 282d. Letras que (*qui*) la fallasse por onde fuese
gertero.
- 294a. Fecha toda la cosa para el (*poral*) soterra-
miento.
- 309c. Fizo con esta lana el cuerpo envoltar
(*envolcar*).
- 311b. Entendio que ya hiua obrando la motgia
(*metgia*).
- 320d. Guarida e (*es*) la duenya, bien lo puedes
prouar.
- 350b. Quando (*Quando fue*) de siete anyos
dieron la al escuela.
- 358b. Si en esto touieredes seriedes (*seredes*)
enganyada.
- 372b. Catarlo (*catatlo*) en la estoria si a mi non
creyedes.
- 382c. Io mal non meresciendo he a ser mararjada
(*martirizada*).
- 416d. Al que a uos entrare darlo (*datlo*) pora uos
quitar.
- 423c. Quanto tu demandares (*demandases*) yo
tanto te daria.
- 436a. Saluo el Rey sus huespedes e fuelos a (*omit*
a) abraçar.
- 474d. Reçebi su cobido (*conbido*), yante en su
posada.
- 500b. Non prendas su oro que (*qua*) seria gran
pecado.
- 500c. Io te dare dos tanto de lo que (*que te*) el a
mandado.
- 503b. Si tu me la supieses a razon termina
(*terminar*).
- 507c. Del blanco fago negro que (*qua*) es oficio
mio.
- 515d. Aun por auenturas (*auentura*) vere lo que
desseyo.
- 531d. Ante que (*quen*) parieses afogar me deuiste.
- 546c. Echat las coberteras (*coberturas*), corret
vuestros cauallos.
- 573b. Diola a Antinagora, ssenyor de esta (*desta*)
gibdat.
- 592b. Porque con (*en*) Luçiana tan gran ffemencia
miso.
- 602b. Con muy grandes aueres degela (*digela*) a
criar.
- 605a. Fue desta (*de ffiera*) manera rebuelto el
congeio.

The preceding notes are confined to corrections of Janer's text in the light of the actual ms-readings. A subsequent article will contain a series of emendations based on a linguistic study of the poem in its relation to other thirteenth-century works.

The ms. in which the *Apolonio* is found contains also the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca* and the *Libre de los tres reyes doriente*. It may be of interest to print in this connection four verses of the *Santa Maria* which both Pidal and Janer omitted in their editions. The first omission occurs between verses 866-867 (Janer, p. 314, col. 1):

A la mannyana quando se leuantauan,
Con ssu mano sse santiguauan,
Al nombre de dios sse comentauan,
Que non ssabien a do andauan.

The second omission consists of a very faulty passage between verses 954-955 (Janer, p. 314, col. 2):

Non auie otro vestimiento.
Quando aquell erzie el viento
De yuso pareçie la carne quemada del ssol e del viento.
Quando el ssanto omne vio la ffigura
Alla ua ha grant pressura.

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OLD FRENCH LITERATURE.

Les Enseignements de Robert de Ho dits Enseignements Trebor publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Cheltenham par MARY-VANCE YOUNG. Paris, Picard, 1901, 8^{vo}; 176 pp.

This edition of a hitherto unpublished Anglo-Norman poem was presented in 1897 by Miss Young to the University of Zürich as a doctor's dissertation. It consists of 2904 lines, in the main octosyllabic, but with other meters interspersed at times. MS. C being very faulty, P is used as the basis of the edition except for a few passages where it is illegible or where C has additional lines, and for the last 277 lines, P being incomplete at the end. Nothing is known concerning the author except his name, which, after being given in reverse order at the beginning (Trebor), is revealed at the close as Robert de Ho. The poem is a moral disquisition consisting of a series of somewhat disconnected exhortations on worldly and spiritual subjects, in the form of counsels from a father to his son. The author himself gives a list of sources for his maxims at the beginning of the work, which the editor has verified, to the exclusion of practically all those named except Cato and the Bible. This study she has extended to a comparison, so far as practicable, with similar treatises written during the Middle Ages, giving the results in a series of foot-notes to the text which display careful reading and add no little to its value. She would have done well however to embrace Vincent de Beauvais in the list of authors thus compared. The introduction includes a detailed study of the language of MS. P and of the author. The phenomena have been carefully and intelligently collected, but their analysis is not always pursued far enough to secure a proper interpretation of the details.

As has been said, MS. C is very poor, and so P forms the necessary foundation of a critical text. Yet the editor has frequently been able to utilize C in amending the text (cf. the statement on p. 4, top). We have a right then in a critical edition to expect all the variants that C furnishes, except such as are merely graphic, to be put at our disposition in the foot-notes to the text, and the editor states that this has been done (p. 1, bot.). It

would in itself be surprising if C furnished no more variants than those there recorded, and certain remarks in the introduction show that at least in some instances the readings of C are omitted from the foot-notes. Thus the ten variant readings mentioned on pp. 3-4 are not given in the notes. Nor are we sure that we have always in the text the reading of P itself. The statement (p. 22), "*El se trouve comme sujet neutre aux v. 1372, 1663, 2333,*" indicates that the *il* we find in the constituted text is not the manuscript reading, yet the manuscript reading is not given elsewhere, and it is only incidentally, in the introduction, that we learn it is not represented by the text. If the editor has normalized the text, she should tell us what norm she follows, or else give all variations from the manuscript.—From p. 16, top, we learn that the manuscript, in l. 1937, must have *fe*, which the editor has in the text wrongly corrected to *fez*, without giving us a hint that the fault is hers and not the author's.—The manuscript reading for ll. 2167-69 is to be found only on p. 167, to which no reference is given from this passage. The reading for l. 1830 is on p. 165, this time however with a cross reference.

The principle laid down by the editor for the constitution of the text is (p. 3): "*Je n'ai corrigé dans toute l'étendue de la poème que les fautes évidentes*"—a rule that applies admirably to all editing, but the application of which depends altogether on what the individual considers as evident errors. The evidence of some of the "errors" corrected is only surface deep, and a number of passages are passed over in silence which are so manifestly corrupt that they demand discussion or at least mention.

If the glossary is intended as an aid for beginners, the greatest care should have been exercised to distinguish between well-established meanings of words and those which may be presumed to fit the passage; if for more advanced workers, then every unusual interpretation should have been accompanied by a full statement of the reasons which led to its being suggested. It would be interesting to know whether the author has in reserve supplemental lexicographical notes on a number of cases where the definition has the air of being made to order.

Page 30 contains a list of errata, to which others

may be added. The corrections there given to ll. 80, 1588 are themselves errata. P. 12, for *kis les* read *ki les*; p. 23, for *grantement* read *grantment*; line 255, read *lerres* for *erres*; 342, *par* for *per*? 664, *set* for *et*; 780, *gent* for *gente*; 1002, *ateinz* for *ateint[s]*; p. 75, l. 4 from bot., *si che* for *sirche*; line 1230, *refrein(s)* for *refrein[s]*? cf. also p. 24, s. v. *resun*, where there evidently lurks another erratum. Line 1239 read *en grant* for *engrant*; 1250, period; 1765, sc. *E*; 1997, *d. t*; 2498, *pruz* for *ruz*; 2751, period. Read *leement* for *le[e]ment*; 2872, *bon(e)* for *bone*. There are occasional references to the notes from passages to which no note is devoted; so ll. 2047, 2522, 2633, 2772, 2784.

INTRODUCTION. Page 13, bot. Most of the cases given for *e = i* belong rather under the head "*e* for *ei*," and no one of them represents a real tendency for *i* to become *e*. Thus *preant* is not for *priant*, but for *preiant*; so *lera*, *preiere*. In *pré*, *delete*, *lese*, *prese* the *e* stands for *ei*, analogical to the ending-accented forms. *devin* is due to dissimilation; *soufest* arises from a confusion with *faire*; *dez* and *el* are cases of the substitution of one word for another. Similarly *ei* in *empeirer* (p. 14) is not for *i*. *te*, 1274, might also have been cited equally well. (*preis* for *pris*, 71, 296, not mentioned by the editor, is on *preisier*.) It is a still more inexact form of statement to say that *s* final is omitted in the cases cited pp. 15-16: *fe*, imperative, is supposed to stand for *fais* (!); in *l'estoire de Bretons*, 2081, *de* is not *des*, but is due to the omission of the article with names of peoples—cf. Meyer-Lubke, *Gram.*, III, § 144; *te*, 1274, is nom. plu. mas., and should have no *s*; *au privez*, 2218, may have been originally *af privez*, then the *f* mistaken for an *l*, and the *l* written *u*.—Page 20. *au bien garder*, 1453, *del tarier*, 2281, etc., are cited as containing the pronoun *le*, and the reference to Tobler, *Vrai Aniel*, note to l. 5, is given. *Le* is not and cannot be a pronoun when it stands before the infinitive, since only the tonic form is permitted in that position. Tobler corrected his earlier statement in A. N. S. L., xxvi, 288.—Page 21. *te* in *te ai je dit*, 1027, is of course merely an additional case of scribal *e* for *ei*, the tonic form being perfectly permissible in this position.—Page 21, bot. *Lei*. The examples should be differentiated; in 2223, *lei* equals *ta viande* and so must stand for *li* obl. tonic fem. In the other

two passages it is clearly masculine, but the verb in each case is in the position which permits an atonic pronoun to follow it, and the pronoun is unemphatic, so it is better to consider *lei* as scribal for *le* rather than manufacture a tonic *lei* by proportional analogy. Judging from the editor's comments, *le(i)* should be read for *le[i]* in 2257.—Page 22, top. Is the reference to 2345 correct? If so, the remark does not apply. In this passage we are not informed whether the constituted text, which here varies from P, follows C, and if not, what the reading of C is.—Page 22. The editor's comment to *le*, 51, made, it seems, before *de le* was properly read *d'ele*, is to be struck out.

TEXT. Line 71, *Qui par cest guai[n]g n'a nul preis*. *guaing* is a scribal substitution of substantive for verb, the mistake being due to the preceding *cest*. The editor (note to l. 63) takes it for a subjunctive, but we may restore the indicative *guaigne* if we concede this reduced form for *gaaaigne*, which is not in itself improbable, though l. 683 is the only passage in the poem really supporting it (l. 2398, *Fiz, ne lesse tes gaigneries*, might easily be read: *Fiz, ne lai tes gaaaigneries*). The liberties taken with the diaeresis in connection with this word are manifold; cf. *guäing*, 71; *güeneras*, 1210; *guaing*, 1290, 1293; *gu[a]aignier*, 1518; *gua[a]igneras*, 2322; *gaaigne*, 2403. The correct form is of course *guaai-*. Lack of system in the use of the diaeresis is not limited to this word. *poez* = *pöez*, 1999, etc.; *poez* = *poez*, 214, etc.; so *loer* = *löer*, *oez* = *öez*, 238, 2347; *nient*, 2293, *nient*, 2548; *seur* = *sëur*, 2638, but *ëust*, 765, *säülates*, 1845; *fiereit*, 2545; *excusation*, 2757, *nascion*, 2875, *passion*, 2875, *subjectiun*, 835; but *religion*, 2847, *dilectiun*, 918; *senefia*, 838, etc., etc.—Line 78. The common scribal substitution of one *l* for two. Read: *Ne mes k'il [l] eit tot desservi*.—Line 97. *Plus tost* for *plustost*.—Line 171. The editor's correction is unnecessary and gives one syllable over. Read with the manuscript: *Et se tu le les, terra tei*.—Line 219. The reading of C, *E encore*, seems better.—Line 236. *Tu deiz parler plus e sovent*; read [*Que*] *tu deiz parler plus (e) sovent*?—Line 254. Semicolon.—Line 281. Comma after *grant*.—Line 298. Comma.—Line 361. The *l* of *de[l]* is unnecessary.—Line 369. Colon.—Line 435. Semicolon.—Line 491. *Ker qui autre [si] het a tort*. In view of the *si* in the next line, [*si*]

is a poor emendation. *re* would be the syllable most naturally omitted, being mistaken by the scribe for a repetition of the end of the word *autre*, and *rehet* indicates the correlation of the actions of the two parties.—Line 499. ms. P has *Se vos eu ami*; C: *Si vos avez eu .1. ami*; the editor emends: *Se vos avez en ui (IN ODIU!) ami*; read *Se vos avez un enemi*.—Line 511. P: *Kil vos veit*; C: *Kil vos fet*; editor: *Ke il vos feit*; emend: *K'il le vos fet*.—Line 671. Read *Ainz (l')aresone l'envious*, omitting *l'*, since the context shows that *l'envious* is the object.—Lines 879–880. The editor's radical emendation of the text will not bear even a preliminary test, since it gives a syllable too many in 880. It is useless for others to attempt a reconstitution, since the reading for this passage in the second manuscript is not placed at our disposal. Lines 915–918. *Encore en autre leu nos enseigne e aprent—Dont [ne] gueres de garde ne se donent la gent—Que d'(e) euvre e de parole le commençal esguart Hom ke l'en puet avoir, seit il tost, seit il tart*. The translation given in the note is not satisfactory. *soi doner garde de* is not “se garder de,” but “faire attention à,” “se soucier de.” *Hom* is subject of *esguart*, and *ke l'en puet avoir* cannot be “de celui que l'on peut avoir (pour ami).” If the reading stands it must mean “le commencement que l'on peut avoir.” Farther on in the note read *et puis que* for *et puisque*.—Lines 925–927. *Vos veez meint parole qui sa reison n'entent, Quant il vient a la fin, donc ne vaut el neient. Dont le commençal (fu) pris[t] ne de quei ne de qui, etc.* *Meint parole* is evidently wrong; *meint parler* would render the construction normal, but in either case 927 remains without grammatical or logical connection. C supplies a reading for the two lines much nearer to the thought; which simplifies the construction and must almost certainly be used in arriving at the original. Perhaps: *Kar meint hom molt parole bien al comencement, Quant il vient a la fin que donc un point n'entent Dont, etc.*—Line 980. *reste*, read *rest(e)*. Line 1000. Comma for semicolon.—Line 1001. The *s* in *fors de[s]* *denz* is unnecessary.—Line 1006. Semicolon for comma.—Line 1120, note. The alternative reading suggested will not stand, and is unnecessary, since the use of *escoutez*, past part., obl. plu., referring to *vos*, used of a single person, needs no explanation for an author so careless of his de-

clension.—Line 1214, note. *Des amis vet tot ensement, Ice saches qui bien l'entent* needs no emendation but simply a comma after *saches*; cf. *V. B.*, I², p. 119.—Line 1323, note. The contrast in ll. 1323–1326 is not necessarily illogical. Hope of reward that is sure (because well-merited) is contrasted with hope that is unmerited.

Line 1466. *Donc lessies le menacier* is one syllable short. The 2 plur. *lessiés* would be remarkable here between *tu* of the preceding and *te* of the following line. The correct reading *lai ester* is suggested by C; cf. l. 171.—Line 1519. *Mes que il dit verité*: change *dit* to *dise*. Construction and meter unite in demanding the subjunctive.—Lines 1538–46. In the vocabulary *premiere* is given as “la principale chose”, with a reference to this passage. *Première* is in reality an adjective (sc. *nature* from 1536). The editor unnecessarily tortures l. 1545 in the notes. Read with C: *La dereine* (cf. l. 613) *tient la premiere* (sc. with both adjectives *nature*).—Line 1607. Semicolon for comma.—Line 1636. *l'ame si tue*, read *se tue*.—Line 1671. *Mes salve ton ennor garder*. This would be a very early example of *honneur* as masculine, or of *ton* before feminines, and the former hypothesis is excluded, for *honneur* occurs in the line immediately preceding as feminine. Restore the normal form to *salve* and put the tonic pronoun: *Mes salf la toe ennor garder*; cf. *la meie amor*, 1827.—Line 1686. *ai* is no doubt a misprint.—Line 1718. [*le*] *sun saint plesir*; read *suen*. Cf. Meyer-Lubke, *Gram.*, III, § 168.—Line 1747. Better, comma instead of period and then period at end of 1751.—Lines 1751, 1772, etc. *en droit* should be written as one word.—Line 1774. *De(l) boen dreit jugeür*. The *l* should not be cut out. Read *suen*?—Line 1828. *Quant por la meie amor Vos requis(t) le menor*. The *t* should not be cut out; *le menor* is subject. The lines are a paraphrase of *quandiu non fecistis uni de minoribus his, nec mihi fecistis* (Matt. xxv, 45) and have no connection with Luke xii, 26, cited in the footnote. Cf. also ll. 1865–68.—Line 1830. Read *l'essor* for *lessor*.—Lines 1853–54. Substitute the *les* of ms. C in both lines for the *le* referring to *dras*.—Line 1866. Move comma to end of 1867.—Line 1883. Read *por* for *par*.—Line 1896. *Eüns* (i. e. *ayons*) *en l'erité* can hardly be correct. Read *Entruns* (subjunctive)?—Line 2165. *Ke le*

plus trehent la cordele. It is unnecessary to give here a figurative interpretation to *cordele* as is done in the notes and vocabulary, and that given, "compagnie, bande", is not suited to the passage.—Line 2320. *tuen*, read *suen*.—Line 2343. Does the dotted line indicate a lacuna, and if so was it indicated in the manuscript? The construction does not render it necessary to assume one.—Line 2350. Comma at end and cut out comma after *travail*.—Line 2354.—Read *porras* for *poeras*.—Line 2368. *Ne trop afie[s] a ton savoir.* Is *s* a misprint or has the editor voluntarily thrown a surplus syllable into the line? The correct subjunctive of *fier* has the necessary number of syllables.—Line 2379. Comma for period, since *qui*, 2380, *la*, 2381, 2383, all refer to *folie*.—Lines 2420–21. Put comma after 2419, cut out the comma after 2420, and change period to comma, 2422. The *que* in 2420 is not repeated by the *que* in 2421, as stated in the vocabulary, but by the *que* in 2423. The *sachiez* is then put in parenthetically, or rather there is a change of construction due to the distance of *que cil le gaberont* from *d'une rien puet estre cert.* The central idea is not that all his neighbors will hate him, but that, having won the hate of all his neighbors, even those to whom he addressed his slanders will ridicule him.—Lines 2476 ff. I am unable to interpret these lines, but the editor's translation: "La vie cherche à nous engouffrer, cette vie qui est vaine a desirer (*sic!*) ici en comparaison de la certaine etc." is certainly far afield. If I could cite any early example of *enjôler* in the figurative sense, I should read: *Nos quiert (a) engeoler*, and translate: "It (*fol desir*) seeks to entrap us into desiring the present life, which is vain, rather than", etc.—Lines 2518, 2575. Except in diplomatic reproductions of a manuscript, *aueront*, *deuerum* should be written *auront*, *devrum*.—Line 2531, note. "*Tot=tost?*" By no means. *Tot le cors*="au grand galop".—Lines 2664–65. *Gard k'en (ta) juvente fet aiez Tel ren que par honor retraiez.* If the editor thinks the text of C too corrupt to permit in all cases an attempt to restore the readings in that part of the poem lacking in P, it might at least be expected that attention would be called to verses left with an improper number of syllables. Nor is *gard*, 2664, 2704, subjunctive for imperative, as stated on p. 24,

since this would be *garz*. For *gard* read *garde*; the *z* of *aiez*, *retraiez* is for *s*, which gives both lines the proper number of syllables.

GLOSSARY. A, 89: translate "pour", as in *avoir a*, and not "comme un."—Asez, read 239 for 293.—Celement, read *celeement* and translate as an adverb.—Charier is three syllables; read *charjer*=*chargier*.—De. *d'une denree*, 119, rather than specification should be said to express measure.—Demander, 1297, does not mean "être prié", but is the infinitive taken substantively.—Demorant. *quei qu'augent demorant*, 2557, is neither "quand déjà vieux" nor "quoiqu'encore vivant", but *n'importe combien ils s'attardent*.—Dormant, 155, read 150. It is misleading to give *dormant* as an adjective "adonné au sommeil"; *dormant* is the present participle in its usual meaning forming with *seies* the periphrastic form.—Element. The editor surely has no intention of saying that *element* is not common enough in the Latin meaning; cf. Godefroy, *Comp.*, s. v.—Empendre and Encuidier should be omitted; in the text stand correctly *en pert*, *en cuide*.—En. The remark to 2314 has no place in a section devoted to the preposition *en*.—Enginnier, 357 (read 356) is not "arranger" but *tromper*.—Enpleier, 2291, is not "réussir", but has its usual meaning, the object being omitted as is frequent when infinitives are used substantively; cf. *V. B.*, II, 85 n.—Fin in the meaning given should be omitted; cf. *errata*.—Forslignier, 2039. The following *par gentil* indicates that the definition "quitter les (mauvaises) traditions et habitudes de son lignage", is incorrect. Perhaps it would be better to read *forsl[o]ignie*; cf. the examples in Godefroy, s. v.—Guarnir. Read *word*, heed for *ward*, *hied*.—Planier, read *planier*.—Que. The references to 1655, 2410, 2518, 2254, 1118–19 seem to be typographical errors. The translation "comme un" for *que* in the construction *faire que fols* is syntactically misleading. In 271–273 the *que* has no double function.—Repouvoir, 966. The *re-* is "de son coté" as in *restre*, 100, 980.—Sorfactus, read *sorfaitus*.—Sonate, read *souate*.—Sorfet, 1175, read 1174.—Soudee, "qui est venu subitement". Has the editor examples of this meaning in French or is it simply assumed from the Latin and Catalan?—Tant, 1223, read 1224.

The editing of texts is a work demanding such

wide experience and information that selecting it as a subject for doctors' dissertations should be discouraged. A dissertation represents as a rule the trial work of a beginner, who can do justice neither to the text nor to himself. We can congratulate Miss Young, however, on the extensive study and reading shown by her edition, and shall look with interest to what may come in future from her pen.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

A. MOREL-FATIO, *Fernán Caballero d'après sa correspondance avec Antoine de Latour* (Extrait du Bulletin hispanique, July-Sept., 1901), Bordeaux and Paris, 1901.

At the request of the nephew of Antoine de Latour, M. Morel-Fatio has undertaken to classify the letters that form the Spanish part of the correspondence of that French littérateur. In the present article he presents a summary of the contents of some hundreds of letters sent to Latour by the Spanish novelist, Cecilia Böhl von Faber, who is best known by her pseudonym of Fernán Caballero, and in doing this he gives us much new information not to be found in the accounts of Fernán Caballero's life and works already published by F. de Gabriel and J. M. Asensio. Before giving an analysis of the letters to Latour, M. Morel-Fatio stresses the importance, for a biographical study of the Spanish authoress, of the correspondence that passed between her father, Nicolás Böhl von Faber, and various members of the Campe family, for in his epistles to the Campes, Nicolás constantly speaks of his gifted daughter.

Fernán Caballero's literary tendencies were inherited from both her father and mother, for while the former is noted for the part which he, a German, played in Spain by reviving interest in the drama of Calderón and by publishing his *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas*, the latter, a Spaniard of Irish ancestry, is known to have made a translation of Byron's *Manfred*. Of her mother, Fernán Caballero has little to say in her letters, but she speaks with pride of her father and

the work accomplished by him. This feeling with respect to her father is seen well exemplified in two letters now preserved in the Public Library of Boston, Mass., in which at the instance of George Ticknor, she discusses the part played by her father in certain literary quarrels. M. Morel-Fatio gives an extract from these letters, of which copies were furnished him by the Librarian of the Boston Public Library. In accordance with the principles recommended by Taine, M. Morel-Fatio seeks to discover the different influences of race, training and surroundings in the development of the future novelist, and he finds that from her German father she derived her sentimentalism, her feeling for order and method, her practical good sense and her customary mental balance, while to her mother she owed her ardent faith and piety, her intense Catholicism, and her hatred for Napoleonic France. Her early training under a French-speaking governess and in a French boarding-school at Hamburg, as well as her great fondness for the French novel, explain the appreciable influence of French methods on her literary development. In her very first work, a novel written in German as early as 1833, she adopted much of the manner of the current French *roman-feuilleton*, although her realistic tendencies were also there visible. Strangely enough, she seems to have been but imperfectly acquainted with the earlier literature of Spain.

The correspondence with Antoine de Latour extended over a period of twenty years, from 1856 to 1876. It reveals at once the fact that the spirits of the two were closely akin, conservative alike in religion and politics, and that Latour was the literary guide and counsellor of the Spanish writer. She makes him her confidant in everything, now chafing against the contentions of reviewers who claimed her for Germany when she meant to be deemed a Simon-pure Spaniard, and again giving him ample descriptions of certain members of her family. She has much to say about her married life, dealing especially with her third husband, the ill-starred Arrom. A clipping from an English newspaper, preserved by Latour, gives an account of Arrom's suicide, and makes it clear that he was insane when he took his own life. Of the sad period that followed for Fernán Caballero, and of her later experiences in the Alcázar, the letters afford a detailed record. Not the least interesting

trait that they display is her detestation of bull-fighting, of which she speaks thus: "Je ne suis pas seule à penser-ainsi, croyez-moi; surtout en théorie, tous les gens d'une certaine éducation protestent contre les *corridos*; ils y vont par un entraînement qu'ils déplorent." She was a great lover of animals and always condemned cruelty toward them.

It is undoubtedly true, as M. Morel-Fatio says, that much information of value to the historian of Spanish literature of the 19th century is to be found in the pages of this correspondence with Latour. Previous biographies have published the fact that the novel *Gaviota* was originally written in French, a language which Fernán used with facility, but it has not been generally known hitherto that the Castilian translation of it was prepared by José Joaquín de Mora. This she herself states, but M. Morel-Fatio is inclined to think that she exaggerates the part played by Mora; still, her statement is to be borne in mind in connection with any criticism of the style of the work. She reveals another interesting fact, when she says that the *Familia de Alvarada* was first written in German. In the opinions enunciated with regard to contemporary writers, whether friends or adversaries, she is very candid, but still sufficiently moderate and courteous. She speaks of Antonio de Trueba and Gertrudis de Avellaneda in sincerely friendly terms, yet she cannot forbear criticizing the former's abuse of diminutives and the latter's *pose*. Of Juan Valera, who excepted to her extreme traditionalism, she speaks in rather harsh tones, but she really exaggerated Valera's dislike for her.

M. Morel-Fatio is no fervent admirer of Fernán Caballero, the novelist, and the result of his investigation is that "la femme vaut mieux encore que l'écrivain." He does justice to her great labors in collecting Spanish folklore and divulging a knowledge of it; but he argues with more emphasis for her rehabilitation as the Mme. de Sévigné of Spanish literature of the 19th century:

"Les lettres à Latour, qui sont une vraie révélation, vengeront sa mémoire de l'oubli où tombera infailliblement une partie considérable de son oeuvre littéraire, et si, comme tout le fait espérer, une main pieuse se charge du soin de les publier, ces lettres la réhabiliteront en donnant à la riche littérature espagnole du XIX^e siècle la Sévigné qui lui manquait encore."

To M. Morel-Fatio's skill in the presentation of this study of Fernán Caballero, too much praise cannot be given. The sketch simply reminds us of the already familiar fact that he is the greatest foreign critic of Spanish literature.

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FRENCH LANGUAGE.

Chrestomathie française, par JEAN PASSY, et ADOLPHE RAMBEAU; Henry Holt & Co., New York: H. Le Soudier, Paris; 1901, 2^{me} édition; pp. LI + 253.

The first edition of this well-known and very useful work, illustrating the most advanced aims of those who favor the "reform" method in acquiring the modern languages, received due recognition in a review in MOD. LANG. NOTES for November, 1897, by one of the pioneers in this country in encouraging the study of phonetics. The fact that two years after the appearance of the first edition, it became necessary to take steps to prepare a second, testifies to a slow but steady increase all along the line in interest in this method of language study. The Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon countries take more kindly to the innovation than do the Latin nations, judging by the literature on the subject which the former have produced. Indeed, this is now so extensive that there may be reason to think there is some foundation for the fears of those who believe the end is being sacrificed to the means. Be this as it may, the need of a reaction against the routine system so long in vogue made itself sensibly felt; and if now the pendulum may have swung a little far the other way, the good results of the movement are none the less apparent. I believe the statement will be generally accepted, that no better system for representing French sounds has as yet been invented than that now in vogue and so long used by the Association Phonétique Internationale. Moreover the system is in more general use to-day than any other. To be sure, in many cases, it is accepted with certain modifications. For instance, so excellent a text-book as Rossmann and Schmidt's *Lehrbuch*, which has gone through a number of

editions takes exception to the symbols $\mathfrak{p} = gn$ in *regner*, $\sigma = eu$ in *peu*; $\alpha = eu$ in *peur*; $\tilde{\alpha} =$ the nasal in *un*; $\mathfrak{y} =$ the sound of French *u* in *pu*; and $\mathfrak{y} = u$ in *suif*; for which sounds the authors substitute respectively \tilde{n} , \tilde{o} , $\tilde{\sigma}$, $\tilde{\tilde{o}}$, \tilde{u} , and \tilde{w} ; that is to say, symbols with diacritics over them. It may be well questioned whether in doing this they have made any improvement upon the alphabet as a whole. In regard to legibility, the characters substituted are somewhat more easily decipherable, which is so much in their favor. On the other hand, the beauty of the A. P. I. alphabet is that, with the exception of the symbols for the nasals and possibly σ , it can be written quite rapidly without removing continually the pen in order to insert diacritics. The case here cited is brought up simply to illustrate just what particular symbols occasion the most dissatisfaction. It is not my belief that this alphabet is so well adopted to other idioms—notably English—as to French. Nevertheless, it is being used in an international way more extensively than any other system, witness in this country, Professor Hempl's series of *Ideo-phonetic Texts*. Articles, too, embodying the results of dialect-research are frequently recorded by means of the A. P. I. alphabet. In addition to the symbols already mentioned, the signs $\mathfrak{j} = y$ in *yeux*, $\mathfrak{f} = ch$ in *chat*, have not infrequently been tabooed. In addition to the present text, what has done more than any other material published in this country to make generally known the admirable system of French phonetic transcription advocated by Messrs. Passy and Rambeau, is the use of it *without a single modification* in the Fraser and Squair *French Grammar*. It is fortunate for the success of the system, which is almost practically assured, that it has been made known throughout the United States and Canada by means of so favorable a medium.

The second edition of the *Chrestomathie* is typographically clearer than the first edition; aesthetically, as regards book-making, it is also superior. The many mistakes in printing that occurred in the first edition and that are practically unavoidable in the preparation of a like work, have been reduced to a minimum. Although the divergence in type, to indicate the phrase intonation, slightly mars the general appearance of the page, the obvious advantage derived from this device is more

than an adequate compensation. The selections are well chosen in that they are both entertaining and very well adapted for the purpose in view. M. Rambeau has done well in adhering, in the body of the text itself, to the original paging of the first edition. The bibliography, which forms a part of the luminous introduction to the work, has been brought down to date and is very useful. Professor Rambeau has dedicated the volume to his lamented colleague Jean Passy, whose loss is sincerely mourned by scholars and particularly by those to whom the cause of phonetics is dear.

J. GEDDES, JR.

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LA CHANSON DE ROLAND IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF FRANCE.

MAURICE BOUCHOR, *La Chanson de Roland traduite en vers à l'usage des écoles normales, lycées et collèges, écoles primaires supérieures, cours complémentaires*. Paris, 1901.

France is no longer ignorant of her epic poetry. The process of vulgarization which was very slow at first has been greatly accelerated in recent years, and at present, as may be seen by the title of the work mentioned above, the national epic has found its way even into the schools of the people. Léon Gautier who spent his life in the two-fold labor of giving a critical text of the *Roland*, and in popularizing the national epic poetry, wrote in the last edition of his *Épopées Françaises*: "*nous voulons tout faire servir à la vulgarisation de notre vieux poème, et nous ne nous estimerons satisfaits que le jour où il sera aussi populaire qu'au XI^e siècle.*" His desire is being realized to-day with a rapidity that would surprise the scholars who resurrected a literature long forgotten, and unknown even in its native country. For a quarter of a century after the publication of the Oxford text of the *Chanson de Roland* it was known to only a few savants. Prior to 1865 but three translations, or more properly *rajeunissements*, were made, and none of them, entirely worthy of the subject.¹ In 1865 Alex. de Saint-Albin published a prose translation which in 1880 had

¹ Décluze, 1845; Genin, 1850; Jonain, 1861.

reached a fourth edition. In 1870 Alfred Lehouguer published a *rajeunissement* in verse, and not long afterwards Léon Gautier² brought out his first edition which contained both the text and translation on opposite pages. In 1878 the late Professor Petit de Julleville published a metrical version in which he discarded rhyme and imitated the assonance of the original *Roland*. Notwithstanding the merit of the work, the utility of reproducing a form of versification unfamiliar to modern ears may well be doubted. The only object of a translation is to render a literature, inaccessible in its original form, appreciable to the general public. It is the spirit of the work that the translator should try to reproduce, the form can be appreciated fully only in the original.

Up to this time the translations of the *Roland* were all designed only for the literary public. Now another and more advanced step has been taken in the popularization. In 1881 the translation of Gautier was published without the text, but with illustrations. This innovation was soon followed by others who, to make the work more accessible to the young, made translations of only the principal incidents, but linked them together so as to conserve the spirit of the poem and leave the story complete. The earliest of these editions destined particularly for the young is that of Feuilleret.³ Another version destined for the same public was published by Édouard Roehrich in 1885. It is partly in verse, partly in prose, the author taking that method of preserving the story and versifying only the more dramatic portions. The version recently made by M. Bouchor, and which is the excuse for this article, is therefore no innovation, but simply the evolution of a method inaugurated more than twenty years ago.

During this period two acts of school legislation have completely changed the position of *La Chanson de Roland* in educational circles. At first the professors of literature in the secondary schools scorned the medieval epics. They were ably seconded by the classical critics for whom French

literature dates from Malherbe. Notwithstanding this indifference or open criticism, in 1878 the council of public instruction passed an act requiring the candidates for the *agrégation des classes supérieures et des classes de grammaire* to pass an examination in *La Chanson de Roland*. This was the first introduction of the old epic literature into the schools, but it only concerned the teachers. The second act, passed in 1886, added *La Chanson de Roland* to the number of French classics to be taught in the upper classes of the *Lycées*. This was a step of much greater significance, and necessitated new material of instruction. Even if it were advisable to teach the language of the eleventh century to students of that grade, the great mass of the teachers were unable to perform the task creditably. But such was not the purpose of the act. The design was to teach the literature of the *Roland*, but not the language, at least not in the philological sense. The best means, therefore, was to make the poem known to the pupils by a *rajeunissement* that would convey as nearly as possible the heroic spirit, and supplement that with oral explanations.

Such is the method recommended by Léon Gautier, to whom is due in large measure the introduction of the subject into the curriculum of the secondary schools:

"La meilleure façon d'enseigner notre vieux poème, ce serait, suivant nous, de le lire à haute voix devant les élèves; ce serait de le lire en une traduction claire, colorée et chaude, au lieu d'aborder le texte original, dont l'accès est encore trop malaisé aux débutants.

Donc, le professeur divisera le *Roland* en un certain nombre d'épisodes qu'il lira l'un après l'autre et commentera oralement, etc."

The translation of M. Bouchor is designed for the same method of teaching the old epic to the young. It is in verse and while the author is not perhaps a great poet he has imbibed the spirit of his original, and reproduces well the epic tone. The form of his versification is worthy of note, and may be due to the influence of the modern school.⁴

² This continues to be the standard school text. In 1878 a revision by the author made it thoroughly critical, and in 1887 another revision fitted it for use in secondary schools.

³ *La Chanson de Roland. Traduction, réduite et annotée pour la jeunesse, par H. Feuilleret. Limoges. Preface dated 1877.*

⁴ Such is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the following: "... je n'ai eu aucun scrupule, en rimant pour l'oreille, à ne pas rimer toujours exactement pour l'œil. D'autre part, j'ai accepté un hiatus indispensable (tu es), et j'en eusse admis bien d'autres sans remords, la règle qui proscriit l'hiatus n'ayant, à mon avis, qu'une utilité très relative, et discutable suivant les cas." Note 1, p. 161.

A priori one would suppose that in the rendition of a heroic poem the translator would choose the national heroic verse, the alexandrin. On the contrary, M. Bouchor has chosen quite a different meter, the eight line stanza of Villon, with verses of ten syllables. It is a *mouvement* certainly much more capable of rendering the fire, elasticity and spontaneity of the old epic than the stately swing of the alexandrin.

The translation is approximately complete but makes no claim to being literal. Here again the author has a correct idea considering the purpose of the work. In general a *laisse* long or short is rendered by a stanza, but sometimes two or more stanzas are devoted to a single *laisse*.

Since the original *Roland* was composed not to be read but to be recited, M. Bouchor has made his version with the same purpose in view. Each of the three classic divisions of the poem, the treachery, the disaster, and the punishment is subdivided into a considerable number of scenes, or tableaux; the first contains ten, the second eighteen, the third nine. As many of the scenes are more or less episodic, some may be omitted or summarized in a word by the reader, if the time at his disposal is not sufficient for the recital of the entire work. This arrangement and the detailed recommendations of the translator⁵ reveal another use of the old epic which has already come into vogue, namely popular readings for the general public, or before literary clubs.

All this indicates a popularization of the *Roland* that surpasses the expectation of its most ardent admirers, and is something new and unique in modern education. Not since the days of the ancient Greeks has a national epic received such a place in the literary education of a people. It is for this reason solely that the work of M. Bouchor deserves a brief mention. It will aid in the vulgarization of the *Roland* and that is the only purpose of the author. For the few notes, explanations and the short glossary which accompany his version he claims no originality. He has simply borrowed from the learned editions of the poem the explanations, historical, philological and archeological which are necessary for an intelligent reading.

EDGAR E. BRANDON.

Paris.

⁵ P. 163 ff.

SPANISH THEATRE.

Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo Español en los Siglos XVI y XVII, recogidos por D. CRISTÓBAL PÉREZ PASTOR. Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista Española, 1901. 16^{mo}.

Dr. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, one of the best known among the Spanish scholars of to-day, a distinguished bibliographer and worthy successor of Gallardo and LaBarrera, here presents us with another important volume, though this time it is quite a small one. His patient and painstaking investigations in the Archives of Madrid and other cities have enriched our knowledge of Spanish literature with a mass of almost invaluable facts concerning the lives of some of the greatest literary men of the golden age of Spanish letters, witness his *Documentos Cervantinos* (of which a *Segunda Parte* is promised soon to appear), and his *Proceso de Lope de Vega por Libelos contra unos Cómicos*, the latter lighting up many dark corners in the life of Spain's greatest dramatic poet, and clearing away more than one of the many mysteries that have enveloped the singular career of this most mysterious genius.

The present little volume concerns itself wholly with the Spanish Theatre, its actors and actresses, and its managers or *autores*; and though it does not purport to be a history of the Spanish stage, it is infinitely more valuable in some respects than the confused and shambling work of Casiano Pellicer, and furnishes abundant material for the future writer who shall undertake the task of chronicling the history and development of the Spanish stage. To anyone who is interested in the great Lope de Vega, or in Tirso or Calderon, and the actors who first produced their immortal *comedias*, there is much that is exceedingly interesting in these *Nuevos Datos*. Here we get the first really reliable information concerning the compensation received by the players during this greatest period of the Spanish drama. We learn, for instance, that Maria Calderon, *La bella Calderona*, the mother of one of the sons of Philip IV, received on December 7, 1632, ten hundred and fifty reals for appearing in two *autos* and two *comedias* in the town of Pinto on two successive days; and that Maria de Córdoba or *Amarilis*, as she was called, the wife of the *autor* Andres de la Vega,

agreed, at about the same time, to go to the town of Duganzo to represent two comedias, for which she was to receive eight hundred reals, beside free transportation and *la comida* for herself and maid. Here we find settled definitely who *la gallarda* Jusepa Vaca was, perhaps the most famous actress of her time. She was the daughter of Juan Ruiz de Mendi, a theatrical manager, and of Mariana Vaca, and was the wife of Juan de Morales Medrano, *autor de comedias*, to whom she was married on December 27, 1602. She was still living in 1634. We learn also that that famous *autor*, Hernán Sánchez de Vargas, died in prison at Madrid, in 1644,—a wretched end to a long and chequered career.

These are only a few of the most famous *histriones* taken at random from Dr. Pérez Pastor's extremely interesting book, in which are noted the names of about fourteen hundred actors and actresses. It is the most important contribution to the history of the Spanish stage that has been made for many a year.

HUGO ALBERT RENNERT.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Edited by JAMES A. HARRISON, Professor in the University of Virginia. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1902. (17 vols.)

The position of Poe in the world of letters being now well established, and the mists and shadows which ignorance and malevolence had cast over his life and work having been to a large extent cleared away, it was time that a scholarly, authentic, and definitive edition of his writings should be produced; and such an edition is that which lies before us.

Poe's own desire that "what I have written should circulate as I wrote it, if it circulate at all"—a desire too lightly regarded by former editors—has been the guiding principle of Professor Harrison. For the original texts he has gone, wherever possible, to the publications in which they first appeared, in some cases enriched with Poe's MS. annotations. Collation of these texts with that of the first edition of the collected works enables us to see the extent and character of the garblings, omissions, transpositions, and additions

of the first editor. Many interesting articles and reviews, never before reproduced have been discovered and authenticated, and much light has been thrown on the poet's life, opinions, and character from manuscripts and correspondence secured from many sources, and now for the first time given to the public.

An especially valuable feature of this edition is the fact that the writings are arranged in chronological order, thus showing not only the development of his powers, but also the modification of his views. For example, Poe wrote at three different times three widely different reviews of Hawthorne, which here appear in their proper order. The first editor chopped these up and, by jumbling fragments together, made a composite review which does not represent Poe's opinions at any one time.

The biography of Poe has been prepared with conscientious care, and much of the obscurity hitherto covering parts of his career has been swept away. We have here no "demoniacoseraphic" abnormality, as he has been depicted by some, but a hard-working man of genius manfully striving against many adversities and one unhappy weakness. His vigorous and independent criticism brought upon him the undying hostility of certain cliques, who, when his keen pen was no longer to be feared, took their revenge in blackening his memory.

This edition is further enriched by critical estimates of Poe's work, and by portraits and other illustrations.

Professor Harrison has so carefully gone over the whole field, that there can be but little, if anything, left for the most painstaking gleaner; and we cannot doubt that this will be accepted as the standard, if not the final, edition of Poe.

WM. HAND BROWNE.

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A GLOSSARY OF AMERICANISMS.

A New Dictionary of Americanisms, being a Glossary of Words Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States and the Dominion of Canada, by SYLVA CLAPIN. New York: Louis Weiss & Co. [1902?] 8vo, pp. xvi, 581. \$4. Sold by subscription.

Mr. Sylva Clapin, author of a *Dictionnaire canadien-français* and of *La France transatlantique*:

le Canada, has recently published, under this title, a somewhat pretentious work on the American vocabulary. Just what share Mr. Clapin had in the work is not quite clear: he himself makes no statement whatever. A "Preface of the Editors," whoever they are, presents the book to the public. The volume professes to contain 5,258 entries; the compiler has apparently discarded some "slang words of merely temporary vogue, mispronunciations, grammatical errors, and even wearisome repetitions," to be found in Bartlett, which contains more than 5,600 entries.

Among numerous omissions which we have noted are the following: *crow's nest*, "apple pudding"; *to go in snucks*; *doffer*, a child-worker in the Lowell, Mass., mills in 1825; *elder*, "a preacher, minister"; *horning*, "a chivaree"; *how do you segashuate?* "how do you do?"; *to toe the mark*; *to go up Salt River*; *to take a shine to*; *go-devil*, in the oil-regions, the "drill"; *primlicoes*, "one's best clothes"; *pope-night*; *pernickety*, *pernickely*; *Job's Coffin*, "the Pleiades"; *overlooker*, "an overseer"; *squinch-owl*, "the screech-owl"; *Cernean rite*, referred to on p. 1; *little bugger*, "little fellow"; *hot tamale*; *duck on the rock*; *curly maple* (only *curled maple* occurs); *frosh*; *traipse*; *spile-driver*, "pile-driver"; *near*, "stingy"; *to get onto*, "perceive, comprehend"; *democrat wagon*; *to cut a swell*; *Tunker* (cp. *Dunker*); *dinky*, adj.; *yammer*, "cry."

There are, moreover, many errors and misrepresentations, betraying a woefully insufficient acquaintance with the American vocabulary. We do not believe that *hominy* is common throughout the Union, though the use of the word is spreading. *Coon's age* is not limited to the South, nor is *ouch*. Decoration Day is said to occur "generally towards the end of May"; true. *Out of fox* is apparently a misprint for *out of fix*. Pigs are not always called *hogs*. *Hi-spy* is not limited to the vocabulary of little girls. *Goody-goody* means rather an excessively pious person. *Friends* is not in general use for "relations" (i. e. relatives). Many other words are not definitely located, the compiler thus leaving us to infer that they are generally employed; while a large number of words which are said to be limited to New England are used wherever immigrants from New England have brought them, especially in New York and the

middle West. For *vail*, p. 414, l. 16, read *tail*; p. 568, l. 11, read *wishes*; p. 573, l. 6 f. b., read *is*; p. xii, l. 16, read *preceding*.

What is the meaning, of such statements as these: "*abolitiondom*: a strictly grammatical word," etc.; "*meat market*: in [New?] England, a butcher's shop"; "*dead give-away* . . . also used as a verb"; "*crooked*: said of anything stolen"; "*daisy* . . . often used particularly when speaking of the physical attributes of a woman", etc.?

Appendix I, showing what words the Indians, the French, the Dutch, the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Mexicans contributed, and Appendix II, "substantives classed according to analogy" (whatever that means) have some value. Appendix III includes reprints of the following: "Americanisms", by Dr. Aubrey (from *Leisure Hour*); "Wild Flowers of English Speech in America", by Edward Eggleston (from *The Century*); "The Philology of Slang", by E. B. Tylor (from *Macmillan's Magazine*); and "The Function of Slang", by Brander Matthews (from *Harper's Magazine*).

This is not the best dictionary of Americanisms (despite some shortcomings Farmer's book is still vastly superior to it), and we hope the pride of Americans will not suffer it long to remain the latest.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH AND GOETHE'S WERTHER.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—It is unfortunate that Mr. Ferguson did not consult the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* before publishing his article on Goldsmith and Goethe's Werther (M. L. N. 1902, Nos. 6 and 7). There is certainly no occasion to charge German scholars with having failed to take into account Goldsmith's influence upon Goethe during the Werther period. If there is, besides Shakespeare, an English poet who has been dear to the hearts of the German people, it is Oliver Goldsmith, and German scholars have always been ready to acknowledge his great influence upon Goethe and German literature.

Goethe himself, in his old age, said to Eckermann (*Gespräche*, Dec. 16, 1828): *Ich bin Shakspeare, Sterne und Goldsmith Unendliches schuldig geworden.*

In the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1885 (vol. vi, pp. 281-298) there is an article by S. Levy on *Goethe und Oliver Goldsmith*.¹ Levy cites numerous passages from *Der Wanderer*, *Werther* and other works of Goethe's and compares them with corresponding passages in Goldsmith's *Traveller*, *Vicar of Wakefield* and *Deserted Village*. He gives the important correspondences cited by Mr. Ferguson. But to make Goldsmith, or anyone else, responsible for "the poetical application of the biblical notion of our earthly life as a pilgrimage" is, to say the least, farfetched. Goethe has at all times been fond of using the phraseology and imagery of the Bible, and never more so than during the Storm and Stress period. (Cf. Hehn, *Goethe und die Sprache der Bibel*, G.-J. VIII, 187 ff.; Henkel, *Goethe und die Bibel*, Leipzig, 1890; Düntzer, *Erl. zu Werther*, 1880, p. 126, n.). The influence of the Ossianic poems upon *Werther* and the landscape in *Werther* has been shown with sufficient clearness by Erich Schmidt (*Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, pp. 188, 192f. 224f.). He, at any rate, does not fail to see the connection between *Wanderer* and Ossian. Nor does he fail to see the connection between *Werther* and Goldsmith. With characteristic brevity he says (l. c., p. 222; cf. also *Charakteristiken*, I, 298): "Wie das alles (the ideas in the *Deserted Village*) der Wertherstimmung verwandt ist, bedarf keines Nachweises." Loeper says in regard to the *Deserted Village* (Hempel, vol. xxii, p. 344): "Für Deutschland kommt das Gedicht als ein Vorläufer des *Werther* in Betracht, dessen beide Teile die starken Gegensätze Goldsmiths gleichfalls, wenn auch gemildert wiedergeben." Even Düntzer sees Goldsmith's influence upon *Werther*. He says (l. c., p. 7): "Goethe war es vorbehalten, die reine Naturwahrheit Goldsmiths mit Rousseaus glühendem Drange . . . zu verbinden." To be sure, Goethe has made it easy enough to see the connection.

It is quite possible that Goethe became familiar

with the English word "whimsical" chiefly through Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, though he refers us to the dictionary (D. W. Bk. 11), but to see the influence of Goldsmith in Goethe's frequent use of the word *Grille* is altogether forced. *Grille* is too common a word, too common an idea, in eighteenth century German. The parallel between *Werther* and Burchell is not convincing, it is certainly of no importance compared with the general correspondence in thought and sentiment between *Werther's Leiden* and the *Deserted Village*.

As to the letter of July 16th ("Ja wohl bin ich nur ein Wanderer, ein Waller auf der Erde") the biblical notion of man being a pilgrim on earth is clearly the most prominent one. Erich Schmidt's comment (R. R. G. p. 221) does not exclude Düntzer's explanation. Düntzer merely misunderstood it. Schmidt has the biblical interpretation in mind as is clearly shown by his reference to Klopstock. All he says is that *Waller* is ein *Klopstocksches Wort*. Nor is it altogether certain that E. Schmidt means to imply that the word "wanderer" is used by Ossian in the sense of *Mensch*. The passage allows of a different interpretation: *Wanderer*, used here by *Werther* in the sense of *Mensch* (thought of as a pilgrim), is an Ossianic word. For the rest there is no difference between Mr. Ferguson's explanation of the letter and the one given by Düntzer (*Erl.*, 1880, p. 122, n.). That Düntzer is not very wrong in calling the letter *entbehrlicher Zusatz* is shown by the simple fact that it is not found in the first edition. *Abgerissenheit*, moreover, characterizes certain parts of *Werther's Leiden*, especially towards the end, and is perfectly compatible with "logical sequence." As to *Wanderer* and *Pilgrim* cf. also Minor-Sauer, *Goethe-Studien*, 1880, p. 44 f.

JOHN A. WALZ.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The Carnegie Institution has given sixteen hundred dollars to Professor W. SCRIPTURE of Yale University, for the year 1903, to be used in researches in experimental phonetics.

¹ An article on the same subject by A. Brandeis (*Chronik d. Weimarer Goethe-Vereins*, XII, Nos. 3 and 4, 1898) is not within my reach.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 2.

HROTSWITHA AND TERENCE.

I think Professor Roberts must be mistaken in what he says concerning the 'generally accepted opinion about the dramatic work of Hrotswitha.'¹ Is 'the generally accepted opinion' that of English, German, or French scholars, who have carefully examined the dramas of Hrotswitha? The 'writer' who speaks of Hrotswitha as "turning the unholy leaves of Terence, etc."² does not by any means represent the consensus of German critical opinion. Not a single one of the German scholars whose writings on Hrotswitha are accessible to me, thinks that 'her comedies are "plays written from an open Terence,"'—certainly a very loose statement, and one which deserves criticism. And is not the assertion, "In all that has been written about Hrotswitha and her six plays, it would be difficult to find a reference to any definite trace of Terence's influence that anybody has discovered in her work," rather broad and sweeping?

According to Creizenach³ Rudolf Köpke gives 'a few specimens which show that Hrotswitha borrowed directly from Terence. Köpke says in his highly appreciative study⁵ of the Nun of Gandersheim.

"Sie scheint damit die Absicht verbunden zu haben, den sechs heidnischen des Terenz ebenso viel christliche entgegenzustellen, das ist der Richtung des Mittelalters auf das Formale, Schematische in der Litteratur ganz gemäss. Ob jedem Terenzischen Bilde ein Gegenbild entsprechen sollte, ist nicht genau zu sagen. Allerdings, wie die Andria mit einer Doppelhochzeit schliesst, so Gallicanus erster Theil mit einer dreifachen Entsagung. Im Eunuchen dringt unter dieser Maske der Liebhaber in das Weiberhaus ein; aber vor den

christlichen Jungfrauen wird der schwarzentstellte Dulcitus schmählich zu Schanden. Abraham ist ein Heautontimorumenos, der die entlaufene Tochter aus der Welt mit eigener Gefahr zurückholt, während der Terenzische sich um den vertriebenen Sohn nutzlos plagt. Der Hecyra steht die Sapia als rechte Mutter gegenüber, und die Buhlerin Thais wird zur bussfertigen Magdalena."

Again he says,⁶ "Liebesverhältnisse hielt sie also für das Drama unerlässlich. Nur aus Terenz konnte sie diese Anforderung abstrahirt haben, die viel später, in ganz anderer Weise für die Bühne geltend gemacht worden ist."

Köpke is, however, an enthusiastic admirer of Hrotswitha's dramatic powers and does not by a single assertion lead us to believe that he considered her a weak imitator or plagiarist of Terence. He thinks that

"in Roswits Versuchen liegt der Keim der Entwicklung künftiger Jahrhunderte. Für sich allein macht sie den Uebergang vom Epos zum Drama durch, sie entdeckt es an der Hand des Terenz, aus seinen Komödien erkennt und entwickelt sie die Grundbedingungen dieser Form und versucht sie selbst danach herzustellen."⁷

With reference to Hrotswitha's sources in the Christian literature of the Middle Ages Köpke says,⁸

"Sehr oft hat Roswit den Wortlaut ihrer Quelle beibehalten. Denn was sie giebt ist ihr ein historischer Vorgang, der keine wesentliche Aenderung des Thatbestandes erleiden darf. Aber man würde diesen merkwürdigen Produkten nicht gerecht werden, wollte man die Abweichungen nicht beachten. Diese sind um so charakteristischer, da gerade in ihnen das Talent am unmittelbarsten hervortritt, und diejenigen Bedingungen, die sie für das Drama unerlässlich hält."

Köpke certainly believes that Hrotswitha possessed 'original genius'.

"Um ein halbes Jahrtausend ist Roswit ihren Zeitgenossen vorangeeilt. Ahnungsvoll hat die vereinzelt Frau eine künftige Entwicklung vor-

¹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVI., col. 478.

² Cf. Katherine Lee Bates, *The English Religious Drama*. New York, 1893, p. 6.

³ *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, I, p. 18 (footnote.)

⁴ In his *Ottonische Studien*, II, 143, which is not accessible to me here.

⁵ *Die älteste deutsche Dichterin: Kulturgeschichtliches Bild aus dem zehnten Jahrh.* Berlin, 1869, p. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59. Even more enthusiastic than Köpke in praising the work of Hrotswitha is J. Bendixen in, *Das älteste Drama in Deutschland*. Altona, 1850, pp. 6-10.

weggenommen. Selten hört man ein falsches Wort, niemals zu viel, öfter wünscht man die Rede minder knapp und epigrammatisch. Die Personen nehmen sich das Wort aus dem Munde, oft ein einziges werfen sie sich gegenseitig zu, und doch lässt es die Stimmung deutlich erkennen.

"Können solche Vorzüge einem Dialog nachgerühmt werden, der aus Terenzischen Phrasen und Anklängen der lateinischen Bibel und der Legende des Mittelalters zusammengesetzt ist? Doch das ist das Kennzeichen, diese Elemente seien durch eine schöpferische Hand gegangen, die sie der widerstrebenden Eigenschaften zu entäussern und anderen Zwecken dienstbar zu machen wusste."⁹

The most ardent admirer of Hrotswitha's can certainly find no fault with such words of praise as these.

Aschbach,¹⁰ who devotes a monograph of more than one hundred pages to the discussion of Conrad Celtes and his friends, and tries to prove that they, not Hrotswitha, were the authors of the works that bear the name of the Nun of Gandersheim, nowhere speaks of the plays as simple imitations of Terence.

"Den sechs geistlichen Lustspielen," he says,¹¹ "liegen sämtlich alte Legenden zu Grunde; sie sind nur dramatisch bearbeitet und besonders desshalb merkwürdig, weil sie durch eine gewählte Sprache wie auch durch Schärfe in der Entwicklung der Gedanken sich auszeichnen."

Barack seems also to have fully appreciated the value of Hrotswitha's work, when he says:¹²

"Wir werden aus den Dramen Hrotsvitha's selbst sehen, dass sie, so sehr sie allerdings das Gepräge der klassischen Studien an sich tragen, gleichwohl so wenig ihren Ursprung auf deutschem Boden und aus deutschem Geiste verläugnen, dass, wer nur mit einigemassen aufmerksamem Auge dessen Spuren nachgeht, in einer Reihe von Zeichnungen nur Bilder ihrer Zeit erkennen wird."

At any rate he does not think the plays are "written from an open Terence:"

"Hrotsvitha sagt in der Vorrede zu ihren Dramen, dass sie dieselben dem Terenz nachgeahmt habe. Ihre eigenen Worte deuten jedoch schon darauf

hin, dass diese Nachahmung nur negativer Natur ist. Sie besteht in nichts Anderem, als darin, dass sie an der Stelle der Laster schlechter Dirnen, wie sie die Komödien des Terenz vor Augen führen, die Tugenden heiliger Jungfrauen preisen und zur Nachahmung vorhalten will."¹³

Klein devotes several pages to the discussion of Hrotswitha and her plays, but he seems to have been fully aware of her true relation to Terence:

Was zunächst ihr sächsisches Latein und das Terentianische ihrer sex Comoedia betrifft, so giebt sich ersteres als eine Art Reimprosa; letzteres, das Terentianische, in der *Sechszahl* der Stücke zu erkennen; das Einzige, worin diese—nimmt man verschiedene dem Terenzentlehnte Floskeln aus,—in Bezug auf Form und äussere Gestalt, den Komödien des halbirtten Menander gleichen."¹⁴

"The comedies of Terence," says Scherer,¹⁵ "were favorite reading at this time, as is proved by the writings of the nun Roswitha, the first German poetess and the first dramatist since the Roman epoch. . . . So we are not surprised to find a nun imitating Terence, and adding to his six Comedies six new ones in Latin prose. . . . Her pieces are short sketches, with rapid action and constant change of scene. She hardly attempts any development of character, but she knows how to depict emotions, to reproduce conflicting feelings, and to make these the source of action in the play. . . . She often contrives her scenes very skilfully; she has an eye for what will produce a good effect and appeal to the audience, and many varieties of the later drama are foreshadowed in her works."

Creizenach's opinion¹⁶ of Hrotswitha's dramas seems to me to be thoroughly sober and scholarly. He does not attempt to praise them unduly, nor is he blind to their merits. Being thoroughly conversant with mediæval dramatic history and with the important part that Terence's Comedies played in mediæval culture and education, he has a clear conception of Hrotswitha's connection with the Terence cult of the times. Creizenach emphasizes the fact that Hrotswitha probably obtained her theories of comedy from some writer of the time like Isidore:

⁹ P. 66-67.

¹⁰ Joseph Aschbach, *Roswitha und Conrad Celtes*, 2nd ed. Vienna, 1868; cf. J. M. Hart, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xvii, col. 463.

¹¹ P. 15.

¹² *Die Werke der Hrotsvitha*, Herausgegeben von Dr. K. A. Barack. Nürnberg, 1858. Einleitung, p. xxxii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.

¹⁴ J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*. Leipzig, 1866. Vol. III, p. 665.

¹⁵ *History of German Literature*. Translated by Mrs. F. C. Conybeare. New York, 1886. Vol. I, p. 51.

¹⁶ Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*. Halle, 1893. Vol. I, p. 18-19.

"Ihre Ansicht vom Wesen der Komödie muss sie sich nach einem Theoretiker gebildet haben, welcher, wie Isidor, die unzuchtigen Liebeshändel als zum Wesen der Gattung gehörig betrachtete. . . . Hin und wieder zeigt sie sich bestrebt, sich im sprachlichen Ausdruck an Terenz anzuschliessen, doch weist sie jeden Vergleich ihres Stils mit dem Terenzischen bescheiden zurück. Das charakteristische Merkmal des dramatischen Stils, den sie dem heroischen Versmass ihrer früheren Dichtungen entgegensetzt, besteht für sie offenbar in dem Wechsel von Rede und Gegenrede, ohne jede Beimischung erzählender Bestandteile; wenn sie die Prosaform wählte, so glaubte sie ohne Zweifel auch darin dem Beispiel des Terenz zu folgen. Dass die Komödien des Terenz für die Aufführung herging, davon wusste sie natürlich nichts, sie hat deshalb auch die Grenzen unbeachtet gelassen, die sich ihr Vorgänger in Bezug auf Ort und Zeit auferlegte; wenn sie über Länderstrecken und Zeiträume hinwegsetzt in einer Weise, welche die Verkörperung ihrer Stücke auf einer Bühne nach antiker Art unmöglich machen würde, so empfand sie das gewiss nicht als eine Abweichung von den Regeln der Terenzischen Komödie.

Man sieht also, dass Hrotsvitha in ihrer Auffassung des Terenz und des antiken Lustspiels völlig auf dem Boden ihrer Zeit steht, dass sie sich aber auch vollkommen bewusst ist, durch ihren Versuch einer Nachahmung aus den Traditionen der Gelehrten poesie herauszutreten. Und ohne Zweifel war ihr Entschluss durch eine natürliche dramatische Begabung mit veranlasst. Besser, als die Dramatiker des späteren Mittelalters versteht sie es, aus der überlieferten Begebenheit die Hauptmomente herauszugreifen. Ihr Dialog ist oft überraschend lebendig und schlagfertig, mit grossem Geschick bringt sie es zuwege, dass die vorwärtsschreitende Handlung in dem Dialog restlos aufgeht. Auch ein natürliches Talent zur Menschendarstellung dürfen wir voraussetzen, obgleich ihr zur Ausbildung dieses Talents alle Bedingungen fehlten."¹⁷

The foregoing quotations from German scholars show that the "accepted" German opinion is essentially the same as that of Mr. Roberts. An examination of some of the leading recent English writers on dramatic history, will show that they agree substantially with German critics about Hrotsvitha's dramas.

Ward says,¹⁸

"It was the good fortune of Terence to lead a charmed life in the darkest ages of learning,

¹⁷ Cf. Ebert's opinion, *Allg. Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, vol. III, p. 314 ff.

¹⁸ *English Dramatic Literature*. New and Revised edition. London, 1899. Vol. I, p. 7.

through the course of which his works survived under the safe guardianship of monastic libraries. Hrotsvitha, however, borrowed from Terence merely the general form of his plays, without adopting even his metre; while she both distinctly and of avowed purpose reversed the tendency of his plots. Deficient neither in literary ability nor in occasional pathetic power . . . she displays an intensive knowledge of dramatic effect which is under the circumstances singularly remarkable. . . . As a matter of fact they (i. e. the plays) were doubtless read aloud or recited by the nuns of her convent . . . without any anticipatory design of educational Terentian or quasi-Terentian performances."

Concerning Hrotsvitha's plays, Pollard remarks:¹⁹

"Her six plays are planned in some measure on the comedies of Terence. Not that, like the author of the *χριστός πάσχω* with the Greek dramatists, she incorporated his verses into her own work, or made any attempt to imitate his metres; but that Terence . . . appeared to the good nun undeservedly and dangerously popular, and she wished to show what much better comedies might be written to inculcate strict moral and religious teaching."

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF KÖNIG ROTHER.

In 1848, Haupt (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, VII, p. 262) first advanced the idea that the poem of *König Rother* was written in Bavaria by a man from the Rhine country. This seems the most plausible theory, and is concurred in by Karl von Bahder in the latest careful and critical study of the poem ("Zum König Rother," *Germania*, XXIX (1884), pp. 229-243; 257-300), as follows: "It is to be concluded then that the poet in general wrote in the Middle Franconian dialect, in some cases, however, deviated from the peculiarities of his dialect and approached the Upper German. Haupt's assertion that the poem was written in Bavaria by a Middle Franconian finds thus confirmation in the language of the poem." Edward Schröder in 1891 in an article, "Heimat u. Überlieferung der Vorauer Sündenklage" (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXXV, p. 419, note), also

¹⁹ *English Miracle Plays*. Oxford, 1890. Introduction, p. xii.

agrees with this view, and Johann Kelle (*Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 13^{ten} Jahrh.* Berlin, 1896, Vol. II, p. 221) says: "Die drei Handschriften . . . unterscheiden sich wohl nicht unwesentlich von der Heidelberger Überlieferung, gehen aber mit ihr auf einen Text zurück, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 12^{ten} Jahrhunderts von einem rheinischen Spielmann in Baiern gestaltet worden ist. Er dichtete zur Verherrlichung bairischer Geschlechter, u. s. w." Anton Edzardi, however, in his extended discussion of the *Rother* ("Untersuchungen über König Rother," *Germania*, XVIII (1873), pp. 385-453), advocated the theory of a Middle Franconian authorship, ascribing all the Upper German elements to the work of a Bavarian interpolator. I quite agree with Edzardi (p. 436) that "the short allusions to Bavarian mythical or historical events could proceed only from a section of the country where they were understood, i. e., from Bavaria itself. Further, the honoring of the Tengelings and of the Bavarian race generally could nowhere else have come into the poem." But, that all this was the work of an interpolator is clearly untenable. If the Bavarian references are all interpolations then a very large part of the poem must be considered as such. And if written in Bavarian, such passages interpolated in a dialect widely different from the original would have retained, without doubt, peculiar dialectic characteristics. Yet no distinctively Bavarian or Middle Franconian parts are distinguishable from the language standpoint. If the interpolations proceed, as Edzardi suggests, from a Middle or Low German in Bavaria, why not ascribe to him the authorship of the whole?

Edzardi based his conclusions partly upon the much-discussed references to *daz bôch*, *daz liet*, etc., considering that the interpolator used these terms to refer to his work, while Rückert (Edition of 1872, *Einleitung*, p. lxiii) supposed them to refer to a *Vorlage*. Von Bahder says: (*Germania*, XXIX, p. 279) "There is no reason to suppose that *daz bôch* in our poem does not have the same significance it usually had, namely, *Quelle*." And these sources contained simply the story of Rother's wooing (cf. ll. 3476 ff. of the poem).¹ This was

¹ The line references are to Von Bahder's text, *Alt-deutsche Textbibliothek*, Nr. 6, Halle, 1884.

the narrative heard by the Middle Franconian Spielmann and later written down by him in Bavaria. In this connection it is interesting to note the discussion of the words *buoch*, *liet*, etc., by Dr. Paul Piper in *Die Spielmannsdichtung* (Part I, p. 62, Kürschner's D. N.-L., Berlin and Stuttgart, 1887), who says: "Ein *buoch* oder *liet* war seine Quelle, ein *buoch* oder *liet* nannte er sein eigenes Gedicht," and cites the use of these words as a characteristic mark of the Spielmann poetry. The word *richtêre* or *tichtêre*, which occurs in l. 4859 of the Heidelberg manuscript and in the line preceding the last of the Arnswald fragment (l. 5200 of the poem), was printed by F. H. von der Hagen (*Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1808) as *tichtêre*, with no note or variant for it. Evidently Tieck, from whom he had his copy, had so read the manuscript which was then in the Vatican. H. F. Massmann in *Deutsche Gedichte des 12^{ten} Jahrhunderts* (Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1837), being the second edition of the poem, prints *richtêre*, but says in his notes: "statt *tichtêre*" (p. 228) and "*tichtêre* wohl" (p. 234). Rückert in the edition of 1874, says that the MS. reads *r*, but he substitutes a *t* as a more likely meaning. Edzardi and von Bahder would retain the *r*; Edzardi, however, making his hypothetical Bavarian *Bearbeiter* use the word *richtêre* to refer to himself, who is therefore the "rectifier" or "finisher" of the poem. Von Bahder reads *richtêre*, but says it means simply *Dichter*, as the word was often used interchangeably with *tichtêre*, and that "he who used the expression points thereby to the story as it lay before him, and that this may have been a re-written work is indeed not inconceivable." The reading *tichtêre* is, in my opinion, to be preferred, since the *r* for *t* in the MS. may easily have been an error of some scribe, which would then have been retained by subsequent copyists, or *t* may really have been intended and the confusion arisen from the similarity in form of the two letters. This seems to be borne out by the fact that Tieck read *t* without question, or von der Hagen would have noted it. The word was doubtless used by the Middle Franconian writer just as *bôch* and *liet* to refer to the story he had brought with him from his home-land, probably *not* in a written form at all, but merely as a tale he had heard and which he now wrote down in Bavaria. It could then be

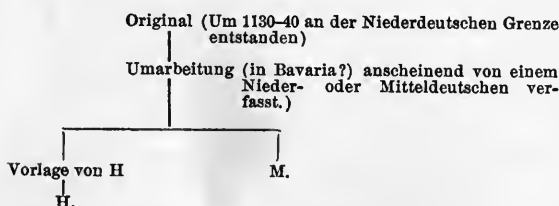
better translated as "narrator" or "story-teller" than as "poet." Inserting this meaning and translating ll. 4859-60, they would read:

"Here the narrator continues,
To tell us of the story," etc.

which sounds quite reasonable. That the author used the word in ll. 5200 ff. to indicate himself, and called upon all to ask God's blessing upon him, is plausible, but this meaning will obviously not suit at all in the passage quoted above (ll. 4859-60).

The Lower Franconian and Rhine Franconian characteristics found in the language of the poem are carefully treated by von Bahder, who sums up the whole matter as follows: (*Germania*, xxix, p. 275) "We reach, then, the conclusion that the poem from Bavaria reached the Rhine and was next of all copied in Lower Franconia or on the Middle Franconian border, and then in its new form, altered in some respects, has served a Rhine Franconian copyist as an original. That this copyist is the author of the H. MS. is the most natural assumption."

It remains to determine in which copy the interpolated parts came in, and what is their nature and origin. It is certain that Edzardi attributed altogether too much to the interpolator, and in consequence has drawn many erroneous conclusions. In a second article ("Zur Textkritik des Rother," *Germania*, xx, p. 415) he diagrams his theory of the history of the poem thus:



And he adds: "Ob die Bearbeitungen A und B [Baden frag.] auf H, auf dessen Vorlage oder direct auf die erste Umarbeitung zurückgehen, ist schwer zu entscheiden." Edzardi and von Bahder agree that the interpolator was not a Spielmann. Piper says: (*Die Spielmannsdichtung*, I, p. 87) "Ich möchte weder so subtil, wie Edzardi, den Kern des Gedichtes zwar einem Spielmanne, die Zuthat aber einem Gebildeten zuschreiben, noch auch mit Rückert für das Ganze an einen Geistlichen als Verfasser denken; vielmehr ist es das Werk eines echten, rechten Spielmannes, freilich

eines an Bildung höher stehenden. Der stolze *spileman*, der formelhafte Gebrauch bestimmter Zahlen, die Verwendung völkstümlicher Worte, Wendungen . . . weisen ihn mit Bestimmtheit der Klasse der Spielleute zu." All this is true enough, nevertheless there is much in the poem that is inconsistent with the usual Spielmann's learning. For instance, the biblical references and theological discussions, the mention of St. Julian and John the Baptist (ll. 4075-6); also ll. 4401-03:

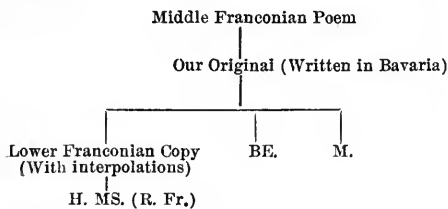
"Unde die vile gôde
Constantinis môder
Helena, die daz crûce vant," etc.,

the mention of Adam's fall, and of St. Michael, etc., are foreign to the Spielmann poetry. But again, von Bahder, too, I think, ascribes entirely too much to interpolation. As an example, he considers (v. note to p. 136, Ed. of 1884) the entire discussion between the Giants concerning the destruction of Constantinople (ll. 4384-4457) as an interpolation, yet in the same note he refers to a similar passage in the *Wolfdietrich*. The story recalls the council of the princes of the first crusade in which Boemund advises the plundering of the city, but the reminder of the pious Duke Godfrey "that it was not fitting for pilgrims to fight against Christians," was heeded. (v. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1813; I, p. 117; II, *Beilage Nr. 5*.) The most plausible conclusion in regard to this so-called interpolation is, in my opinion, that the Spielmann-author, knowing the episode which occurs in the *Wolfdietrich*, confused it with the events of the first crusade, and then the "geistliche" interpolator saw an opportunity to bring in characters of the Bible and early church history, and enlarged upon the story, inserting lines here and there. At any rate I see no reason for considering the whole passage an interpolation, for the conception of the episode itself is in no wise inconsistent with the minstrel-poem.

It is impossible to discuss here the various so-called interpolations in detail. As in the above passage, I should, in general, consider only the really ecclesiastical and biblical references as interpolations, and the interpolator as a priestly copyist, who did not wish to finish his copy without preaching a sermon or two, consequently more and more towards the end of the poem has introduced such passages without a great regard for the original

story. This would explain the fact noted by Edzardi that from l. 4000 the poem becomes more confused, while previous to that the story is simply and consistently told.

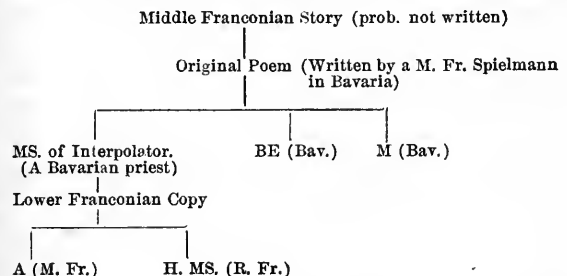
Did this interpolator live in Bavaria? Von Bahder thinks not and regards the interpolations as the work of the Lower Franconian copyist. His conclusions with reference to the poem may be placed in a diagram somewhat as follows:



As evidence he mentions that in a single line (1540) *sagen* stands in the rhyme with *neme*. This seems very slight evidence, and, moreover, I do not regard the passage in which this occurs as an interpolation at all. The single line (1540) may have been inserted or changed by the Lower Franconian scribe. It may be noted that this line is lacking in the Ermlitzer fragment [E] which is Bavarian. At any rate the interpolations—restricting them now to the purely religious passages—show equally as much of the Upper German element as does the rest of the poem. And in these interpolations, so far as I have been able to determine them, not one pure Low German form stands in the rhyme. According to von Bahder's scheme as outlined above, there would be no probable way to account for the Bavarian element in the interpolations. I prefer, therefore, to suppose another intermediate copy, and to conclude that the interpolations were made in Bavaria. They having been made, then, in the same region in which the poem was written, and having gone through the same process of copying and re-copying, the similar mixture of dialects would be clear enough. Then, too, these interpolations being short and not such a preponderant part as Edzardi and von Bahder have supposed, though probably at first more Bavarian than the remainder, would have been toned down by the Lower and Rhine Franconian copyists. This would have been especially the case as the latter would see in the original Middle Franconian a dialect very near his own, and he may even have had his home somewhere on the

Middle Franconian border. That the BE and M fragments show little trace of interpolation proves nothing for, though they are characteristically Bavarian, there is no reason why they may not be traced to the original poem *before* the interpolations were made. So far as the fragment goes this is true of BE, and perhaps of M also, though the reference to St. John and St. Julian (ll. 4076–7) occurs in M as well as in H, the name of the latter being, however, illegible in M. The Arnswald fragment [A] must be considered as proceeding *not* from the H. MS. but perhaps from the same *Vorlage*. It has a similar mixture of dialects, but curiously enough this is not shown in the same words. To illustrate: l. 5140,—H. has *rade*, A. *rate*; l. 5147—H. *aber*, A. *aver*; H. *zô*, A. *to*; l. 5167—H. *bat*, A. *baz*; l. 5168—H. *overgenoz*, A. *obergenoz*; l. 5473—H. *munichin*, A. *moneken*; l. 5177—H. *dat . . . date*, A. *iz . . . tete*; l. 5178—H. *der*, A. *de*, etc.

According to the theory of interpolations outlined above I would suggest the following as the probable history of the poem and its manuscripts:



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THE OLD FRENCH ADVERB *tote jor*.¹

1. ORIGIN OF THE FEMININE FORM *tote jor*.

The use of the feminine adjective in this adverb

¹ *Tote jor* is the Old French equivalent of Modern French *toute la journée* (Cf. *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*. Ed. by J Couraye du Parc. Paris, 1884, l. 2068: *Ier tote jor a ax me combati*). According to the statement of W. Zeitlin and Diez, *tote jor* was also used in the sense of 'always' (Cf. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, VII, 15; *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, fünfte Auflage. Bonn, 1882, II, 472–474).

is irregular. *Jor* being masculine, we would expect *tot jor*² instead of *tote jor*.

a. *Previous treatment.*

1. In his review of Suchier's edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Tobler says:³ "*Tote jor* heisst, glaube ich, nicht 'jeden Tag,' sondern 'den ganzen Tag'; das Etymon scheint mir *totum ad diurnum*, das *e* von *tote* demnach nicht die weibliche Endung, sondern das *a* von *ad* zu sein; *ajornee*, was oft daneben steht, ist in *a jornee* zu zerlegen und ein eigentlich tautologischer Zusatz." The explanation of the *e* of *tote* offered by Mr. Tobler in the quotation just given cannot be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, the preposition *a* is proclitic in French.⁴ Being unaccented, it is often attached to the following word,⁵ but I know of no case in which it has become an enclitic and developed into *e*. Another argument against the theory that *tote jor* is < *totum ad diurnum* is the fact that from the evidence of the Old-French texts that have come down to us *jor* did not begin to supplant *dis* until about the tenth century. Hence, it is hardly possible that *totum ad diurnum* could have been used in Popular Latin. Therefore, if such a form existed at all, it must have been in the written Latin. But, as we shall see later, late Latin texts usually show *tota die*, and never *totum ad diurnum*.

2. With reference to the gender of *jour*, Paul Jahn says:⁶ "Findet sich scheinbar als Femininum in dem Ausdruck 'toute jour,' der übrigens ausser bei Froissart auch anderweitig im Altfranzösischen zu finden ist."

b. *Explanation offered in the present paper.*

The explanation of this irregularity is found in the history of the adverb in question. The Classical Latin equivalent of the French *jor* was *dies*,

which was masculine in the plural and masculine and feminine in the singular. The Classical Latin phrase expressing the idea of the Old French *tote jor* was *totum diem*.⁷ In Popular Latin, on the contrary, instead of *totum diem*, *tota die* was used. This is shown, in the first place, by the occurrence of *tota dia*⁸ in Old Provençal. In the second place, since *tota die* does not occur in Classical Latin and the fact that it is constantly used in late Latin texts like the *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*,⁹ where there are numerous popular forms and constructions, leads one to believe that this adverb originated in Popular Latin and was carried from the popular speech to the written language of the time. In the *Peregrinatio*, for instance, the force of the demonstratives *ille*,¹⁰ *iste*,¹¹ etc., has weakened and they are beginning to be used in the sense of the article. In this text there is also a tendency to use *de*¹² and *ad*¹³ instead of the inflexional endings to express the genitive and dative. The Vulgate, which also shows popular characteristics, uses regularly *tota die*.¹⁴ In the

⁷ Cf. Terence, *Heccyra*, 800: Frustra ibi totum desedi diem.

⁸ Cf. Karl Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*. Elberfeld, 1880, 3, 20: De sapiencia anava eu ditan,
Plor tota dia, faz cosdumna d'efant;
4, 15: Trastota dia vai la mort reclaman.

For the gender of the Romance derivatives of *dies* compare Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, II, § 380.

⁹ Cf. *Silvæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*. Roma, 1888, p. 71: Et inde per tota die nunquam cessatum est.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 6: Et illuc denuo ad illud caput vallis descenderemus.

¹¹ Cf. p. 9: Id est de sumitate montis ipsius mediani, ita infra nos videbantur esse illi montes, quos primitus vix ascenderamus, iuxta istum medianum, in quo stabamus.

¹² Cf. p. 25: Nam episcopus loci ipsius, id est de Segor dixit nobis quoniam iam aliquot anni essent, a quo non pareret columna illa.

¹³ Cf. p. 18: Unde scriptum est dixisse Pharaonem ad Joseph.

¹⁴ Cf. *Livres des Psaumes*. Ancienne traduction française publiée pour la Première fois d'après les manuscrits de Cambridge et de Paris par Francisque Michel. Paris, 1876, LV, 1 and 2:

Miserere mei Deus, quoniam Aies merci de mei, Deus,
am conculcavit me homo: kar decalcet mei huom; tute
tota die impugnans tribulavit me. jurn cumbatanz travaillat mei.

Conculcaverunt me inimici mei tota die. Decalcherent mei mi agueiteur tute jurn.

² Cf. *toz jors*.

³ Cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, II, 628.

⁴ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*. Paris, 1900, Vol. III, § 713: "Le roman a naturellement conservé l'accentuation latine historique; il traite donc les prépositions absolument comme des proclitiques."

⁵ Cf. *anuit* < *ad noctem*.

⁶ Cf. *Ueber das Geschlecht der Substantiva bei Froissart*. Halle a. S., 1882, p. 39. For a similar statement compare also Hermann Reichel, *Syntaktische Studien zu Villon*, Leipzig-Reudnitz, 1891, p. 7.

Oxford and Cambridge Psalters, for example, where the total number of occurrences of *tote jor* is forty-seven, this adverb is always a translation of *tota die*.¹⁵ In the light of these facts it seems reasonable to suppose that the feminine *tote* in *tote jor* goes back to the feminine *tota* in the Popular Latin *tota die*, which doubtless first became *tote di* (cf. Provençal *tota dia*) and then, when *jor* was substituted for *di*, the feminine adjective remained.

Strengthening the supposition that *tote* of *tote jor* takes its feminine form from *tota* of *tota die* is the fact that as soon as the Latin form of this phrase was changed by the use of the article¹⁶ or some other modifier¹⁷ *jor* became masculine. The form with the article was the regular construction in Old Italian¹⁸ and Old Spanish.¹⁹

2. DATE OF THE ORIGIN AND DISAPPEARANCE OF *tote jor*.

Jor does not occur in the earliest French monuments. *Dis* is still used in the *Serments de Strasbourg*²⁰ and in the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*.²¹ *Dis* occurs five times and *jor* twice in the *Passion du Christ*,²² while *dis* is found to the exclusion of *jor* in the *Vie de Saint Léger*. In the *Alexis*, however, *jor* is used more frequently than *dis*. Although the small body of literature at our dis-

posal in these early centuries will not permit us to draw any definite conclusion from these data, yet the fact that *jor* and *dis* are still used side by side in the eleventh century seems to justify us in supposing that *jor* began to supplant *dis* in the tenth century where we find the first example of it. From the origin of the French language, therefore, until the introduction of *jor*, the adverb replacing Popular Latin *tota die* was doubtless *tote di*. This supposition is supported by the occurrence of *tota dia*²³ in Old Provençal, where *tote jor*²⁴ is also found. Unfortunately so little literature has come down to us from the period in French preceding the use of *jor* in the sense of *dis*, that it furnishes us no example of the adverb in question. The first example of *tote jor* found in the texts consulted occurs in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*,²⁵ written about 1040. However, it was probably used as early as the tenth century, or as soon as *jor* began to supplant *dis*. In the twelfth century, sporadic examples of *tot le jor*²⁶ occur along by the side of the regular *tote jor*. During the first half of the thirteenth century the use of *tote jor* or *tot le jor* seems to have been optional, some authors preferring the one and some the other, but *tot le jor* was used more frequently than *tote jor* during the second half of the century. During the fourteenth century, *tote jor* was very rare, and it disappeared in the fifteenth century,²⁷ when *toute la journée*²⁸ began to be used. *Tout le jor*²⁹ has persisted by the side of *toute la journée* down to

¹⁵ Cf. Francisque Michel, *op. cit.*, XLIII, 15:

Tota die confusio mea Tute jurn la meie confu-
contra me et ignominia siun est encuntre mei, e la
faciei mee cooperuit me. hunte de ma face covrit mei.

¹⁶ Cf. *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*. Ed. by Edward Cooke
Armstrong. Baltimore, 1900, I. 808:

Issi faite vie ont menee
Tot lo jor jusq' a la vespree.

¹⁷ Cf. *Aliscans*. Ed. by F. Guessard and A. De Montaiglon. Paris, 1870, I. 8289: Tout icel jor ont grant joie mené.

¹⁸ Cf. Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone* I, 1: Convenne che tutto il giorno così fosse tenuto, acciò che da tutti potesse essere veduto e visitato.

¹⁹ Cf. Dr. Adolf Keller, *Altspanisches Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 15: Et si el diz: Non dare agora fidiador, mas buscar ire oi toth lo dia.

²⁰ Cf. Karl Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français* (cinquième édition). Leipzig, 1884, 3, 19: D'ist di in avant.

²¹ Cf. Bartsch, *op. cit.*, 5, 12: Chi rex eret a cels dis soure pagiens.

²² Cf. Bartsch, *op. cit.*, 10, 44:

De Jhesu Christi passion
Am se paierent a ciel jor.

²³ Cf. Bartsch, *op. cit.*, 3, 20:

De sapiencia anava eu ditan,
Plor tota dia, faz cosdumna d'efant.

²⁴ Cf. Paul Meyer, *Recueil d'Anciens Textes, Bas-Latins, Provençaux et Français*. Paris, 1877, Part I, p. 48 (Girart de Roussillon): Tote jor se combatent tro a l'escur.

²⁵ Cf. I. 702: Tote jor se desportent, joënt et esbanient.

²⁶ Cf. *Les Quatre Livres des Rois*. Ed. by Le Roux de Lincy. Paris, 1841, I, XIX, 10: Tut le jur e la nuit; Chrétien de Troies, *Yvain*, I. 186: A bien pres tot le jor entier.

²⁷ Cf. Gellrich, *Remarques sur l'emploi de l'article en vieux français*. Leipzig, 1881, p. 70.

²⁸ Cf. *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, XCIII: C'est assavoir son clerc à qui elle compta les nouvelles, comment elle avait congié d'aller en pèlerinaige et cetera, pour toute la journée.

²⁹ Cf. Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*. Ed. by A. De Rougement. New York, 1895; p. 2: Cet homme avait dû marcher tout le jour.

the present time, although it is seldom found in the literature of to-day. In Modern French translations of the Bible, however, where old forms and constructions are preserved, *tout le jour* is used regularly.

3. ORIGIN OF *toute la journée*.

When *jor* took the place of *dis*, it was, of course, used in all the constructions in which *dis* had been used. Later, however, when a desire was felt to differentiate more in the meaning of words by limiting their use to certain phrases, *journée* supplanted *jor* in the adverb in question. The reason for the substitution of *journée* for *jor* in *toute la journée* is due to the fact that *journée* expresses the exact idea contained in this phrase. The primary meaning of *journée* is that of duration, and, as this is the meaning expressed in the phrase 'all day,' it is natural that it should be used here. A similar tendency is seen in the case of *an* and *année*. In the Old French one used *tot l'an*,³⁰ while the regular form in Modern French is *toute l'année*.³¹

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OTHER DOUBTFUL WORDS IN SWEET'S DICTIONARY OF ANGLO-SAXON.

geloda means according to Sweet not only 'joint of the backbone,' but also 'brother.'

As to *geloda* 'joint of the backbone,' I do not wish to enter into a discussion just now. The entry apparently is based on *WW.* 159, 22 *spondilia geloda vel gelyndu*, with which compare *Ahd.*

Gl. III, 431, 21 *spondilia rukebein*.

^{ra}
431, 22 *spina gelenda*.

³⁰ Cf. Chrétien de Troies, *op. cit.*, l. 2674:

Sel fist si bian mes sire Yvains
Tot l'an, que mes sire Gauvains
Se penoit de lui enorer
Et si le fist tant demorer
Que trestoz li anz fu passez.

³¹ Cf. Émile Souvestre, *Un Philosophe sous les Toits*. Ed. by W. H. Fraser, Boston, 1897, II, p. 9: Obligés toute l'année à la décence, à l'ordre, au bon sens, nous nous dédommageons, pendant le carnaval, d'une longue contrainte.

In regard to *geloda* 'brother,' however, it is easy to see that Sweet has failed to perceive that *WW.* 173, 44 *fratres gebroðru uel gelodan uel siblingas*, on which he evidently bases his entry, contains a slight mistake that might have been rectified by reference to *WW.* 410, 34-36 *fratres gebroþor et aliquando gemægas, aliquando gelondan, quas Latini paternitates interpretantur*. This is confirmed by *Ahd. Gl.* III, 423, 21-23, *Fratres de patre nati, aliquando gelandan, quos Latini paternitates appellant (interpretantur: b)*, with which compare *WW.* 211, 19-21, *contribulus. i. ciues consanguineus mæg, gelanda, parens, gesib propinquus uel simul tribulatus*. On the strength of the latter gloss, Sweet has *gelanda* 'fellow-countryman, kinsman,' of which *gelonda*, written *gelōda*, is, of course, a by-form. As to the omission of the *n*-stroke compare *WW.* 204, 33 *circinnus gafelrod* for *gafelrōd*; *ibid.* 64, 7 *occasionem intigan* for *intigan*; *ibid.* 66, 16 *inebriabitur bit drucen* for *drūcen*; *VP.* 29, 5 *memoriae gemydde* for *gemýdde*; *ibid.* 30, 11 *paupertate ðearfednisse* for *ðearfēdnisse*; *ibid.* 32, 2 *in cythara in citra* for *citrā*; *ibid.* 34, 11 *sterititas unbeorednisse* *unbeorēdnisse*; *ibid.* 72, 25 *to lafe stodeð* for *stōdeð*; *ibid.* 93, 5 *vexauerunt swecton* for *swēcton*; *Corpus Glossary* (ed. Hessels) G 115 *glomer clouue* for *clouuē*; Q 27 *quadrare geeblicadun* for *geeblicadun*; *Erfurt* (C. G. L. v. 365, 26) *indruticans uraesgendi* for *uurāesgendi*.¹ The point raised by Sievers (*Anglia* xiv, 143) that the use of the contraction mark to denote a simple *n* is very rare in OE. has already been shown to be untenable by the proofs given (which might easily be increased) *ex absentia*. Direct testimony is afforded by the following instances: *Old English Glosses* (ed. A. Napier) 10, 4 *naptarum tūdar*; *Durh. Rit.* p. 13 *benignitatem weldōnis*; *ibid.* p. 23 *culparum sýna*; *ibid.* p. 36 *incursione onerrige*; *ibid.* p. 119 *latrinibus firðseafv* (a notable instance); p. 122 *invocationem inœiginge* (cp. *innœigengv* p. 121); *ibid.* p. 193 *centurio hondrað mōn latwv*; *decanus tea mōn latwv*. Add to that the instances quoted by Napier (note to 1,300), *littā* for *littan*, *cumē* for *cumen*; *i* for *in*. An apparently well-authenticated word is *gefyrðra* 'promoter', if we go by the way Sweet prints it. Yet

¹ *Epinal-Corpus* have wrongly *uuræstendi* (*vraestende*) which Holthausen vainly tries to defend. Also Kluge recognizes a *vrēnsian* 'geil sein.'

it rests only on a supposition, viz. that in the *Erfurt-Corpus-Gloss* (Hessels, D 266) *ditōr*, *gefyrðro* we have to do with a noun, not—as would seem evident to any but a prejudiced mind—with a verb form. Sweet must have taken *ditōr* as equivalent to *ditator*; his present *gefyrðra* is an improvement on the *gefyrðro* 'promoter' we find in the glossary to *OET*. Goetz in his *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* correctly explains the word by German 'ich fördere', but fails to refer to the source of the gloss, Aldhelm's Riddle *De Arcturo* l. 7 *hoc dono ditōr*, etc., whence it would seem that *gefyrðro* was originally *gefyrðrod sc. beom*. Also on a supposition is based Sweet's entry *wuduhegn* 'quail'. We read in *Corpus C.* 840 *coturno wodhae*. This appears wrongly (cp. Wülker's note) as *coturno wodhæn* *WW.* 366, 2. But imagining *coturno* as being = *coturnix*, Sweet accepted *wodhæn* and took it to be for *wuduhegn* which he prints as authentic in his *Dictionary*, giving the reader not even a hint as to the doubtfulness of the entry. I think we shall not go amiss in referring the gloss to Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Acircium* (Giles, p. 264, l. 8) *versu et facundiae cothurno extulerunt*; *wodhae* then will stand for *wōð wōp* evidently being used here in the sense of 'stilted (artificial) speech.' Thus *coturnus* appears glossed by Irish *sulbaire* 'eloquence' in the *Cod. Augustini Carolisruh*, fol. 35^b. Probably to the same passage of Aldhelm is to be referred the Münster gloss *coturno crince* (*ZfdA.* 33, 242), and *crinc* will rather mean 'gewundene, gekünstelte Rede' than *gewundener Schuh*, as Kluge would have it.

In the preface to his *OET*. Sweet had drawn attention to the monstrous *borggilefde* glossing *vadimonium* in the *Corpus*, but to this monstrosity he actually gives a place in his *Dictionary*, not heeding the clear testimony of Epinal-Erfurt reading *uerecundiae concesserim gilebdae* and *uadimonium borg* as to two distinct words. *Gilefde*, of course, renders only *concesserim*, the gloss referring to *Oros.* III, 3, 3.

That there is no such verb as *pritiġean* 'chirp', has already been pointed out by Napier, note to *OEG.* 37, 3 *garrulantes wri[tiende]*. But we may well ask why Sweet turned aside Kluge's testimony as to the MS. reading *writiġeað* (*pipant*) *WW.* 516, 24 (see *E. S.* XI, 512) and why he paid no

attention to the by-form *wreotian* pointed out by the same author as extant in *WW.* 377, 33 *crepitat wreotaþ*. The question is all the more pertinent as Hall's *Dictionary* gives *wreotan* = *writian* and explains the latter by 'to rush, to roar.'

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ROMANIC LEXICOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANIES.

Under this heading are gathered various French, Italian, or Provencal words. Some of them are either not registered in the lexicons, or they are ill-defined, or, again, they have seemed to me to have been treated inadequately or erroneously from an etymological point of view.

Agacer, agazzare, taquiner.

AGAZA, Old High German, "daw". See O. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed. *Agaza*, rather than the *agalstra* cited as a possibility by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter in the *Dictionnaire Général*, is almost certainly the etymon of the French *agacer* and of the Italian *agazzare*. Tommaseo cites *agazza* and refers to *agazza* and *gazzera*. He does not cite *agazzare*. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scrip.*, t. XVI, col. 1035, cites the following from the account of the burial of Galeazzo of Milan, September, 1402: "alia duo [scuta] cum divisa Imperatoris, videlicet uno capitergio cum una gassa." I shall quote one earlier passage for the Italian. Körting reads thus in his second edition: "Über das Vb. *agacer* s. oben *ad* + *hazjan*; zu *agaza* gehört *agacer* nur insofern, als es altfranzösisch auch 'wie eine Elster schreien' bedeutet; *agacer*, 'reizen,' ist *ad* + *ahd. hazjan*, 'hetzen';" etc. On the contrary, both *agacer* and *agazzare* are, I believe, to be derived from OHG. *agaza*, "daw," and both these verbs were at first terms of falconry. The *Dictionnaire Général* defines *agacer* as follows:—(1) Mettre dans un état de légère irritation nerveuse:—(2) Exciter par de légères provocations.

Now as to the evidence. To say nothing of the very serious phonetic difficulties to which both *hazjan* and *hatzan* give rise, there is excellent ground for seeking elsewhere the etymon of *agacer*

and of *agazzare*. In reading for the chapter on Falconry in "Dante and the Animal Kingdom," I came upon the following passage from an early Italian writer (13th cent.?), who surely must have had an etymologist of the twentieth century in mind. In the *Libro delle nature degli uccelli, Scelta di Curios. Lett.*, vol. 140, p. 26, we find this statement, "Se tu vuoi *agazzare* neuno sparviere od altro uccello, per averlo, tolle el seme del dente cavallino [henbane], e fânne polvere, e dàllili a beccare in qualunque modo tu puoi, ed elli morae, e tu li li chiedi; e s'elli nollo ti dà, e tu guarda; quand' elli el gitterà vallo a ricogliere, scaldalo al fuoco e guarrà bene." The author continues, (p. 52) . . . "e poi che serà bene adusato alla mano, e riede a la mano, abbi una *gazza*, innanzi che tu li mostri altro uccello neuno, e coscili li occhi, e poni la *gazza* in terra e vâ collo sparvieri presso sì che la pigli . . ." etc.

This teasing allurement with the *gazza* or daw goes on for several days till the hawk or falcon has learnt her lesson. *Ibid.*, p. 52 ff. May we not seek a similar origin for *taquiner* in the O. H. German *tāha*, which also means a daw?

Aūrios, aūrius.

A(U)GURIOSUS > Old Prov. *aūrios*, 'crazy'. Unlike the etymon of *heureux*, *auguriosus* is not a hypothetical form. We find this in Du Cange: "Auguriosus, augur. Parminius Abbas in Excerptis de sacris Scripturis." Our English word 'silly' has had a similar history. Anglo-Saxon *sælig* meant 'timely'. The word then came to mean 'happy', 'lucky', 'blessed', 'innocent'; finally, 'simple', 'foolish'. See Skeat.

Levy, in his *Supplement-Wörterbuch*, gives two quotations:

El esdevenç aūrios e senes sen.

Merv. Irl. 51, 24.

E aprop los companhos d'aguest aūrios lo van penre e liguar.

Ibid. 52, 16.

Religious frenzy had, it seems, a like influence on the semantic development of the Old Provençal *aūrius*, which also means 'mad', 'crazy', and comes almost certainly from a(u)gurium + *ius*. For *aūrius* see Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, II, 148. Mistral defines *auriveu*, *aurivel*, *auruvello*, *auribelli*, *auribello*, as meaning 'light-headed', 'wild', 'giddy'.

Attujare.

*ATTURIARE > Ital. *attujare*, 'to stop', 'to block'. Levy, *op. cit.*, cites *aturar*. The *yod* here postulated is not a very rare phenomenon in Italian. We have both *furo* and *fuio*, and, contrariwise, *panie* and *pane*. Possibly *attujare* was influenced by (or influenced) *abbujare*. We may now be in a position to throw light on the moot point raised by Dante's lines (*Purg.* xxxiii, 48),

E forse che la mia narrazion buia,
Qual Temi e Sfinge, men ti persuade
Perchè a lor modo l'intelletto attua.

Burrato.

BURRUS = *rufus*. (perhaps *πυρρός*. St. Augustine, *Serm.*, 256 n. 13, uses *byrrhus*. See Forcellini). Ital. *burrato*, 'abyss', 'dark chasm'.

Dante, *Inf.* xii, 10:

Cotal di quel burrato era la scesa.

Again, *Inf.* xvi, 114:

La[corda] gittò giuso in quel burrato.

The suffix *-atus* attached to such a word gives rise to difficulties. The change of meaning of the stem, however, is natural enough, if we consider the fickleness of colors. Compare for example Ital. *bruno*, and English "brown". Remark also Old Spanish *blavo*,—"Calificacion dada al color que se compone de blanco y pardo o algo bermejo." Donadiu y Puignau.

Quive.

ECCUM + *ŷbī* > Ital. *quivi*; *ŷbī* > OVE. By analogy to *ove*, the more frequent word, we get *quive*, used by Dante (*Paradiso* xiv, 26).

Alluminare.

O. French EN + Latin LUMINARE > Old and Mod. French *enluminer*, with the derivatives *enlumineur*, *enluminure*. "Comme l'escrivain qui a fait son livre l'enlumine d'or et d'azur." Joinville, *St. Louis*, 146, ed. Wailly. For the sake of what we nowadays call "local color" Dante used this word instead of the Italian *miniare*, and rendered the French nasal *en* by a Tuscan *a*.

"O," dissì lui, "non sei tu Oderisi,
L'onor d'Agobbio e l'onor di quell' arte
Che alluminare chiamata è in Parisi?"

Purg. xi, 79-82.

Assemprare.

EXEMPLUM (amplification of Körtig 3396) > Ital. *assemprare*, 'to copy' or 'exemplify'.

This derivation seems to explain definitively the lines in Dante (*Inf.* xxiv, 4, 5):—

Quando la brina in sulla terra assempra
L'immagine di sua sorella bianca (the snow).

Issaratz.

EXSERRATUS or EXERRATUS > Old Provençal *issaratz*.

In the twenty-third line of a poem by William IX of Poitou¹ beginning, *Companho, faray un vers covinen*, is found a curious word, *issaratz*. The poem ends with these verses:

Cavallier, datz mi cosselh d'un pessamen;
anc mais no fuy issaratz de cauzimen;
res non sai ab qual me tengua de n' Agnes o de n' Arsen.

The phonetic development by which we get an *iss* in the ante-penultimate and an *a* in the penultimate of *issaratz* may be explained thus: *Exilium* > *eissilh* and *issilh*; *mercedem* > *merce* and *marce*, for *e* followed by *r* often becomes *a*. The citations about to be given show that no difficulty arises from the single *r* of *issaratz*. Observe now these verses cited by Raynouard under *serrar* from Bertran de Born and Guillem de Tudela

Mas aissi'ls clau e'ls enserra.

(B. de B.)

(See Stimming's ed. 1892, p. 68.)

En auta votz cridan, Anem los essarar.

(G. de T.)

Though one *issarrar* (*esserar*, *eserar*, *essarar*, etc.) is undoubtedly from *i(n)serrare*, we may well have in the *issaratz* of Count Guillem IX a homonym from *exserratus* or *exerratus*. The debatable line may mean, "I was never more excluded (never further) from discrimination (from making a choice) between Lady Agnes and Lady Arsen."

On the other hand if *issaratz* be from *exerrare*, meaning 'to go astray', the words "anc mais no fuy issaratz" might signify "I was never more bewildered."

I hope to have thrown a little light on this puzzle which I have certainly not solved.

¹ Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, No. 59.

Fiatore.

FLATUS merged with FOETOREM > *fiatore*, 'stench'.

"Putente sopra ogni fiatore," *Tundal's Vision*, Codex 185.

Grimaldi.

GRIMALDI (a very common Italian proper name) perhaps > *grimaldello*, a lock-pick. Fr. Sacchetti, Nov. 175, "Aprirono o con grimaldello, o con altro artificio il detto serrame." Cf. the English words, Betty, Jenny, Jemmy, Jimmy. A certain paternal familiarity with tools leads naturally (especially among the burglarious gentry) to an endearing diminutive. Zambaldi derives *grimaldello* thus: "è un dim. dal mlt. *cremaculus*, fr. *crémaille*, mod. *crémaillère*, che deriva dall' ol. Kram. *uncino di ferro*." Aside from the probability that '*cremaculus*' would give **cremaglio* or **cremacchio*, it seems to me going rather far afield to look thus for an etymon, seeing the very great frequency with which tools are named after the most notorious persons who have used them.

Leppo.

LIPPUS, adj. only. 'Blear-eyed,' 'sore-eyed'; of things, 'dripping,' 'running.' > Ital. *leppo*, 'stench.' Dante, *Inf.* xxx, 99, "Per febbre acuta gittan tanto leppo." Buti comments: "Leppo è puzza d'arso unto, come quando lo fuoco s'appiglia alla pignatta o alla padella, e così dice che putiano coloro."

In modern Ital. *leppo* refers especially to a smell from a kitchen. There is a Greek λίπος [Y] τὸ, meaning 'animal-fat,' 'lard,' 'tallow.'

Pola.

(CORNIX) PAULA. Pola, now obsolete in Tuscan save in a proverb, is used by the Venetians (so G. di Mirafiore says) to designate a *taccola* or daw. Benvenuto da Imola commenting on *pole*, *Parad.* xx, 35, renders, "the magpie or something similar," "*le pole*, quæ sunt de genere picarum." Lubin, Fraticelli, and Scartazzini say "cornacchie"! Philaethes translates "Krähn." In my opinion the word *pola* is derived from *cornix paula*, as *sanglier*, by the same well-known dropping of the noun, is derived from *porcus singularis*.

Cornix paula = *cornicula* or, rather *cornacula*, whence *cornacchia*. No etymology for *pola* is registered in Körting. As to the meaning of *pola*, the following definitions are given: *cornacchia*, *mulacchia*, *taccola*, and, finally, in his *Opere Div.* 90, Franco Sacchetti attributes to the *pola* essentially the characteristics attributed by the "Physiologus" to the *upupa*, hoopoe or lapwing. The weight of testimony indicates that the bird is either the rook or the daw. The word *pola* seems to have had more than one owner in Dante's time.

(See *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, p. 305).

Ramogna, ramier.

RAMO + ONIA (Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. des L. R.* II, § 462) > Ital. *ramogna*, god-speed (?). Dante uses this rare word in *Purg.* XI, 25:

Così a se e noi buona ramogna
Quell' ombre orando, andavan sotto il pondo, etc.

Buti comments: "buogna ramogna, cioè buona felicità nel nostro viaggio e nel loro: ramogna è proprio seguir nel viaggio."

Benvenuto da Imola: "idest, bonum augurium."

Jac. della Lana: "Propriamente è iter o viaggio."

Cf. Godefroy, s. v. *ramier* (No. 2.). Godefroy cannot define, but he cites Eustache Deschamps.

A cursory examination has not enabled me to find this passage in the ten-volume edition of the *Société des Anciens Textes*. Were one to study the legendary life of Saint Riquier widely enough the word *ramier* might be fully explained.

Sire, j'ay le mal Saint Riquier,
Donnez moi pour Dieu le ramier;
Atten encore jusqu'a demain.

"Le mal Saint Riquier" (not defined by Littré) is paralysis. The saint seems to have bequeathed a cure to those who devoutly visited his remains.

See Migne, *Patrologia*, v. 141, col. 1420.

Rattrappare.

RE + AD + TRAPPEN (Old HG. *trapo*, Anglo-Saxon *bitraeppan*, German *treppe*. Cf. *trampeln*, etc.) > Ital. *rattrappare*. The original sense of the word *trapo* was a 'step', then something stepped

on, then a 'trap'. Cf. English 'trap-door'. Dante, *Inf.* XVI, 136,

Sì come torna colui che va giuso
Talora a solver l'ancora ch' aggrappa
O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso,
Che in su si stende, e da piè si rattrappa.

In this passage the word seems to revert to its original meaning 'to step'. The verse (136) appears to mean: "Who stretches up and kicks backward",—a perfect description of a swimmer pushing up toward the surface.

Sobbarecare.

SUB + ARC(U) + ARE, or (?) SUB + ARCA + ARE, > Ital. *sobbarecare* 'to bend beneath'. Dante, *Purg.* VI, 135, "Io mi sobbarco". Buti, in his commentary, suggests another etymon. He says, "I'mi sobbarco, cioè io faccio di me barca."

For the doubling of the *b* (if my etymology be correct), cf. *abate* or *abbate*, *abborre* < *abhorret*, etc.

Tragime.

TRAGĪMEN (cf. first and second editions of Körting.) > Ital. *tragime*, 'kedge', a term of falconry. This word is not cited by Tommaseo. See *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, vol. 140, p. 40 and *passim*.

Trafiere.

TRANSFERIRE > Ital. *traferire* and *trafierere*, whence *trafiere*, 'dagger.' See *Tundal's Vision* in *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, vol. 128, p. 43, and Tommaseo. See, also, Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. des L. R.*, vol. II, § 399. *Leva*, a 'lever,' shows that a postverbal may be the name of a tool.

Triamito.

Τριμήτος (fabric woven with three threads) > ? Ital. *triamito*, 'ticking', 'drill'. *Tundal's Vision* Codex 158: . . . "coperte di preziosi panni di seta e di triamito." See *Scelta di Curios. Lett.*, vol. 128, p. 96, and the explanation by Corazzini, *ibid.*, p. 132. The word *triamito* is not registered in any accessible lexicon.

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ITALIAN PHONETICS.

F. M. JOSSELYN, JR., *Étude sur la phonétique italienne*. Thèse, Paris, 1900. Also in *La Parole*, 1900, II, 422, 449, 673, 739; 1901, III, 41.

The author's thought in regard to Italian was: "While there exist many books which teach in what cases to pronounce such or such a sound, there is none which explains *how* to pronounce the sounds themselves." To gather some data he obtained records from a native of Emilia, from two of Sienna, and from one each of Florence, Perugia, Umbria, Rome and Sicily. These records included palatograms and tracings from the nose, mouth and larynx.

Paper artificial palates were made in the usual way. The troublesome moistening of the paper was avoided by soaking it with oil before it was perfectly dry; a good addition is—Dr. Josselyn says—to cover it with bicycle enamel. Specimen palatograms are shown in Figs. 1 to 25.

Graphic records were made of the pressure and movements of the tongue and lips by exploratory bulbs of different sizes inserted into the mouth. Pressure on the bulb caused deflections in the line drawn by a tambour¹ on a smoked drum. Specimen records of the elevation of the tongue are shown in Figs. 26 to 32. Graphic records were also made of the vibrations of the larynx by placing a Rousselot laryngeal capsule over the larynx and connecting it to a small tambour. Records of the air coming from the nose were made by inserting a nasal olive into the nostril and connecting it to a tambour. Specimen records of laryngeal and nasal action are shown in Figs. 33 to 38. The breath from the mouth was recorded by speaking into a receiving trumpet connected to a tambour.

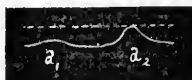


FIG. 26.

¹ Attention should be called to the remarkably fine tambours recently devised by Ch. Verdin, Paris.

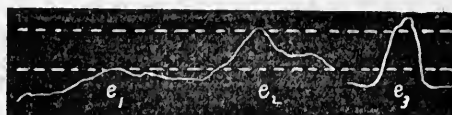


FIG. 27.

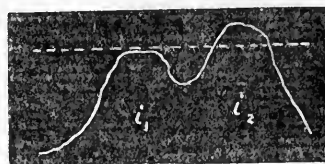


FIG. 28.

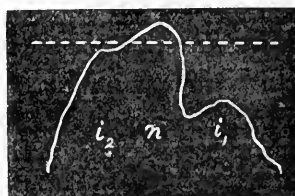


FIG. 29.



FIG. 30.

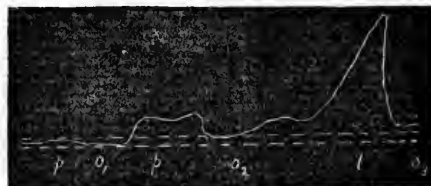


FIG. 31.



FIG. 32.

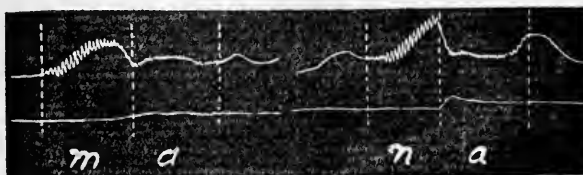


FIG. 33.



FIG. 34.

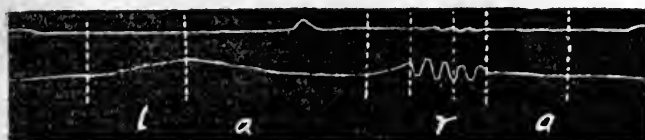


FIG. 35.

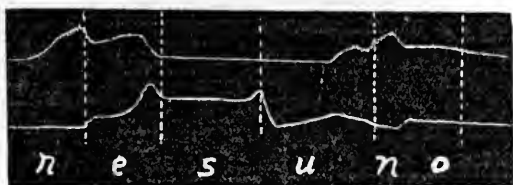


FIG. 36.

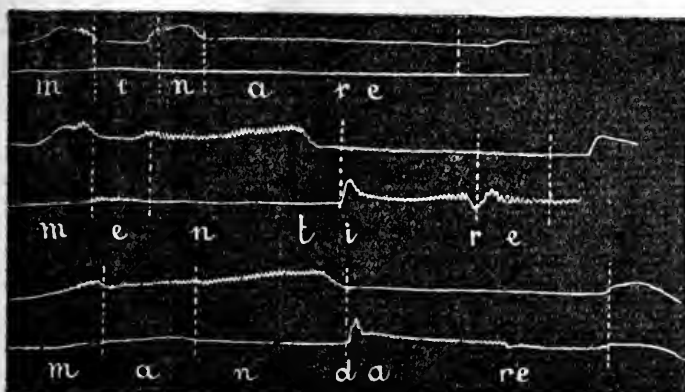


FIG. 37.

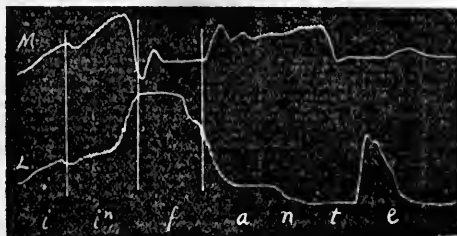
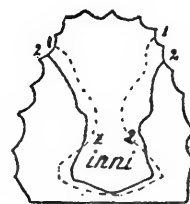


FIG. 38.

The recording drum was made of aluminum to avoid weight, the whole outfit being intended for traveling.²

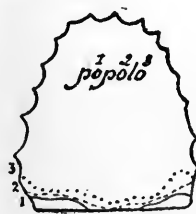
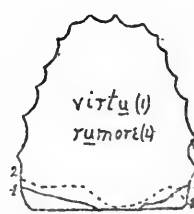
²The attention of phoneticians is called to the excellent aluminum drum made at the Harvard Medical School under the direction of Professor W. T. Porter, and sold for the incredibly low price of \$12.

The neutral vowel in Italian is tonic *a* as in 'ama'; the tongue rises slightly and just touches the hard palate at the rear (1, Fig. 1). The close *a* as in 'ama' has a greater elevation of the tongue and a larger region of contact (2, Fig. 1). The difference in tongue elevation is shown in the Fig. 26 of ama. The three varieties of *e* appear in 'credere'; open (1, Fig. 2), medium (2, Fig. 2) and close (3, Fig. 2). The relative tongue elevations are shown in the bulb record, Fig. 27.

FIG. 1.
aFIG. 2.
eFIG. 3.
i

The two varieties of *i* (Fig. 3) are clearly marked in each subject (Figs. 28, 29).

The three forms of *o*, as in 'popolo,' (Fig. 4) and the two of *u*, as in 'rumore' and 'virtù,' (Fig. 5) do not show great differences in their palatograms but the records of tongue movement by means of exploratory bulbs showed the distinctions clearly. (Figs. 30, 31).

FIG. 4.
oFIG. 5.
u

Italian thus has the typical vowels *a*, *á*, *è*, *é*, *i*, *ì*, *ò*, *ó*, *u*, *ú* (in Josselyn's notation).

Three types of occlusives were found according as the cord vibrations began before, at or after the moment of explosion. The first included only "sonants," the second both "sonants" and "surds," the third only "surds."

In long sonant occlusives, as in 'double consonants,' (e. g. addentro) the rise of breath pressure in the mouth gradually stops the current through the glottis and consequently the cord tone, thus making them partially surd just before the explosion.

With the Italian surds the vibrations of the following vowel begin regularly during the explosion, but sometimes at the moment of the explosion as in French. In rare cases they begin after the explosion as in German and English. In the sonants the cord vibrations begin regularly in advance of the explosion; sometimes, however, they begin even with the explosion as in English. These variations are not indiscriminate, but show fixed types according to the individual or region.

The records showed clearly that in the occlusives there was always a difference in pressure and in extent of contact between a sonant and its corresponding surd, and that a surd *g*, for example, is not the same as a *k*.

In *p* and *b* the labial and the lingual pressures showed $p > b$. The *t* and *d* were regularly pure dentals and never interdental. In some cases the *t* and *d* showed less rise than the regular type, as in *tito*, *dido* (Fig. 32) indicating a tendency toward interdental. A frontal prepalatal *t* was found with one person.

The palatograms for *ka*, *ki*, *ko* (Fig. 8) and *ga*, *gi*, *go* (Fig. 9) show the different forms of *k* and *g* depending on the following vowel; in all these forms the point of the tongue was against the lower teeth. The records for *ča* and *či* (Fig. 10) show that *č* includes the contacts for prepalated *t* and *j* (consonant *i*) and not those for *t* and *š*; the fact seems also to have been established that the entire contact for both articulations was made at the same time. According to Dr. Josselyn it is quite wrong to consider *č* as composed of the articulations dental *t* and *š*. The contacts for *ġa* and *ġi* were, for this subject, practically the same as for *ča* and *či*. With other subjects the *ġa* and *ġi* showed a tendency toward a fricative form (Figs. 11, 12). The contact for *ts* as in 'zio' (Fig. 13) resembles that of *t* (Fig. 6) but covers a smaller surface; that for *dz* as in 'dozzina' is like that for *ts* with the tongue less firmly against the palate in the rear. Dr. Josselyn seems to consider *ts*, *dz* to be nearly as closely unified as *č*, *ġ*. For *s* (Fig. 14) the contact is against the alveolæ with a short

opening near the middle; for *ʒ* (Fig. 15) the contact surface is slightly less. The important fact is that the tongue is against the lower teeth, thus making a clear dental sound, instead of the looser English one where the tip of the tongue is raised. For *ʒ* (Fig. 16) the channel is very wide. The *l* (Fig. 17) involved a frontal-prepalatal contact but in another subject was purely dental (Fig. 18). The rolled 'r' and fricative 'r' did not differ in contact (Fig. 19). The almost complete closure in the prepalatal region for the fricative 'r' may be made complete by a slight movement; in such a case if the sides of the tongue are not sufficiently firm the lateral escape of the air will produce an *l*, or if they are firm the velum can descend and produce an *n*; such phonetic changes are common in the Romance languages. In the change from fricative 'r' to *s* the closure may readily become complete and produce an intermediate *t*, as in *pwo dartsi* for *pwo darsi*. The articulation for *m* (Fig. 20) is postpalatal with occasional alveolar contact of the tongue tip. The *n* is frontal-prepalatal (Fig. 21) or dental. The record of 'ng' in 'vengo' shows a postpalatal *ŋ* (Fig. 22), quite different from the prepalatal *n* (Fig. 21). The dorsal contact for *ħ* or *l-mouillé* (*l* in Fig. 23) is very different from the frontal contact in *lj* (*ʒ* in Fig. 23). There does not appear to be so much difference in the case of *ñ* and *nj* (Fig. 24). The *j* in *jeri* 'ieri' (*ʒ* in Fig. 25) is clearly distinct from the vowel *i* in *io* (*l* in Fig. 25) although somewhat resembling it.

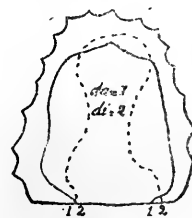
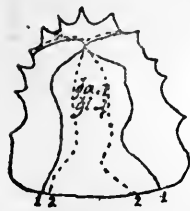
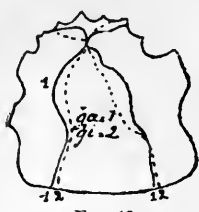
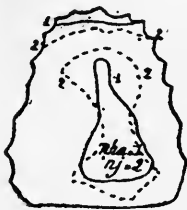
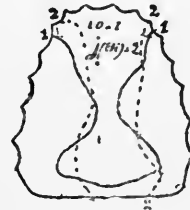
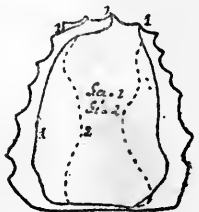
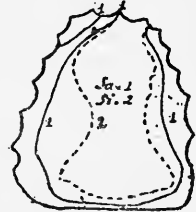
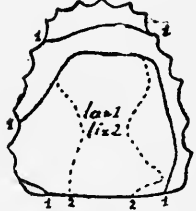
FIG. 6.
tFIG. 7.
dFIG. 8.
kFIG. 9.
g

FIG. 10.
cFIG. 11.
gFIG. 22.
nFIG. 23.
hFIG. 12.
jFIG. 13.
z=tsFIG. 24.
rFIG. 25.
i, jFIG. 14.
sFIG. 15.
tFIG. 16.
shFIG. 17.
lFIG. 18.
lFIG. 19.
rFIG. 20.
mFIG. 21.
n

Josselyn's study of nasalization was quite extensive. In Figs. 33 to 38 the upper record is from the nose, the lower one from the mouth. In *ma* and *na* the nasalization includes not only the nasal but to a less degree the entire vowel, especially its close. The vibrations in the tracing indicate that the velar movement finished before the cord action did, thus giving a special nasal twang to the end of the vowel. The record for *mano* shows the nasal current of air during *m*, a smaller nasal current during *a*, an increased nasal current during *n*, a cessation of this current during *o*, and the expulsion of the surd air from both mouth and nose after the laryngeal vibrations have ceased.

During *l*, *r*, *g*, *d*, *b*, *z* of *la*, *ra*, *ga*, *da*, *ba*, *za* the nasal line shows vibrations without any deflection of the point of rest; these vibrations indicate, I believe, the transmission of vibratory movements and the roll of the *r* to the velum and thus to the nasal cavity, but no relaxation of the velar closure. During *f* of *fa* a small rise was noted in the nasal line, indicating a slight escape of air through the velar closure.

It should be noted that Josselyn confines the term "nasality" to the physical conditions of the air in the nasal cavity. He distinguishes three qualities of this nasality: 1. passage of surd air through the nose, 2. passage of sonant air through the nose, 3. existence of vibrations in the nasal cavity with no passage of air.

In the record for "nessuno" the full opening of the nasal cavity is seen for *n*; the *e* is considerably nasalized throughout, but most strongly near the end; the glide from *e* to *s* closes the nasal cavity entirely and the mouth somewhat; the glide from *s* to *u* is marked by a slight explosive puff from the mouth and then an almost complete closure; the *u* shows a steadily increasing stream from the mouth and the glide from *u* to *n* a steadily decreasing one; the *u* is without nasalization; the *u-n* glide is strongly nasalized; the *n* is nasal as before; the *o* is slightly nasalized.

Records of "menare", "mentire" and "mandare" show *m* of nearly constant length. The first *n* is short, the second more than three times and the last about three times as long. The interesting point is that this is caused by the nasalization of the occlusion of the explosive. Similar records show a long *n* in "infante", "inni", "mente", and a short one in "onore", "nessuno", "mano" and "tenere". The *n* at the end of a syllable is steadily stronger and longer, and feebler and shorter at the beginning and after an open syllable.

The velar action required for a nasal was regularly extended to the neighboring sounds and sometimes to the whole word.

After a vowel the *m* or *n* often took a form intermediate between the vowel and the usual *m* or *n*. In one record for "infante" (Fig. 38) the first *n* is seen to have entirely disappeared, as the lower line shows no oral occlusion; it was replaced by a nasal vowel.

We cannot go further into the details of Dr. Josselyn's thesis; some of the principal results may be summarized as follows:

The sounds that are believed to be identical show notable differences for the same region and dialect. The same sound is often pronounced differently by the same individual. (I may add that in my study of *ai* in the tracings of Cock Robin I found no two *ai*'s exactly alike). In addition to the usually recognized two varieties of Italian vowels (closed and open) there are also two medium ones. The difference between surds and sonants shows itself throughout the entire articulation. (The same fact has been shown for French by Rousselot). The sounds *č* and *ǵ* are composed of two parts: a prepalatal occlusion

which is never dental *t* or *d*, and a fricative portion which is never *š* as generally supposed. The sounds *m* and *n* often appear merely as nasalizations of the following vowel. The sounds *m* and *n* after a vowel may take a form intermediate between the vowel and the consonant; this is the first step of an evolution already finished in French. The mouillé consonant is a simple sound to be distinguished clearly from a consonant followed by *j*. In Italian there are consonant *j* and *w* which are clearly distinguished from the vowels *i* and *u* although not differentiated in the spelling. Except in some special cases a diphthong occurs in Italian only when the tonic accent falls on one of two contiguous vowels. There are no triphthongs. Nasalization extends to the sound adjacent to the proper nasal and even to the whole word. A "double consonant" is a stronger and longer simple consonant. The vowel preceding a "double consonant" loses a quarter or a third of its usual length.

One weakness in this admirable work can be traced to an insufficient acquaintance with physics. For example, Dr. Josselyn speaks of the "question of knowing if the vibrations appear in the breath as soon as they appear in the larynx, or if the vowel is separated from the explosion by a puff of surd air." The vibrations imposed upon the breath by the action of the cords travel at the rate of about three hundred and thirty meters a second, reaching the lips—not over ten centimeters away—in less than one three-thousandth of a second, or in less than one-thirtieth of the period of a single vibration of a bass voice. The record of vibration for the mouth must therefore be simultaneous with that from the larynx; there can be no puff of surd air from the mouth if the cords are vibrating.

This interesting and valuable study was made by a graduate of Boston University, studying under the Abbé Rousselot. It was accepted as a thesis for the doctor's degree at the University of Paris, and received an award of five hundred francs in a competition for the Prix Volney. In my opinion it is one of the best pieces of work yet done on the physiological side of experimental phonetics; it is typical of the principles followed by the pupils of the Abbé Rousselot.

It impresses one with the originality of the

American mind to find that the first artificial palate for recording tongue contacts in speech was made by Kingsley of Philadelphia, that his palatograms are still the only set for English sounds, that the first sagittal diagrams of mouth positions determined by measurement were made by Professor Grandgent of Boston, that the first experimental studies of Lithuanian and Lettic were by Schmidt-Wartenberg of Chicago, and that the first application of experimental methods to Italian has been made by Dr. Josselyn. We shall await with interest the publication of Dr. Josselyn's experiments on Spanish.

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

Alessandro Manzoni's I Promessi Sposi. Abridged and edited, with an introduction and notes, by MORITZ LEVI, Assistant Professor of French in the University of Michigan. Silver, Burdett and Company, New York, Boston, Chicago: 1901. xxix + 329 pp. Price \$1.20. In the Silver Series of Modern Language Text-Books.

Perhaps no author ever spent so much conscientious and minute care on the language of any work as did Manzoni upon the language of *I Promessi Sposi*. The purification and unification of the Italian language was one of the definite purposes of his whole life work, as is proved by numerous passages in his letters and by his many writings dealing with linguistic questions. The first manuscript of *I Promessi Sposi*, written between April, 1821, and September, 1823, shows a very remarkable amount of erasure and correction. When once finished it was immediately subjected to a thorough revision. The manuscript product of this revision was submitted for private criticism to a score of intimate friends, among whom the most critical and the most influential was Tommaso Grossi. Again revised, in accordance with the suggestions made by this circle of critics, it was sent to the press in 1825 and finally published in 1827. Yet the author was not content with the work even in this much altered form; there remained in the language much that showed the non-Tuscan origin of the writer, much that savored

of the academic, much that was affected, literary, uncommon. With the definite purpose of studying the pure Tuscan idiom, Manzoni in 1827 went to Florence. For the thirteen years following this visit he devoted himself almost exclusively to the minute and painstaking revision of the language of his novel. The revised text was published in 1840-1842. The result of such labor—twenty years of the life of a man of "infinite capacity for taking pains" devoted to textual revision of a single work—has been to make the book precisely what he wished it to be: the standard of pure Italian. It is the advanced reader and rhetorical model in all Italian schools, and the authority from which modern Italian grammarians cite their examples. Such a work possesses in the very highest degree the necessary qualifications for use as a text-book by foreigners studying Italian. For those who are beginners in such study it needs annotation, chiefly for the explanation of words and expressions and of grammatical constructions not adequately treated in the available dictionaries and grammars. A good annotated edition of *I Promessi Sposi* would, therefore, be a very valuable addition to the small stock of Italian texts edited and annotated in English.

The length of the full Italian text (five hundred and seventy-four pages in the current Hoepli edition) renders abridgment necessary to adapt the book to class-room work. Mr. Levi, in his recent edition, has given the essential parts of the whole story in a text of two hundred and ninety pages. Even when thus abridged the text is perhaps longer than most instructors would care to use in early reading, for which the editor states in his preface that the book is intended. The first eight chapters (comprising ninety-two pages in the Levi edition) are to a certain extent complete in themselves; and if thoroughly edited would form a text-book cheaper, more compact, and more practical for early reading than this longer work.¹

In the Preface of the Levi edition we find the statement that "The text of this edition . . . is that of Alfonso Cerquetti (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli)." The date should be added, since the texts of this edition, published in different years, vary consid-

¹ The edition of the Rev. A. G. Clapin (London: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1892) consists of these eight chapters, but has no introduction and is deficient in annotation.

erably in details, that of 1898 being more correct than the later reprints.

Mr. Levi's Introduction is very satisfactory; generally accurate, comprehensive, and not too long. The first quotation on p. xii is from Dino Mantovani's *Il Poeta Soldato* (Milano: Treves, 1900), and should be so credited. Similar failure to credit quotations occurs in foot-note 1 on p. 247, and frequently in the Notes, for example in the note to p. 259, l. 10. The hymn *La Pentecoste* was first published in 1822, not in 1835, as stated on p. xvi, and the *Relazione sull' unità della lingua* (1868) was not the last work of Manzoni, as is stated on p. xix, for *La Rivoluzione francese del 1789 e la rivoluzione italiana del 1859*, a work by no means unworthy of the author of *Carmagnola* and *I Promessi Sposi*, dates from the years 1869-1873.

The third section of the Introduction, "I Promessi Sposi," is the least successful of the three. The latter half of this section, beginning on p. xxv and dealing with the art of Manzoni, is rather a compilation of impressions which one could scarcely fail to derive from the reading of the novel than a collection of introductory facts serviceable to the student.

In view of the very large number of Italian annotated editions of *I Promessi Sposi*, and of the books, essays, and magazine articles in English, French, German, and Italian dealing with the work, a carefully selected bibliography would perhaps have added to the value of the Introduction.

Mr. Levi has based the text of his edition upon the text of the current Hoepli edition, which was prepared by Alfonso Cerquetti. There is no authoritative text of *I Promessi Sposi*. The various copies of the final authorized edition of 1840 (Milano: Guglielmini e Redaelli) vary among themselves,—a fact due to Manzoni's passion for revision, as he ordered changes in the type-setting even after some copies had already been printed. It has never been decided what particular copy or group of copies is authoritative and final. Moreover, all copies of this edition contain certain typographical errors which escaped even the thorough revision of Manzoni. The policy of Italian editors has varied. Some have followed one set of variants, others another; some have retained the mistakes of the edition of 1840, others have corrected them. Very few have

followed any consistent scheme of selection or correction. The Cerquetti text is on the whole the most satisfactory one available, though it has many defects in minor points. Certain mistakes of the 1840 edition are retained. For example, *fra Cristoforo, andò* (Edition of 1840, p. 162, l. 14; Cerquetti edition, p. 121, l. 31; Levi edition, p. 90, l. 3): the comma should be omitted. Certain variations from the 1840 edition are introduced: for example, *Meschino* (1840, p. 458, l. 34) becomes *meschino* (Cer., p. 350, l. 23; Levi, p. 192, l. 28). The accentuation is not based upon that of the 1840 edition, and is inconsistent. For example, *voto* (1840, p. 349, l. 13) becomes *vôto* (Cer., p. 267, l. 11; Levi, p. 119, l. 9); and *augùri* (1840, p. 62, l. 7) becomes *augûri* (Cer., p. 45, l. 28; Levi, p. 43, l. 25), but is elsewhere written *augûri* (Cer., p. 91, l. 37; Levi, p. 74, l. 21).

In the text of the Levi edition I have noted the following typographical errors and variations from the Cerquetti text:

| Levi | Cerquetti |
|---|---|
| p. l. | p. l. |
| 16 29: <i>in vece</i> | 21 28: <i>invece</i> |
| 20 13: <i>vis, ligamen</i> | 24 24: <i>vis, ordo,¹ ligamen</i> |
| 26 13: <i>faceste! . . .</i> | 29 13: <i>faceste . . .!</i> |
| 35 31: <i>stia</i> | 36 28: <i>stia</i> |
| 38 23: <i>piazza</i> | 41 37: <i>piazza</i> |
| 48 5: <i>abbandonerà padre</i> | 61 34: <i>abbandonerà, padre</i> |
| 53 22: <i>si</i> | 66 10: <i>ci</i> |
| 67 3: <i>securo</i> | 85 33: <i>sicuro</i> |
| 75 9: <i>casa</i> | 92 17: <i>cosa</i> |
| 98 11: <i>Bonavventura</i> | 174 9: <i>Bonavventura</i> |
| 115 9: <i>voleva</i> | 259 35: <i>volevo</i> |
| 122 18: <i>via? " che</i> | 269 32: <i>via? che</i> |
| 122 31: <i>Ierlaltro</i> | 270 5: <i>Ierlaltro</i> |
| 179 14: <i>serà</i> | 335 24: <i>sarà</i> |
| 182 33: <i>sotto voce</i> | 340 25: <i>sottovoce</i> |
| 183 5,6: <i>sotto voce</i> | 340 31: <i>sottovoce</i> |
| 196 27: <i>Agnese e Lucia sentirono un ronzio crescente nella²</i> | 353 32: <i>Agnese infatti, quando si parlava di lei, era già poco</i> |

¹ The word *ordo* is omitted in some copies of the edition of 1840, but is retained in others. Some editors retain, some omit it. Cerquetti retains it.

² Inserted from p. 200, l. 31.

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|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 215 31: <i>proprio, in</i> | 384 38: <i>proprio in</i> |
| 230 13: <i>stentamente</i> | 483 24: <i>stentatamente</i> |
| 235 17: <i>disidèri</i> | 487 28: <i>desidèri</i> |

The abridgment of the text is, on the whole, satisfactory. One cannot but regret, however, that in a work of such length room was not found for the whole of Chapter IV, with its masterly narration of the early life of Fra Cristoforo: the chapter which was the favorite of Manzoni himself. The *résumés*, in several instances, do not include explanation of points necessary for the understanding of certain passages retained in the text. For example, no reference of any kind is made to Manzoni's Introduction, with its pretence of the discovery of an old manuscript of which the story is a mere revision. References to this manuscript and to its author are frequent throughout the book (*e.g.*, p. 3, l. 20; p. 51, l. 17; p. 133, ll. 11 and 12), and in no case is any explanation given in the notes or elsewhere. So, too, no explanation is to be found for the words *il pane del perdono* (p. 125, l. 7), the reference being to an omitted passage in Chapter IV (Cerquetti, p. 59).

The annotation is not systematic. Such quotations as those constituting the notes to p. 5, l. 3; p. 125, l. 15; and p. 166, l. 3, would much better have been embodied in the third section of the Introduction. Such notes as those upon p. 137, l. 11; p. 243, l. 20; and p. 246, l. 4, would better have been embodied in the *résumés*. There is just one note of literary character (that to p. 41, l. 1) and that is unimportant. Difficulties occurring twice or more are not systematically treated. In some cases the same explanation is repeated, in some cases the note on the second occurrence consists of reference to the note on the first occurrence, in some cases different forms of explanation are given. If a single grammatical point is to be annotated several times, consistency in form of annotation would be more desirable than the constant variations in statement occurring, for example, in the notes on p. 6, l. 12, and p. 34, l. 6; and in the notes on elision, such as those on p. 1, l. 7: *par = pare*; on p. 2, l. 28: *piglian (o)*; and on p. 8, l. 11: *avrem* for *avremo*. In many cases grammatical peculiarities or words or phrases requiring explanation are annotated on the second or later occurrence, no explanation having been given on the first occurrence. For example, the

note on p. 2, l. 18, should have been given on p. 2, l. 1; that on p. 25, l. 33, on p. 16, l. 14; that on p. 51, l. 32 (*chi = se alcuno*), on p. 50, l. 4; that on p. 95, l. 22 (*lei = ella*), on p. 13, l. 15; that on p. 112, l. 28, on p. 85, l. 24; and that on p. 215, l. 20, on p. 58, l. 4.

The frequent use, in the notes, of Italian quotations is perhaps unwise, if the book is intended for early reading. Such quotations as that on p. 20, l. 12, are fully as difficult to understand as any Italian of the text itself.

I have noticed the following typographical errors in the notes: note to p. 11, l. 11: for *ragione* read *ragioni*; p. 58, l. 4: for *quatro* read *quattro*; p. 133, l. 33: for *resentita* read *risentita*; p. 144, l. 31: for *como* read *come*; p. 278, l. 5: for *brute* read *brutte*; p. 283, l. 23: for *poggia* read *poggio*.

The following errors in annotation have been noted: Note to p. 2, ll. 18 and 20: "*l'uve, dall'alture*, etc. These forms are found more often than *le uve, dalle alture*." Correct if referring merely to Manzoni's usage; incorrect if referring to Italian usage in general. In the best modern usage *le* is seldom elided except before nouns beginning with *e*.—Note to p. 7, l. 18: *per istinto*. Reference to note on page 1, l. 23: "After *con*, *in*, *per*, and *non*, words beginning with *s* impure generally prefix *i*." The *i* of *istinto* is a necessary part of the word, not a euphonic prefix. *Stinto* is obsolete.—Note to p. 11, l. 11: "*messosi a sostenere le sue ragioni, i. e.*, who wanted to maintain his rights." Rather, "who had actually made an attempt to maintain his rights."—Note to p. 17, l. 15: "*al tempo proibito per le nozze, i. e.*, Lent." Not Lent, but the other period in which marriages are prohibited, that between the first Sunday in Advent and the Epiphany. The date of Don Abbondio's encounter was Nov. 7, 1628 (p. 3, ll. 17 and 18). The first Sunday in Advent, in 1628, was Dec. 3. Lent, of course, did not begin till some three months later. The expression *manca-van pochi giorni* (p. 17, l. 15) makes it certain that the reference is to the earlier period.—Note to p. 30, l. 16: "*gonnella*, gown." Rather, "skirt."—Note to p. 32, l. 20: "*filanda*, spinning-mill, spinning." The first translation is correct; the second is inapplicable here, and should be omitted.—Note to p. 40, l. 31: "*gliene avrebbe dato il parere = ne avrebbe dato loro il parere*. When *loro* meets with *ne*, it sometimes becomes *gli*."

The impression given is incorrect. The change of *loro* to *gli* is not dependent on its meeting with *ne*. *Gli* as indirect object is much more common than *loro* in colloquial Italian, and full as common in modern literary Italian. Manzoni recognized this, and in his revised edition of 1840 often substituted *gli* for *loro* of the first edition, as in this very place: Ed. of 1827, *ne avrebbe lor dato il parere*; Ed. of 1840, *gliene avrebbe dato il parere*.—Note to p. 51, l. 15: "*bicocca*, small mountain fortress." A frequent secondary meaning, but pointless in the comparison here. The word is used in its primary sense of "isolated peak."—Note to p. 75, l. 25: (*sveglia*) "*la sua parte*, here = *molto*." *La sua parte* corresponds closely to the English expression, "with his full share of (brightness)," an idea which the indefinite *molto* fails to convey.—Note to p. 76, l. 9: "*fare a rimbalzello*, to play ducks and drakes." Rather, "to skip stones."—Note to p. 95, l. 1: "*della costola d'Adamo*, i. e., she is quite human." The translation is without point in this connection and incorrect. *Essere della costola d'Adamo* is a common colloquial expression meaning "to trace one's ancestry back to Adam," "to be of an aristocratic family."—Note to p. 130, l. 30: "*alla staffa*, the place of honor." Correct but unnecessary as comment; incorrect as translation. The phrase is used merely with its literal value, "at the stirrup."—Note to p. 188, l. 15: "*da mettere insieme quattro ufizi generali*, i. e., enough for celebrating four high masses (for the dead)." Omit the parenthesis. The *ufizi generali* constitute the regular daily services, and are not necessarily *ufizi de' morti*.

Mr. Levi states in the Preface that "it has been the aim of the editor to explain only such words and phrases as are not usually found in the dictionaries used by the student," and in the same Preface recommends the "small but useful Italian dictionary by Melzi." Between 125 and 150 notes consist merely of translations which are to be found in that dictionary, many of them being word for word transcriptions of the definitions there given. Such notes would, therefore, appear to be unnecessary. The following list includes references to the notes of this class occurring in the annotation of the first chapter: p. 1, l. 3: *sporgere*; p. 2, l. 4: *ville*; p. 2, l. 12: *castello*; p. 2, l. 18: *diradar*; p. 2, l. 29: *scorcio*; p. 2, l. 33: *andirivieni*; p. 3, l.

4: *pure*; p. 3, l. 8: *al di sopra*; p. 3, l. 12: *giogo*; p. 3, l. 31: *pezze*; p. 3, l. 32: *squarcio*; p. 4, l. 14: *bigiognolo*; p. 4, l. 15: *scalcinatura*; p. 4, l. 21: *al di fuori*; p. 5, l. 1: *congegnate*; p. 5, l. 20: *anche*; p. 5, l. 26: *coda*; p. 7, l. 7: *bestemmia*; p. 7, l. 30: *nemmeno*; p. 8, l. 29: *squarcio*; p. 9, l. 9: *maestranze*; p. 9, l. 16: *facinorosi*; p. 11, l. 19: *a contanti*; p. 11, l. 23: *crocchio*; p. 12, l. 34: *oibò*; p. 14, l. 31: *incalzanti*; p. 15, l. 27: *schiozzettata*; p. 15, l. 31: *abbaiare*. Other notes apparently unnecessary for a student far enough advanced to read a text of this length without the aid of a special vocabulary are those on elision (e. g., those on p. 1, l. 7; p. 2, l. 28; p. 3, l. 4; p. 7, l. 30); on diminutives (e. g., those on p. 1, l. 23; p. 2, l. 3; p. 3, l. 16; p. 4, l. 34); and on the common forms of irregular verbs (e. g., those on p. 18, l. 12; p. 49, l. 20; p. 49, l. 32; p. 252, l. 21).

The outline character of the best available English-Italian grammars, as for example that of Grandgent, to which Mr. Levi refers, renders necessary, in the annotation of a book intended for early reading, thorough grammatical explanation of the many important points treated inadequately or not at all in those grammars. The notes of this edition are often inadequate in this respect. They contain a much greater amount of translation than of careful grammatical explanation, and therefore, while calculated to help the student in the understanding of the particular passages referred to, are of little or no assistance on the recurrence of similar passages. They explain particular sentences, and not the principles involved. For example, the following points are inadequately treated both in Grandgent and in the Levi edition: *darla a gambe* (p. 6, l. 1 and note), *la finirò* (p. 72, l. 3 and note; Gr., p. 36, 3rd footnote): Manzoni's frequent idiomatic use of the feminine conjunctive pronoun should be thoroughly treated in a single note, and illustrated by cross-references:—*La sua autorità gli avrebbe fatti parer* (p. 17, l. 21 and note; Grandgent, p. 36, 2d footnote): according to the best modern usage, *gli* may be substituted for *li* as direct object only before a vowel or *h*, *s* impure, or a liquid consonant (e. g., *gli avrebbe*, p. 17, l. 21; *gli ho*, p. 78, l. 28; *gli spenderebbe*, Cerquetti, p. 101, l. 18).—*Che abbia* (p. 19, l. 3 and note; Gr., § 81 a): a very Tuscan idiom,—the introductory *Che* with which (or with *O che*) Tuscan peasants almost invariably begin questions imply-

ing doubt; followed sometimes by the indicative, sometimes, as here, by the subjunctive, on the analogy of the construction required by verbs of doubt or uncertainty.—The following points are inadequately treated in Grandgent and are not treated at all in the Levi edition: *il resto, campi e vigne, sparse* (p. 2, l. 3; Gr., § 26): agreement of *sparse*.—*Il mio povero Renzo* (p. 23, l. 3), *il mio caro Renzo* (p. 23, l. 14), *il mio Renzo* (p. 49, ll. 27 and 28, and p. 88, l. 22) (Gr., § 13, end): use of definite article with vocative preceded by possessive.—*Se gli accostò* (p. 26, l. 25; Gr., § 49): an exception to the usual rules for order, common in literary Italian, and not rare even in colloquial Tuscan speech.—*Protesta di non ne saper nulla* (p. 74, ll. 3 and 4; Gr., § 48): Manzoni's placing of *ne* before a non-imperative negative infinitive is contrary to the best modern usage.—*Cime . . . note . . . non meno che lo sia l'aspetto* (p. 91, ll. 4 and 5; Gr., § 85 a): use of *lo* as demonstrative adverb.—The following point is not treated at all in Grandgent, and is inadequately treated in the Levi edition: *delle sue* (p. 15, l. 7 and note), *menare per le lunghe* (p. 17, l. 14 and note), *l'ultima* (p. 34, l. 17 and note), *tirar dalla mia* (p. 48, l. 31 and note), *ne ha fatte di così curiose* (p. 80, l. 1 and note): Manzoni's frequent idiomatic use of the feminine article and adjective without the noun should be thoroughly treated in a single note, and illustrated by cross-references. To such a note might well be added treatment of such adverbial phrases as *alla meglio* (p. 47, l. 28), *alla peggio* (p. 49, l. 9), *alla buona* (p. 51, l. 18), *alla rinfusa* (p. 51, l. 28), *alla carlona* (p. 281, l. 16).—The following points are not treated at all either in Grandgent or in the Levi edition: *il meglio* (p. 17, l. 13), *alla meglio* (p. 47, l. 28): use of *meglio* as adjective.—*Può nascer di gran cose* (p. 17, l. 18), *c'è degli imbrogli* (p. 19, l. 18), *che imbrogli ci può essere* (p. 19, l. 19), *c'è ben . . . de' birboni* (p. 23, ll. 29 and 30), *ammalati non ce n'è* (p. 78, l. 15): use of verb in singular with plural subject, partitive in form or idea.—*Che* (p. 52, l. 26): use of *che* = *quando*.—*La collana . . . che la baratterei* (p. 66, ll. 28 and 29), *qualche pastocchia la troverò* (p. 67, l. 33): pleonastic use of conjunctive object pronoun.

Since the book is intended for early reading, the annotation should be much fuller in other respects. More frequent reference to Grandgent's grammar would be advisable, especially in con-

nection with such notes as those on p. 1, l. 7 (Gr., § 77 h); p. 25, l. 33 (Gr., § 51 g); p. 44, l. 22 (Gr., § 54 f). Notes with grammatical references would be advisable for such passages as *si sarebbe stati allegri* (p. 23, ll. 1 and 2; Gr., § 63 a); and *Le donne . . . dopo essersi . . . levate il vestito . . . e messo quello* (p. 40, ll. 17 and 18; Gr., § 54 a). Many words and phrases which are not adequately explained in the Melzi dictionary remain without annotation and, finally, many other passages need annotation for explanation of the idea involved; for example: *Vorrei vedere che mi faceste . . . !* (p. 26, ll. 12 and 13); *così . . . dalla vita alla morte . . .* (p. 83, ll. 15 and 16); *se le caccia sotto il braccio, come un cappello di gala* (p. 85, l. 33); *aver la mano* (p. 126, l. 9); *alle volte* (p. 179, l. 17); *non c'era il gatto nel fuoco* (p. 190, ll. 22 and 23); *laggiù in curia* (p. 277, l. 20).

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances Dealing with English and Germanic Legends, and with the Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur. ANNA HUNT BILLINGS, Ph. D. [Yale Studies in English, ALBERT S. COOK, Editor.] Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1901.

This book is one of a class that must become more common as the results of minute specialization continue to grow by accretion. Any aggregation of monographs within a division of philology represents, in its different parts, many special aims and degrees of scholarly training, especially if this succession covers a considerable portion of time. It is equally certain to show instances of duplication of effort, and a generally irregular development fatal to a well-ordered and well-knit structure. This comes from the absence of a central directing intelligence, and must lead to some unproductive employment of energy. Certain fields are worked past the limits of diminishing returns, while other territory, perhaps more fertile, awaits its pioneers. The value of a book of this kind is that it indicates, clearly and definitely, where within its own field is the "summa res." The vague opinion, for example, that certain of the

Arthurian romances have received undue attention, is quite a different thing from such certainty as Miss Billings's book can give.

Such selective processes, such collection and preliminary organization as this book implies, has especial value in dealing with material as various and widely scattered as that relating to the romances. The book does not consist of excerpts from well-known authorities with ready-made references. The bibliography does not present a large combination of unknown value that, presumably, contains somewhere within its compass all that is worth while on the subject. Each book mentioned—with three or four exceptions—has been read, and the results of that reading appear under some one of the headings. It has been attempted to classify and, in a general way, to gauge the importance of a large number of special monographs, publications of learned societies, reviews in journals of Germanic and Romance philology, and such reviews as occur in the more important literary journals. Any just estimate of the book must keep in mind the diffusion of the material, and the necessity for critical judgment that has arisen at every stage of the work.

The plan was suggested by the bibliography of the ME. verse-romances in Körting's *Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, 1899, but in completeness and order it has more of the general appearance of that used by Gautier in the third and fourth volume of his *Les Epopées Françaises*. The romances treated comprise about one half of those noticed by Körting and Brandl. Each romance is considered under the separate heads of: 1. Subject, 2. Specimen, 3. Story, 4. Origin, 5. Metre, 6. Dialect, 7. Date, 8. Author, 9. Bibliography,—the latter including all manuscripts, editions, prose and ballad versions, editions of French original, if known, and special monographs with reviews of each.

The first, second, and third of these attempt to present the contents and appearance of the romance to the reader, as well as it may be done in two or three pages. The intricacy and confusion of plot makes every abstract of these romances somewhat incoherent. Too little effort to generalize the more conventional features, and the inclusion of the subsidiary plots, have, in this instance, made this confusion more noticeable, and prevented the main outline of the story from being easily followed.

These abstracts are, however, useful, especially if the editions cited are not published by the Early English Text Society. The inclusion of the fourth of these heads—Specimen—may admit of question. The brevity—from 11 to 24 lines—and the character of the selections forbid their taking the place of the "*plus beaux passages*" of Gautier, and, besides, both metre and dialect are considered under separate heads.

Under Origin is considered the source, forms, and historical elements of the romances. This is the most difficult portion of the subject to treat in a satisfactory manner, as much of the voluminous work on source, influence, and the like, belongs rather to the ingenious and probable than to the positive. Each view is here stated in a few lines, and the points of difference noted, so that the amount of space given to this head depends strictly upon the amount of scholarly work done on this particular romance. This varies largely. With some, *Athelston*, *Rauf Coilyear*, *The Holy Grail*, etc., it is represented, practically, by a single monograph, while with some of the Arthurian romances, the material is to be found in a large number of special articles. All of these different views make some appearance in the result, if represented by only a single line, and of the selections it may be said, that while there may be different opinions as to what few lines best represent a monograph of a hundred pages, the survey has been thorough, and the choice is the result of individual judgment.

This treatment has been applied to each of the 38 romances, with the result, that the book is a mosaic, employing some portion of every important article mentioned in the bibliography, and representing the best authorities down to 1898. This method,—as near first-hand as the subject will admit,—gives, as is natural, a certain lack of unity and proportion to this division of the subject, but with the present facilities for work of this nature it cannot be avoided. The really important of the many views from which the selection must be made, are not definitely known, and until these are determined the method here adopted is the sole practicable one. Exact bibliographical references for this and the two succeeding heads are given, to the number of 1300, and, with the corrections noted below, put the source of each statement at the command of the reader.

The treatment of metre, dialect, date, and author, follows the same eclectic method, but as the materials, such as they are, are few and definite, they admit of a more adequate presentation in a brief compass. It is, however, in the results comprehended in the last divisions that the chief value of the work appears. Here is brought together, for the first time, all of the manuscripts with their dates, the collations that have appeared in various journals, all editions and special forms of the romances, the best editions of any French version, a fairly complete list of all the general references and important reviews, and of all the special monographs. No such extensive collection of important material for the study of the English verse-romances can be found elsewhere, and all of the results of the next best general survey,—by Ten Brink and Brandl for the English romances, by Paris and Gautier for the French,—have been incorporated and indicated with exact reference.

As will be seen, the book works out its own model, and the difficulties of this are added to those inherent in all books of reference. The most noticeable error of proportion is the space, 14 pages, given to *Joseph of Arimathia*, a poem of 709 lines, more than that assigned to any other, and an occasional disproportionate space allowed for the conflicting views of source. The omission, however, of all reference to the literary characteristics of each romance is the most serious defect in the plan. Such short criticism of style and treatment, as occur in various of the monographs, or when no reference to the literary aspect occurs, such general observation as would arise from the reading mentioned in the preface, would add a distinct value to the book, and enlarge its circle of usefulness.

I note the following omissions, incorrect references, together with a few misstatements:

Page 5, n. 2, add Bk I. p. 10, l. 8, add Luick, *op. cit.*, p. 1005, dissents from this view. P. 11, l. 28, for 151–162 read 351–362, and omit iv 99. P. 12, l. 1. for AEMR read AEMR. II., l. 3, for p. 39 read p. 396, l. 9, add Ellis, *EE Pronun.* II., 480–483, and to General Reference add Saintsbury, *FLR.* p. 206–209. P. 14, l. 17, omit 88. P. 14, under Author add, see *Les Auteurs de Tristan et de Horn*, Rom. xv, 575 ff. P. 17, n. 7, for §18 read §24. P. 22, to Dialect add East Midland, Wohlfeil, p. 61. P. 23, l. 2, entirely mistakes

Hupe's statement. He says from about 1330–1350. P. 22, l. 18, for Morris, I 237 read I 222. To Selections add Oliphant, O & ME. p. 367, and to Revs. add Belblatt. z. Angl. II 244. P. 30, add to Date, n. 12,—Ten Brink, I 248. P. 31, l. 13, add F. N. Robinson, *Harvard Studies* v, p. 177–220. P. 32, l. 13, Ten Brink add p. 232, and l. 14, add to Ward, Vol. I. P. 36, l. 2, for 1895 read 1845, and to Gen. Ref. add Wilda 61–64. P. 38, n. 2, for xxxvi read xxxiv. P. 40, l. 5, add, For alliteration in Sir B. of H., see Eng. St. XIX 441. P. 45, to Date add n. 3, Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 3, and to l. 6, West Midland add note, Skeat, XI, Morris, *EEAP* XXII, and Trautmann, p. 46. To Gen. Ref. add Rosenthal, *Die Allit. Eng. Langzeile*, p. 2–3, and Angl. I 414–459. P. 47, to Gen. Ref. add Müntz, Rom. XIV. P. 50, l. 15, add n. 8, but cf. Brandin, Rom. XXVIII p. 503. P. 50, n. 2, for 205 ff. read 213 ff., and for 160 read 164. P. 51, l. 29, add Arch. v. 63, p. 460, and l. 31 add Rom. XXVIII 503, and Koshwitz, *Karl des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, 1895. P. 51, n. 4, add Schleich, p. 71. P. 52, to Gen. Ref. add Hist. Litt. p. 42–62. P. 52, n. 1, add Rom. XXIV, 3–4. P. 55, to note 6 add Rom. XVII 37–41, and to n. 1, add Reichel, 1–2. P. 57, l. 7, Carsten, p. 4, expressly states that the date could not be before 1377; l. 22, add to Rev. G. Paris, Rom. IX, 149, and l. 23 for ZML III read ZML p. 111. P. 58, l. 4, for Angl. II read IV. P. 60 to end add, for satirical elements, see Stengel, *Ltbl.*, 1881, p. 288, and Lenient, *La Satire en France*, pp. 121–123. P. 60, n. 2, add Ten Brink, I 246. P. 62, n. 2, for §34 read p. 34. P. 66, l. 26, omit 494, and add Rev. G. Paris, Rom. IX 151. P. 66, l. 4, this does not report correctly Dannenburg, p. 47, the source of this statement. P. 70, n. 3, add Trentler, p. 147. P. 71, l. 10, add Rev. Bangert, *Zeit. Rom. St.* v 582. P. 73, l. 7, add Rev. G. Paris, Rom. IX 150. P. 77, n. 2, add p. 71 and to n. 4, add Angl. IV, Ten Brink, I 244, and Luick, P. G. II 1016. P. 78, l. 3, add note 10, Schleich, *Prol.* 32, dissents from this. P. 90, n. 11, add Bedier, *Fors. z. Rom. Phil.* p. 75, and Rom. XIX p. 581. P. 94, l. 19, add 1806, 1815, and l. 34 for VIII read X 331. P. 111 to Gen. Ref. add Dunlop, I 159. P. 117, l. 17, note 6 belongs to *Livre d'Arthur*, and to n. 3, add *Merlin*, p. 60. P. 118, n. 4, add Wheatly p. 63–69. P. 121, l. 5, before Richard supply "probably." P. 123, l. 4, add Rev. Rom. XX 378. P. 133 to Gen.

Ref. add Dunlop, I 172. P. 160, l. 4, for 169 read 141, and l. 6 for Angl. XII read Eng. St. l. 8, for 1886 read 1888. P. 160, l. 15, add Dunlop, I 266 and l. 19, add Anglia. XII 479. P. 163, n. 1, add p. 73. P. 164, n. 7, for 95 read 101. P. 166, n. 4, add Gollancz, *Pearl*, L. 1892. P. 168, l. 14, for M. L. read M. C. and l. 19 for 1887 read 1886. P. 172, l. 23, for 133 read 183 and l. 27 add p. 1-47. P. 173, l. 2, add to Analysis of Rom. Amours, *op. cit.* Introd. p. 14-18. P. 178, l. 1, for 9 read 1. P. 178, l. 5, add reprints, 1884, 1895, new ed. John Small, 1885, and l. 10, add Amours, Pt. I 115-172. P. 187, n. 7, for note 1 read n. 8. P. 189, l. 17, to Angl. add Ang. l. 22, for III 297 read I 497, and for 50-54 read 106-116, l. 26, add to Angl., Anz. P. 207, n. 8, for 57 read 51, and n. 5, for 207, n. 1, read 206, n. 5. P. 208, l. 20, add Ward I 405-406. P. 212 read Sir Gromer. P. 220, n. 1, for p. 289 read 298. P. 221, l. 6, after Madden add notes p. 258.

In addition to these the following references are incorrect;—P. 10, note 5; p. 21, note 6 to Skeat; p. 70, note 1; p. 78, note 6; p. 94, the reference to Germ. 1878, 345; p. 160, note 8, to Angl. xv; p. 165, note 7, and p. 186, note 2. Some modifications, also, of the statements of origin and date must be made as the result of later work on *Havelok* (Holthausen, 1901), *Guy of Warwick* Weyrauch, 1899), *Duke Rowland* (Engler, 1901), *Arthur* (Lot. Rom. xxx), *Merlin* (Wheatley, 1899), *Sir Launfal* (Zimmerman, 1900), *Aunters of Arthur* (Amours, 1897), and *Morte Arthure* (Mennicken, 1900, and Banks, 1900).

From its plan and method, and especially because it embodies, with the exceptions noted above, the work of the best and latest authorities, arranged in an orderly and convenient form, this book makes itself indispensable to all students of the verse-romances of the Middle Ages.

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OLD ENGLISH PHONETICS.

Die Palatalisierung der Gruppe 'se' im Altenglischen. Von VICTOR REHM. Dissertation. Heidelberg, 1901.

Rehm has undertaken what should have proved a most helpful piece of work. It was suggested

by the opposed opinions of Cosijn and Sievers on the one hand, and of Kluge and Kaluza on the other, with regard to the significance of the *e* frequently inserted after *sc*, but frequently also omitted, the former considering the *e* as an element in a true diphthong, the latter as merely orthographic and indicative of the palatal nature of the *sc*. The immediate inspiration of the thesis was a remark of Kluge's (Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., p. 990, note), declaring a searching inquiry into the history of *e* as an exponent of palatal quality in the highest degree desirable, and a statistical examination of the development of palatalisation in the Old English period a necessary condition to its clearer understanding.

Rehm has accordingly essayed to list, with incidental comment, all the forms with initial *sc* in a number of typical texts, including in order the *Epinal* and *Corpus Glosses*, the *Cura Pastoralis*, the *Bede*, the *Blickling Homilies*, Aelfric's *Homilies*, *Grammar*, and *Pentateuch*, the *Gospels*, the *Vespasian Psalter*, *Rushworth*,¹ the *Lindisfarne Glosses*, *Rushworth*,² and the *Ritual*. The forms are arranged in lists under several grammatical categories.¹

The value which such lists possess, the service they render, cannot be overestimated. It is sincerely to be regretted that the present work is marred by serious blemishes due to errors of judgment, and to negligence and oversight. The incidental comment and the summary at its conclusion are slight and valueless, and do not come into touch with the problem involved, or even present it in its true dimensions and topography.

In the arrangement of the texts, Rehm has unfortunately chosen an order partly dialectal, partly chronologic. The *Epinal* and *Corpus* come

¹ Germ. *ska* in open syllables before guttural vowels, before palatal vowels; in closed syllables; before nasals; before *r*, *l*, *h* + consonant; and as influenced by *i*-umlaut; Germ. *ske* as uninfluenced; before *lh*; as affected by *u*-umlaut; and by *i*-umlaut; Germ. *ski* uninfluenced; and as affected by *u*-umlaut; Germ. *ske*; Germ. *sku* as uninfluenced; and as affected by *i*-umlaut; AS. *skā* (< Germ. *skai*) as uninfluenced; and as affected by *i*-umlaut; WG. *skā*; Germ. *skē*; Germ. *skī*; Germ. *skō*, as uninfluenced; and as affected by *i*-umlaut; Germ. *scū* as uninfluenced; and as affected by *i*-umlaut; AS. *scēa* (< Germ. *skau*) as uninfluenced; and as affected by palatal umlaut; and by *i*-umlaut; AS. *scēo* (< Germ. *skēu*) as uninfluenced; and as affected by *i*-umlaut; Scand. *ei* = AS. *eg*, *æg*.

first, followed by the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Northumbrian texts. This has the disadvantage of separating the *Epinal* and *Corpus* from the Anglian texts to which, though mixed, they show so much more marked affinity than to the West Saxon. It would have been preferable to follow these glosses by the Mercian texts, thus bringing the *Vespasian Psalter* properly, as next in age, immediately after them. That the Northumbrian texts would necessarily next follow would be quite justifiable in spite of their lateness, in the first place because of the sharp demarcation between Anglian and West Saxon, and in the second because the West Saxon group includes, beside the Ælfredian texts, a number contemporary with, or later than, the Northumbrian. The absence of Kentish will be at once remarked. The *Charters*, it is true, are sadly unsatisfactory and dubious material, but the forms they include might at least have been recorded and adjudicated, with a statement regarding the unsatisfactory nature of their evidence and the presumable cause of it in the light of the evidence of the other dialects. As it is, Rehm makes no reference to Kentish at all. Under the head of West Saxon, the *Orosius* is not included. It is quite possible the conditions are practically or precisely the same as in the *Cura Pastoralis*, but this text does show variant forms, and in a professedly statistical inquiry every additional text is an advantage. Under the Northumbrian, *Rushworth*² is included with *Lindisfarne*. This inclusion is perhaps immaterial, as the citations, though generally under the same headings, are distinct, but the two texts are manifestly different in dialectal character and are most significantly so as regards the development of vowels after *sc*; it would therefore have been better, if only as a matter of form, to separate them.

As concerns the lists themselves, Rehm must in the first place be criticized for referring many forms to paradigmatic headings in place of giving them separately in the exact form in which they occur. For example, the forms of *gesceaft* in the *Cura Pastoralis* are given (p. 9) under that heading, though all five are of other forms than the nominative singular. This occurs repeatedly. Plainly, in one category at least, that of *ǣ*, the question of the quality of the vowel of the second syllable is of essential importance. In this connection, it may be noted, for example, that there is the follow-

ing entry from the *Bede*, under *a* in open syllables before guttural vowels (p. 6), "scearu 208, 16. 254, 32. 424, 11. 468, 21. 472, 24. T 0 B je 3, ca 4 zus. 13 mal." Not one of these references is to *scearu* in the nominative; all are of *sceare* (*sceare*, *sceare*). Under the head of *a* in open syllables before palatal vowels (p. 7), precisely the same cases are entered, with the heading "*sceare* v. *scearu*," and with a different statistical summary, "in T 2, B 3, 0 3 u. 2 mal *u* über der Zeile, ca 4 mal; zus. 14 mal," then also, a line or two further, "*sceare* 254, 32. 472, 24 B." Such repetition does not help matters. The reader certainly would suppose the forms, as first entered, to be what they are declared to be, and in referring to that heading might wholly miss the second entry. It is of course, further, no excuse that Rehm is oblivious to the difference of phonetic development involved. Quite apart from this, the entry under different headings, established by himself, of the same forms without a word of explanation (if he considered *sceare* sufficient warrant for assuming *scearu*) is wholly indefensible. The extraordinarily tangled double entries of the forms of *scieran*, *scyrian*, *sciran*, *sceran* under 4 §§ 1. f, 2 a, and 2 d (*a* with *i*-umlaut, *e* unaffected, and *e* affected by following *i*) may only be referred to in passing. That this blind and dangerously misleading method of record leads to positive error, so far as the immediate problem is concerned, in the case of *a* only, does not, it may be added, palliate its evils. It should be possible to use a work of this character for reference in regard to other questions than the one immediately involved, and this cannot be done unless each form is cited exactly as it occurs. Moreover, it is impossible, or at least unsafe, to say that elements now disregarded in a word may not, at a future stage of phonetic inquiry, be of the highest importance and significance.

The lack of cross-references throughout, if not productive of such serious results as in the instance just spoken of, render it possible for the reader to miss related forms under different captions. For example, on p. 6, forms of *scafeþa* are cited from *Bede* B without reference to *sceafþan*, *scefþon*, *scaefþan*, etc., cited on p. 10. The head-forms here are, by the way, *sceafþ*, *scaefþa*, *scefþ*, in place of *sceafþa*, *scaefþa*, *scefþa*, uniformly, as they should be. A merely cursory survey discloses numerous errors and omissions in the case of indi-

vidual words. A single page may illustrate this. On p. 7, *sceacere*, *sceacerum*, are cited from the Northumbrian texts under *a* in open syllables before guttural vowels. *Sceacaras*, *Mt. I. 5. 13*, is not cited, and the possibilities (which this form even does not remove), that there was an original **sceacere*, like *gæfel* (*L. 1. 10*, etc.) beside *geafel* (*Mk. 12. 14, L. 20. 22*) is not considered. *Sceapa*, *sceopo*, are cited from *Rushworth*² beside each other without comment. No attempt is made to explain *scæcas* (*Rushworth*² *Mark 6. 11*). *Gisceapan* (*Rit. 168*) is so cited, without indication of its grammatical locus; the form in the text is *gisceap'* (*hearte clæne gisceap'* glossing *cor mundum crea*) i. e., it is an imperative, and of peculiar interest. From the *Corpus*, the form *scæbe*, 'poleo' 1618, is cited, as an example of *a* in open syllables before palatal vowels. The form represents rather, presumably, **scafu* in the first stages of *u-a* umlaut. It is of course true that other pages do not show so many short-comings as this page, and that, while selected quite by accident, it includes several difficult forms, but the general lack of care, appearing also in numerous errors of omission and commission elsewhere, is greatly to be regretted.

The absence of specific comment upon individual words, while really necessary for the rectification and clarification of the lists, is however not so serious as the inadequacy of the general comment. This consists of brief notes, a line or two at most, scattered here and there. The summary at the close refers back to these, and does not offer a connected argument. In no place is there a definite and satisfactory statement of the question proposed for solution. The issue is whether the *e*, inserted after *sc*, is an element in a true diphthong, or merely indicative orthographically of the palatal quality of the *sc*. With regard to the group of examples of *a* in open syllables before guttural vowels, it is said (p. 6) that as *a* remains, the *e* must be a "Palatal-vorschlag oder . . . ein Mittel zur Bezeichnung einer palatisierten Aussprache des *sc*." Is the "oder" adversative or coordinate? In the same article, *e* is said to be a "Palataleinschub." If the *e* is a glide, is it merely an orthographic expedient? How is a "wirkliche Diphthong" to be defined? Is a true diphthong only a falling diphthong—or merely one in which the two elements are approximately the same in length? If a glide *plus* a main element is not a

true diphthong, how is a true diphthong in the first place to be defined, and in the second place to be determined? In the summary, the *e* is explained as indicating the pronunciation *sċja*, *sċjæ*, etc. Is this *j* pronounced—and, if so, is it consonantal or vocalic? How are variations like that between *sceapa* and *sceopa* to be explained, or a form like *sceocca*, or variants like *sceufan*, *sceofan*, *sceafan*, all of which are included in the lists?

As regards the specific comments upon the several categories, one or two examples may suffice. In the article upon *ska* in open syllables before palatal vowels it is argued (p. 8), that as *ska* appears preponderatingly as *scea* in Northumbrian, *a* remaining as *a*, while it is preponderatingly *scæ* where the *a* > North. *æ* (in closed syllables), the *scea* must have the value *sċa* while *scæ* must have the value *sċæ*. The examples upon which this proposition is based are in the case of *sca* + palatal vowel, *morsceape*, *sceacende* from the *Lindisfarne*, *gesceapen*, *sceares* 'tonendi' (i. e. *tondendi*), *sceape*, *ascæpen*, from the *Ritual*. These examples are in part (*morsceape*, *sceape*) examples of *sca* in open syllables before a guttural vowel, and do not belong here; the others are cases in which *sċ* has diphthongized *æ*, precisely in the same manner as *ċ* alone,² and are not examples of retention of *a* at all. The examples of *ska* in closed syllables on the other hand (p. 11) are *gisceaft*, *gesceaft*, *sceaft*, *sceæft*, *sceaft*, *sceal*, *sceatt* from *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth*,² and *sceæcan*, *ascæccen*, *gesceæft*, *gisceaf*? 'in sexu,' (*gi*)*sceaft*, *gisceap*' (gen.), *gisceappes*, *sceft*, *sceall*, from the *Ritual*.³ The figures are *scæ* (38), *sceæ* (3), *sce* (1), *sċea* (4). In point of fact 36 of the 38 cases of *scæ* are of *gisceaft*, an exceptional word, in which the *æ* is due to umlaut—compare its immunity to diphthongization in *Rushworth*,² where the secondary palatals are not diphthongized, as pointed out by Bülbring, *Anglia Beiblatt*, 9. 98.

² The participial forms must naturally be supposed to have had *æ* (cf. the variant *ascæpan* in the list); no reference is made to the fact that they could also have come from associated forms with *a*.

³ It is not apparent, incidentally, what difference there is between *ascæccen* of this list and *gesceapen* of the list first cited, so far as their original form is concerned. The gemination is immaterial; compare *scepend*, *sceppend*, beside *sceppend*, *sceppend* (p. 19), and conditions in general in Northumbrian as regards gemination. The first form in the *Ritual* is, it may be added, *ascæccen* (37. 2), according to the text.

It appears with a diphthong in three cases in *Lindisfarne* and *Ritual*, sharing in the sporadic diphthongization of those texts, but is on quite a different plane from *sceal*, *sceatt*, *giscæp*, *giscæppes*. This fact wholly vitiates the statistical comparison, and nullifies the argument.

On p. 9, it is said that "*scea* ist hier sicherlich mit Siev. § 76, Anm. 5 als kompendiöse Schreibung für *sceæ* an zusehen, wobei das *e* nur als Palatalzeichen zu gelten hat." Sievers's statement is precisely the contrary: "Doch scheint diese meinung [dass das *ea* nur eine kompendiöse schreibung für *eæ* sei] nicht haltbar zu sein gegenüber der tatsache, u. s. w. . . . Man wird demnach die *ea* (*eo*) *ie* . . . für echte diphthonge ansehen müssen."

On p. 16, in regard to the umlaut forms of *ska*, it is remarked that beside *sce*, *sceæ*, the forms *scie*, *sci*, appear. "Woher kommen diese *i*-Formen? Aus dem *i*-Umlaut können sie nicht erklärt werden. . . . Wenn nun im ws. die *scie*- und *sci*-Formen zusammen um die Hälfte (355:173) überwiegen, so ergibt sich daraus, dass dieselben speziell für diesen Dialekt charakteristisch sind. Sie beruhen offenbar auf einem Palatalumlaut progressiver Natur: Das helle *sē* hat das *e* in *i* übergeführt. Eine Zwischenstufe dieser Entwicklung zeigen die seltenen Schreibungen *scie*, deren Lautwert wohl [*sčē*] oder [*sč'e*] war." The object in quoting this passage is not to refute it, but to point to the statement that the *ie* is not explainable by *i*-umlaut, and to the fact that absolutely no attention is paid to the current explanation, which places this *ie* on the same plane as the umlaut of *ea* by breaking. As far as the forms with *sce* and *sceæ* are concerned, which the author seems to regard as normal for West Saxon ("Im ws. gesellt sich zu der Schreibung *sce* und *sceæ* noch *scie* u. *sci*"), they belong to the cases with *a* before nasal (e. g. *scencan*, *scencan*) and of *sceþpan* and other words from the same root, which have, as is well known, a wholly individual history.

These examples will serve to show how far the brief and scattered comments upon the several categories fall short. It may be added that no attention whatsoever is paid to basic distinctions, such as the difference in development of *sc* before palatal and guttural vowels, and the difference between primary and secondary palatals. The chronology of the development of the various forms before the historic period (that is, all chronology apart from the mere sequence of texts

considered) is unheeded. Current views, even those of the elementary grammars, in regard to the complex of questions connected with the examples barring the initial citation which suggested the thesis, a reference concerning *u-a* umlaut and the misquotation of Sievers, receive no notice. No reference is made to the special grammars of the various texts. Of the progress of recent inquiry, full as it is of most interesting and stimulating suggestion, nothing appears. It is not the incorrectness of the views advanced, which is to be here emphasized. It is, that if current doctrines—supposedly matters of elementary knowledge—are false, they should be specifically taken up and proved so.

The purpose and animus of this review is not to slaughter an inaugural dissertation, or to prove its author lacking in critical method and guileless of mature knowledge, or still less to call him to account for any opinion he may hold, however indefensible, in regard to the difficult and delicate problems his subject proposes. It may be definitely affirmed that his work, because of the list of forms it contains, will, despite its shortcomings and the caution necessary in using it, be of some service; most certainly, the immense amount of patient labor it represents is not to be forgotten. The responsibility for its lack of critical method, for the absence of any indication in its pages of a knowledge of the present status of critical inquiry, is not to be visited upon the author, but upon those who had the oversight of his work. The easy criticisms (sometimes justified), which cavillers pass upon the German dissertation in general, do not fit the present example. It is not upon a trivial or useless subject; it is not machine-made. Its theme is one of interest and importance; its author has honestly attempted to find solutions for his difficulties, though apparently without intimation of the assistance and guidance to be derived from his predecessors. But his work, in consequence of a lack of efficient instruction and control, is to a serious degree diminished in value. The same is true of too large a number of dissertations, and the grievous waste involved is the more to be regretted for the reason that it is preventable. And it is matter of general comment that—perhaps because of eminence in sheer number of theses produced—this censure is specially applicable, and with increasing justice, to Germany.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Goethe's Poems, selected and edited with introduction and notes by JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor of Germanic Philology and Literature in Stanford University. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1901; 8vo., xix, 239 pp.

The world's interest in Goethe centers around his marvelous personality. While there has hardly ever been much discussion as to his poetical genius, his admirers as well as his detractors have always concerned themselves with the author's person, deprecating it, as did Ludwig Boerne, or praising it as the highest incarnation of modern wisdom.

Goethe himself has offered an explanation for this curious fact by calling all his writings fragments of an enormous confession. Thus it appears that a thorough knowledge of this personality is necessary for the student of Goethe's works. He not only finds in it the most complete and authoritative commentary of these "occasional poems"; but he is also enabled to link these "fragmentary" writings into one great unit, assigning to each of them its proper place and relative value.

It was therefore an excellent idea of Professor Goebel to give in his edition of Goethe's poems not merely one more reprint of the best or the most popular ones among them, but to show by their chronological arrangement and in his notes "as far as possible the inner development of the poet and the man."

The first part of this task is to depict in short and clear outlines the essential traits in Goethe's character and to follow their development through the different periods of his life. The general introduction of the volume, special introductions to the different chapters and the larger part of the notes are devoted to its fulfilment.

It must be said that Professor Goebel is particularly successful in this representation of Goethe's personality. While stating Goethe's moral and religious views and defining his general attitude toward life, he has laid stress upon one trait, which is so often overlooked and which yet is the very basis of Goethe's character as a man and as a poet: his essential manliness, his "buoyant health," which, combined with his deep-rooted optimism, made him one of the earliest advocates of what is now styled the "strenuous life." People have too much thought of Goethe as the author of Werther

and have taken him for either a morbid sentimentalist or a complacent "esthete." They have forgotten that Goethe as prime minister of the Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar was in constant touch with real active life and they have failed to see that the final conclusions of his philosophy of life always emphasize the paramount value of self-control and of useful activity. The author of Faust held it, "that the supreme duty and privilege of men lies in moral action, in working toward a realization of the world-purpose, not for our own enjoyment but for the well-being of our fellow-men."¹ No matter how much Goethe in his own life succeeded in this "realization of what is morally good"²—and he himself was always ready to acknowledge his shortcomings—the *leitmotif*, everywhere to be found in his writings and in the moral struggles of his career, is this endeavor to attain self-control and to be useful to others. And it is by no means an accident of chance, if President Roosevelt in his recent volume, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and addresses*,³ quotes on the title page Faust's words:

"Ja diesem Sinne bin ich ganz ergeben,
Das ist der Weisheit letzter Schluss:
Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muss.
Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr,
Hier Kindheit, Mann und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.
Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn,
Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn."

After having stated this conception of Goethe's character, Prof. Goebel follows its evolution in the lines introducing the various sections of the volume. Thus in the first chapter, inscribed "Leipzig," we perceive the immature frivolity of the young student and in "Sesenheim" we witness the famous tragic idyl. In "Sturm und Drang" we see how Goethe first imagined an ideal, consisting chiefly of "freedom from rules and regulations not only in art, but also in every sphere of life, originality and self-life"⁴ and how he soon recanted these illusions, how he "retreated from its titanic heights," realizing the "limitations of true humanity."⁵ The following section, "Rom," sketches Goethe's attitude towards classical antiquity, and in section v, "Lieder und Balladen," the editor, departing somewhat from his general plan, gives "a kind of lyric intermezzo, containing the most perfect specimens of

¹ Introduction, p. xviii.

² P. vii.

³ New York. 1901.

⁴ P. 21.

⁵ P. 22.

Goethe's lyric art."¹ The last two sections, "West-östlicher Divan" and "Alter," contain poems representative of Goethe's most mature thought.

This sketch of Goethe's evolution is illustrated by a selection of poems. The *embarras de richesse* of Goethe's lyrics made it necessary to leave out some masterpieces, even at the risk of not satisfying everybody. Thus one is sorry to miss such characteristic pieces as "Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken," "Die Lustigen von Weimar," the "Hochzeitlied," "Der Todtentanz," and others; yet it is hard to say which poems the editor might have omitted in order to have room for those just quoted. On the whole the poems selected constitute a forcible and complete illustration of Goethe's life and thought.

These difficulties of selection are still more bewildering if one considers the number of commentaries which several decades of *Goethe-Philologie* have accumulated and from which the editor had to draw for his notes. He has shown wise discretion by not rehearsing all or most interpretations of the poems. In the main he has satisfied himself by stating tersely when and on what occasion they were written and has devoted considerable space to notes in which he demonstrates how far and in what respect the annotated passages are characteristic of Goethe's *Weltanschauung*. Here and there a fuller interpretation of obscure verses might have been desirable. For instance, in "Wanderers Sturmlied," terms like "die wollen Flügel" (verse 19) should be explained in the notes.

It would enhance the usefulness of the volume if the table of contents referred also to the pages where the notes are to be found, or if in the notes the pages were quoted on which the annotated poems are printed.

ALBERT HAAS.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Allow me a short rejoinder to a part of Professor Ramsey's review of my Spanish Grammar, which does me an injustice not warranted by the facts.

At the foot of column 508 he says:

¹ P. 193.

"In the Reading Exercises. . . . Dr. Garner has essayed something decidedly novel. He commences with five *Escenas Sociales*, composed by himself, and intended to present, in simpler language than that found in any Spanish original, a series of dialogues that shall have the true colloquial ring."

I admit that this proceeding is a decidedly novel one, as I know of no grammar-maker who has attempted to present in this way a review of the syntactical work which the student is supposed to have already accomplished at this point. In my preface, which Professor Ramsey seems not to have carefully read, I stated that this was my chief aim in composing these dialogues, the other being to give a reading exercise in very simple conversational style.

It has been the almost universal custom of the makers of modern language readers to simplify the text presented in order to smooth a little the way for the novice. Professor Ramsey has done the same thing himself in his very excellent little Spanish Reader, saying, in his preface, that his first pieces are the easiest he could find after several years of patient searching but that even some of these had to be simplified to adapt them to the requirements of the beginner. This, to a certain extent, must deprive such texts of their true native flavor, if not of their "true colloquial ring." It is pertinent, therefore, to ask: which is the greater crime, if crime it be, to compose one's own matter in order to secure exactly what one wants, or to take the work of others and tamper with it? I will leave the impartial reader to answer this question.

As to the "true colloquial ring," I laid no special claim to having attained it in my *Escenas*, but judging from the compliment an educated Spanish gentleman paid me, namely, that they were so well written that they might be played before a Spanish audience, and it would never be suspected they were written by a foreigner, it may be inferred that they are not altogether a failure in this respect, even though the statement be discounted a little on the score of Castilian politeness.

Another remark in this same paragraph contains such a decided slur on this portion of my work that I cannot allow it to pass without notice, for fear the uninitiated may be led to believe that my dialogues are full of errors. Professor Ramsey cites from the first two pages three expressions as incorrect; namely, *pienso que no* (for *creo que no*), *excelentemente bien* (for *enteramente bien*) and *para decirlo así* (for *por decirlo así*).

As to *pienso que no*, it occurs in popular authors of to-day, especially imitators of the French schools of fiction. Whether one should say *excelentemente bien* or *enteramente bien* is a mere matter of choice.

The third expression is, of course, an out-and-out error, but it is not one of my own making, although I am responsible for its being there. By referring to my manuscript, I find that I wrote *por decirlo así*. Unfortunately I had to do with a compositor or proof-reader who knew some Spanish and who did not hesitate, at times, to depart from copy. This doubtless was one of his changes which I overlooked in the proof-reading. As I took the precaution to get a well-educated native Spaniard to go carefully over the Spanish portions of my work, it is hardly probable that there can be any very serious errors in it.

Professor Ramsey finds fault with me for translating *return ticket* by *billete de ida y vuelta* (= *roundtrip ticket*). Is it possible that he does not know that, in railway language, *return ticket* and *roundtrip ticket* are synonymous?

His remark about the Spanish equivalent of surgeon is also wrong. When the Spanish naval officers were at Annapolis in 1898, they always spoke of their surgeons as *médicos* and never as *fisicos*. Cervera likewise uses *médico* several times in his report; for example, in my grammar (p. 329, l. 3, and p. 332, l. 9). Moreover, in order to be "technically" correct, I had used *cirujano*; but Mr. Banchs, the Spaniard who reviewed my work for me, changed it to *médico*, saying that this is the word in general use.

In conclusion I wish to thank Professor Ramsey most cordially for the evident care with which he has examined my book. Such fruitful criticism would be of immense value to us, if we could only have it before going to press. I shall hope to give due weight to it in my second edition which will shortly appear.

SAMUEL GARNER.

Annapolis, Md.

BRIEF MENTION.

Étude sur Jehan Bodel, Thèse pour le Doctorat, par O. ROHNSTRÖM. Uppsala, 1900, 8vo; xvi + 207 pp.

This dissertation, recently received for review, is very well characterized by the opening words of

Dr. Rohnström's preface: "La présente étude, bien qu'elle ait le caractère d'un travail d'ensemble sur le poète arrageois plutôt que celui de recherches nouvelles, n'a aucunement la prétention d'être complète." As the author admits, there is nothing new presented in the dissertation, it is simply an historical view of the life and works of Jehan Bodel, as presented in his poem, of which full analyses are given, and in the articles of previous writers on the subject, together with a résumé of the various opinions of these writers on those points wherein they differ. There is but slight study of the language and versification of the poet and no inquiry at all as to his possible identity with Jehan Bodel, writer of fabliaux, as is also admitted in the preface. Aside from these points, however, the dissertation offers a very useful and convenient summary of what is really known about the great poet of Arras.

PERSONAL.

Owing to illness, Professor Koschwitz (Koenigsberg) has retired from work on Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht*. The section on *Allgemeine Phonetik* has been placed in the hands of Professor E. W. Scripture, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., to whom publications should be sent.

OBITUARY.

The many friends of Professor August Lodeman of the Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, Mich., were greatly shocked by his sudden death on Dec. 7, 1902. Professor Lodeman was born May 7, 1843, in Hannover, Germany. In 1867 he came to this country. After having taught French and German in the High Schools of Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, he was called in 1872 to the chair of Modern Languages in the State Normal at Ypsilanti. He filled this chair with remarkable success for thirty years. The universal sorrow expressed by his students, his associates in the faculty and the numerous friends whom he made in his long and useful career, bear witness to his broad scholarship, to his superior and unselfish work as a teacher and to the sturdy worth of his character as a man and a citizen.

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No. 3.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH OPINION OF GERMAN LITERATURE.

GILLIES AND *Blackwood's Magazine*.

II.

In Vol. I of the *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1901, p. 252 ff.) mention is made for the first time in contributions bearing on this subject of Gillies as an interpreter of German literature. His activity as expressed in *Blackwood's Magazine* is, however, barely touched upon, and what is said of it is unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it is but a repetition of Gillies' own statements (*Memoirs*, II, 263), which, as shown before,¹ are not always reliable. His *Memoirs* state for example² (*loc. cit.*) that the "Horae Germanicae" (which were published in *Blackwood's Magazine*) from 1819 to 1827 are all by him, except Goethe's *Faust*³ and a tragedy of La Motte Fouqué.⁴ As a matter of fact the last of the "Horae Germanicae" appeared in August, 1828, and at least six of them were not from his pen, as will be seen presently.

The very first of these studies, entitled *Guilt; A Tragedy by Müllner*, was written by John Gibson Lockhart, as Gillies himself acknowledges elsewhere in his *Memoirs* (II, 248). The second, *The Ancestress* by Grillparzer, based, like the first, on a translation of Gillies, should, I believe, be likewise accredited to Lockhart. At any rate an editorial note seems to indicate that it cannot be by Gillies. "Horae Germanicae XIII,"⁵ devoted to a discussion of Schlenkert's *Rudolph von Habs-*

burg, is signed S. A.⁶ As the other studies bear no signature, or the letters G. or P. K.,⁷ it is safe to assume that this one was written not by Gillies, especially as it does not bear the peculiarities of his style. The criticism of Schiller's *Wallenstein*, which forms No. XVI of the "Horae Germanicae," can hardly be attributed to Gillies. It does not seem plausible that he would speak of the excellent translations of Mr. R. P. Gillies (pp. 377-78, *Blackw. Mag.*, Oct. 1823). There may also be some doubt as to his authorship of No. XVIII (Sept. 1824) and No. XXI (June, 1825), which contain a discussion of Lessing's *Laocoon*⁸ and Wieland's *Aristippus* respectively. Gillies was but little interested in the critical and philosophical writings of Germany. This accounts for the fact that those "Horae Germanicae" that are unquestionably his, deal almost exclusively with the German drama.

As Nos. III and IV, *The 29th of February* by Müllner and *The Cypress Crown* by Caroline de la Motte Fouqué, consist of translations rather than critical remarks,⁹ we may turn at once to Müllner's *King Yugurd* (Nos. VI and VII, July-Aug., 1820). Gillies considers this the greatest and most affecting of his works and adds: "Unless we be very greatly mistaken, the skilfulness of Müllner's exposition of the groundwork will sufficiently delight our more critical readers, while the lovers of poetry and passion will find enough of both here to make amends for all they may miss." In the commanding and calculating, crafty and courageous character of Yugurd Gillies suspects

⁶ Perhaps Sarah Austin, who was much interested in German literature and occasionally contributed to *Blackwood's*.

⁷ Philip Kempferhausen, the name by which Gillies was known to the readers of *Blackwood's*.

⁸ Poole's *Index* attributes this to De Quincey. I may say in passing that it names Gillies as the author of all the other "Horae Germanicae."

⁹ Of Müllner's piece it is said that there is great sublimity and great beauty in the idea which he has so well illustrated.

¹ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVII, 83.

² Quoted by Zeiger in *Stud. z. vergl. Litgesch.*

³ No. V, June, 1820. Cf. Andrew Lang, *Life and Letters of J. G. Lockhart*, 1897, I, 245.

⁴ *The Pilgrimage*, No. XII, Aug. 1821.

⁵ This is wrongly numbered in *Blackw. Mag.*, as are also Nos. XIV and XXI.

Müllner of having embodied some of his own conceptions concerning the character of Napoleon (p. 413).¹⁰ In the reading of this work Gillies says that he felt as an individual who for the first time in his life finds himself in the heart of the Swiss or Scottish Highlands, in a dark, misty day of October, when every surrounding object, whether living or inanimate, assumes a character new, gigantic, and even supernatural (p. 546). In a discussion of Müllner's *Albaneserin* (Aug. 1822), Gillies claims for this author that no one understands better than he the connection of human passions and emotions with the influences of the outward world; and yet the reviewer is ready to admit that Müllner is inferior to Grillparzer, in whose *Ahnfrau* are some of the noblest examples of pure and concentrative imagination to be found in any author or in any languages (!). If the stage directions were to be left out, the *Albaneserin* would read somewhat like a tragedy of Alfieri! Finally Gillies bids Müllner remember that Schiller never equalled that scene in the *Robbers* wherein Moor, amid wild forest scenery, contemplates and apostrophizes the setting sun.¹¹

Seven years before the *Life of Theodor Körner* (translated from the German by G. F. Richardson, 1827) was published in London, Gillies had introduced to the readers of *Blackwood's Magazine* two of Körner's dramas, *Rosamunda* (Oct. 1820) and *Zriny* (Feb. 1821), at a time when the patriot poet was known in France scarcely by name.¹² Gillies was justified in saying: "On our shores the merits of Körner are yet wholly unknown." He believes that his works would have done honor to the most mature and practiced genius. Of *Rosamunda* he says that it is distinguished by its poetical beauty, that it is a most affecting tragedy, admirably adapted to scenic representation. The last scenes of acts III and IV he considers the best in the whole play. The garden scene somehow reminds

him of a highly poetic passage of Mr. Shelley. "We seem vividly to behold around us the fading flowers of summer, that by their touching associations render so much more impressive the expressions of her [Rosamunda's] grief. There is evidenced in these few short speeches of the heroine a stilly mood of resigned meditation and voluntary suffering, accompanied with a visionary and creative sensibility, which no poet has, by the most laborious and artificial efforts, excelled." He thinks that the death-scene in the fourth act is, in some respects, by far the finest in any tragedy, "less horribly impressive than some, but leaving on the mind an influence more lasting and salutary."—The play of *Zriny* he believes admirably adapted to the tumultuous spirit of the times.

In succeeding studies, Gillies briefly characterizes the works of two contemporary authors who have now fallen into well-deserved oblivion: *Darkness*, by Raupach (Jan. 1821) and *The Light Tower*, by Houvald (Jan. 1823). While he criticises Houvald because of his choice of frightful and repelling subjects, he has words of praise and encouragement for Raupach. In his manner he finds, however, more of inconsistency and inequality than he has ever met with in any other German author.

His comments on the next drama, Klingemann's *Faust* (June, 1823), are of greater interest. He makes bold to say that it is in some respects even more truly German than Goethe's *Faust*. Though Klingemann makes no use of scenery, his work is "highly dramatic and admirably suited for the German theatre, insomuch that we do not know any production evincing more of what is technically called stage effect." In the character of Katha, says Gillies, Klingemann has a vantage ground over Goethe.

Schiller, whose *Fiesco* and *Wilhelm Tell* are reviewed in 1824 and 1825, receives boundless praise. Not one of his plays is said to have more "capabilities" of being rendered effective and interesting in another language than the *Conspiracy of Fiesco*. Gillies says of it: "From beginning to end it exhibits a bustle and variety of incident and situation, with a passionate liveliness of dialogue, and strength in the delineation of character, which are truly admirable." Yet "with much energy it combines many faults."

¹⁰ A similar suspicion he expresses in his review of *König Ottokar* (see below).

¹¹ Coleridge said in the preface to his translation of *Wallenstein*: "If we except the scene of the setting sun in the *Robbers*, I know of no part in Schiller's Plays which equals the first scene [now the third] of Act V of *Wallenstein's Tod*."

¹² Cf. V. Rossel, *Histoire des Relations Littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne*, 1897, p. 216, *et pas*.

Gillies points out that the catastrophe (especially the accidental death of the heroine, by the hand of her husband) seems exactly calculated to provoke the censures of minor critics. This he thinks could be changed, as also the dialogues regarding the intended fate of Bertha, so as not to prove offensive to the over-fastidious delicacy of English readers. A refacimento of *Fiesco* would be more difficult to make than one of the *Robbers*, which if properly condensed, and wrought down to that level, which is suited to the powers of English actors, and the so-called refined taste of English audiences, would obtain great applause. Through the whole play the character of the Moor, says the critic in the course of his review, is well kept up, and affords one of the best specimens of a mercenary villain that have yet been produced. Scenes 12, 13 and 14 of Act iv Gillies believes to be unrivalled. The first of them, he continues, depends more on the effect of situation than on language; and the character of Julia is, perhaps, too coarsely drawn, but the succeeding dialogue between *Fiesco* and *Leonora* has every possible beauty.

Gillies' comments on *Wilhelm Tell* will be of as much interest to readers in 1902 as they were to those of 1825. He maintains that this play is best calculated to be introduced to the knowledge of his countrymen, as one of the best, as most consonant with British taste and feelings. It seems to him that the imitation of Shakespeare in *Wilhelm Tell* is occasionally too obvious to escape the most careless reader. The opening scenes, however, are not at all Shakespearean, but very German. The play as a whole contains "great and numerous beauties but also strange faults."

The critic's remarks on particular scenes may be of especial interest. He says that Attinghausen's exhortations (II, 1) to patriotism, and eulogies of Switzerland, despite their prolixity, are spirited and poetical, and that the Rütli scene (II, 2), though somewhat lengthy, if not strikingly dramatic according to our ideas, is interesting by its fragments of Swiss history, tradition, etc. In the scenes where Rudenz and Bertha appear (III, 2), "much ability is shown, as indeed there is in everything Schiller has written. But this love affair appears to us wholly out of place, and rather more à la Française, than we should have expected

from a real German poet." In the "Apfelschusz-scene" Gillies sees so much power, so deep and so strong an interest that he experienced some difficulty in compelling himself to insert the extraordinary stage-directions, which he thinks elucidate and disfigure it. He expresses his disapprobation of two points: "The first is, the singular fancy of withdrawing the attention alike of the persons upon the stage and of the audience from the chief character at the moment of his achieving his fearful deed; for what cannot be both acted and looked upon ought not to constitute the principal interest in a drama. The second is, the sort of insinuation that Gessler did not intend finally to enforce his command." Regarding this point he goes on to say: "We conceive this to be done for the purpose of rendering Gessler's character more consonant to human nature. But we must observe, that when an act, of however unaccountable barbarity, is taken from history or tradition, the only legitimate mode of reconciling it with general principles, is by assigning rational motives, found in the character or situation of the agent." The reason for a fifth act he attributes to the fact that the underplot is unfinished, inasmuch as nobody knows what has become of Bertha.

The review of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* (Oct. 1824) shows more real insight than the review of almost any other play in this series. Gillies emphasizes its originality and its spirit of energy and recognizes the great art as well as boldness in the selection of the period and of the hero—a period "which had been most frequently decried as made up of nothing but brutal ignorance on the one side, and brutal oppression on the other" (p. 372). He derives from this drama the great lesson that "in spite of all the sneers of philosophers the elements of virtue and excellence were predominant among those who formed the Gothic institutions of Europe; and secondly, that in spite of all the outcry of demagogues, the modern world has been continually and progressively improving in everything that really concerns the wellbeing of men and of societies."

The works of three other authors are discussed in the "Horae Germanicae." Of Werner's *The Twenty-fourth of February* (Apr. 1827) an altogether absurd estimate is given. It has been reserved for Werner, says Gillies, to produce a work

of tremendous and overpowering interest. "The whole tragedy is a chain so curiously wrought, a web so artfully woven, that by leaving out a link or thread, the whole is irreparably injured. Not one speech is superfluous; we have no Balaam to fill up chasms. Every speech tells, and prepares the reader for what is to follow. As long as the German language lives, Werner will be remembered with respect." It should be borne in mind that contemporary German criticism also assigned a very prominent place to the tragedies of this author.

In the review of Uhland's *Ernest, Duke of Suabia* (Feb. 1827), Gillies displays better literary judgment. He prefaces the article with the remark that this drama, one of a boundless stock of historical plays, discountenances the theory that German plays and novels are all very wild and irregular. He regrets that Uhland, this excellent poet, has produced but few dramas, inasmuch as in the management of that now before us, he has evinced very considerable ability. To mention but one excellence of the play: "even after the death of the hero, Uhland has contrived to keep up some interest in the action."

The third and last author, who is spoken of with much gusto, is Grillparzer. His *Sappho* (Apr. 1826), written in very harmonious blank verse, is thought to be more congenial to English feelings than the *Ahnfrau*. As its chief beauties Gillies claims the just conception and delineation of character, the admirable portraiture of the workings of the human heart (exhibited alike in the feminine tenderness and delicacy of Sappho's love as in Phaon's originally mad and dazzled admiration of the celebrated poetess), and lastly the rich vein of poetry adorning and vivifying the whole. As one of the blemishes of the play the reviewer points out the discussion between Rhamnes and the faithless lover, as to whether Sappho will, or will not, be dashed to pieces as she falls against a projecting crag of the rocks from which she flung herself.

King Ottokar's Prosperity and Death (Sept. 1827) Gillies considers superior in every dramatic requisite to its predecessors. Though the Germans, as he believes, give the preference to Müllner, he cannot help thinking that Grillparzer is superior to his rival in poetic beauty, and powerful, pro-

found, refined conception of character; equal to him in invention and dramatic skill, and inferior only in correct taste. In this indispensable auxiliary to genius he hopes to see Grillparzer improve greatly. In the play before us he "has restrained the luxuriance of his imagination, adopting a style usually esteemed more dramatic, and something of the quaint but energetic simplicity of the period to which his subject belongs. Indeed, the spirit of the age breathes through the whole tragedy. We suspect he was greatly influenced in the selection of his subject by the opportunity offered of portraying in Ottokar much of the spirit of Napoleon during his intoxication of success." Gillies finds fault with the scene in the second act where "the very solemn state of the *Dramatis Personae*, somewhat too solemn indeed for the taste of a British audience, is interrupted by the insane Bertha, in a way which, upon the stage, we should esteem actual impiety" (p. 306). Here is "one of those marks of deficient taste from which few German works are altogether exempt."

The last number of the "*Horae Germanicae*" is devoted to a review of Grillparzer's *The Golden Fleece* (Aug. 1828). This work is considered a more extraordinary performance than *The Ancestress* or *Sappho*. Its chief character, Medea, is throughout admirably conceived, says the critic, and for the most part admirably delineated (p. 300).

The preceding paragraphs have treated of Gillies as a critic; a few words should be added concerning his ability as a translator. His versions do not rank among the best, Walter Scott's estimate of his work notwithstanding.¹³ He translates, as a rule, too closely to be idiomatic and poetic at the same time. Occasionally he fails to catch the meaning of a word and then he blunders, of course, most unpardonably. Thus he renders "Ich gehe im Wirtshaus zum Hirsch" (*Götz*), by "I was going to the venison in the inn.; and "Ich soll dir glauben? Ungerathne, zittre! (*Golden Fleece*), by "I shall believe thee? Tremble, thou unadvised!" Errors of this nature are, however, far from common. Instead of carping at such faults, let us rather remember the useful service Gillies rendered in making the English-speaking

¹³ Cf. his *Journal*, Dec. 3, 1825: "Gillies translates extremely well;" and Dec. 15: "Gillies is one of the best translators I know."

public familiar with German literature at a time when his countrymen knew scarcely more than two German authors, Schiller and Goethe, and but one work of each, *The Robbers* and *Werther*.

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Pandaemonium germanicum, BY J. M. R. LENZ.

The only commentary on Lenz's satire *Pandaemonium germanicum* is, as far as I know, the one given by A. Sauer in his edition of the work in the eightieth vol. of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nat. Lit.* It seems to me, however, that these notes are somewhat incomplete; in the following article I shall, therefore, try to complete them as much as possible. In quoting the *P. g.* I have in view the edition of Sauer; the first number indicates the page; the second, the line.

FIRST ACT.

139, 3: "Der steile Berg."—The conception of a mountain dominates the whole first act. Is it original or borrowed?

The first act, as will be seen later on in detail, is influenced by the five authors: Bodmer, Milton, the writer of *Prometheus*, *Deukalion u. s. R.*, and Chr. H. Schmid. Of course, the idea of a mountain, conceived as the abode of the Muses, is familiar to all connoisseurs of Greek literature; it is, however, probable that Lenz was induced to use the figure by a suggestion from outside. The impulse came to him from the article of Chr. H. Schmid, published November, 1774, in Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*, titled: "Kritische Nachrichten vom Zustande des deutschen Parnasses." That Lenz was acquainted with the article at the time when he wrote the *P. g.* follows from his epigram to Gotter:

Gotter:

Es wimmelt heutzutag von Sekten
Auf dem Parnass.

Lenz:

Und von Insekten.

The epigram is first found in a letter to Lavater (April, 1775). Lenz had reason to feel hurt. Schmid's article enumerates the different "Sekten"

of contemporary German poetry and classes Lenz among the followers of Hamann. Lenz took up the subject of a critical review as well as the general conception of a Parnasse, changing it however according to his own views.

To turn to the details of the first act, Schmid's division into different "Sekten" may have caused the first act to be divided into four parts. The last three scenes are called "die Nachahmer" (2), "die Philister" (3), "die Journalisten" (4). The first scene has no title, but it can easily be imagined, that, but for the accusation of utter egotism, Lenz would have called it "die Originale."

The impulse received from Schmid's article was not acted upon before February, 1775. We know that the first scene of the first act was written out before February 20, 1775 (Froitzheim, *Zu Strassburgs St.-u. Drg. Zeit*, 75). That it was not written before February, we can conclude from the similarities with Nicolai's *Freuden des jungen Werthers*, which appeared February, 1775.

In this pamphlet Nicolai writes, apparently referring to Lenz: "Auch sah er . . . dass mehr Stärke des Geistes dazu gehöre . . . als wenn tobende, endlose Leidenschaft ruft, einen jähnen Berg (ohn' Absicht) klettern, durch einen unwegsamen Wald einen Pfad (der zu nichts führt) durcharbeiten, durch Dorn und Hecken."¹ Nicolai also uses the expression "Pandaemonium" ("wie ein klein Teufelchen im Pand.,")² "Schmeissfliegen,"³ (cf. *P. g.*, 144, 10).

In *P. g.*, 144, 12 "Sie (Journalisten) bekommen die Gestalt kleiner Jungen und laufen auf dem hohen Berge herum, Hügelein auf Hügelein ab" reminds one of Nicolai's:⁴ "Dass ihr Springinsfelde Werther würdet, damit hat's nicht Not, dazu habt 'r'n Zeug nicht." Nicolai speaks of a mountain, which is "jäh," covered by "Dorn und Hecken," which cannot be ascended except by "klettern." Cf. in *P. g.* "steil" (139, 3), "ganz mit Busch überwachsen" (139, 15), "klettern" (139, 20. 140, 6).

Further details of the first act point to an influence of Bodmer's *Noah* upon the *P. g.* There is an apparent resemblance between the first song of *Noah* and the first scene of the first act in *P. g.* on

¹*D. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 72, 379.

²*Ibid.*, 379.

³*Ibid.*, 367.

⁴*D. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 72, 369.

the one hand, and between the fifth song of *Noah* and the second and fourth scenes of the first act in *P. g.* on the other hand.

What are the contents of the two songs? Briefly these:

In both places the conception of a mountain is predominant. In *Noah*, I., the mountain is represented as the home of the chosen people, while the wicked live in the plain, from which the mountain rises. Noah lives with his family at the base. One day he goes to the people in the plain; since he is long in coming, Japhet, his son, goes up the mountain until he comes to a rock, from which he looks out for his father. He sees a strange crowd in the plain, approaching the mountain. He goes further up and meets three maidens coming down. Conversation ends the first song. In *Noah*, v., the giants of the plain try to take the mountain by assault; they are thrown down. Then they hope to overcome it by means of a balloon, but again without any success.

Have we not here the prototype of our first act: "Japhet = Lenz and Goethe, the giants = Nachahmer and Journalisten, Japhet's look-out = the rock in 139, 26, the three maidens = ein Haufen Fremde" in 142, 1?

The resemblance becomes still more evident if we carry our comparison further.

In *Noah* the mountain is called "paradiesisch" (I., 39), is represented as having "einen hängenden Rand" (I., 101), different "Seiten" (I., 57; cf. also the pyramid-like "Treppe" of the giants in v., 74 ff.), as being surrounded by "furchtbare Klippen" (I., 55) and covered by "Busch," "niederer Gesträuch" (v., 86-87). It affords a splendid view (I., 48), rises in terraces (I., 98 ff.), etc.

In *P. g.* the mountain has also different sides (139, 5, 15. 140, 21). The "Nachahmer" stand at the foot of it on "Feldsteinen" (140, 24). It is "ganz mit Busch überwachsen" (139, 15), rises in terraces (140, 16: "Gehen beide einer anderen Anhöhe zu"), and affords a splendid view (139, 28).

Further analysis in this regard and also such as are illustrative of the relations of the *P. g.* to Milton's *Paradise Lost* and to *Prom. D. u. s. R.* will be given below.

139, 29: Cf. the letter of Luise König to Madame Hess, February 20, 1775: "Es geht ihnen wie dem, der Klopstocken in seiner Höhe

nicht sehen konnte" (Froitzheim, *Zu Strassburgs, u. s. w.*, 75).

140, 12: "Bruder Göthe," "Liebgen," "Lieber," used by Lenz in letters to Goethe (*Sitz. Ber. der Kön. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, xli., 1901, 35-36.)

140, 18: "die Nachahmer"—Who is referred to? Not Klinger, Wagner or the like, but evidently writers of favorable reviews on Goethe's *Werther*. This follows from a comparison of 140, 20 ff., with *Prometheus*, etc., II. 123 ff. The passage in *Prometheus* seems to reappear more or less in *P. g.*, and since *Prometheus*, II. 123 ff., refer to Löwe ("Hamburg. unpart. Korrespondent"), we may infer that he, Heinse and such admirers of Goethe's *Werther* are here in the writer's mind.

140, 19. Cf. *Noah*, I., 57 ff. v., 85 ("Altan").

140, 20 ff.: "Meine werten Herren, wollt ihr's eben so gut haben, dürft nur da herumkommen—denn da—denn da—s' ist gar nit hoch . . . Geht ein jämmerlich Gepurzel an."

Cf. *Prometheus*, II. 123 ff.:

"Mir scheint der Junge Löwenmut zu haben,
Nur muss er hübsch auf ebnem Wege traben,
Dann wird es ihm gewiss gelingen,
Sich bis an unser Reich heraufschwingen.
Geht hier wieder ein abscheulich Getös an,
Fallen allesamt"

Cf. also *Noah*, v., 136 ff.:

". Im blinden Gedränge
Stürzten sie (the giants) über einander, und von den
ebenen Zinnen
Über die Stufen und Ecken der Pyramide hinunter."

140, 24: "Feldsteine"—cf. *Noah*, I., 55.

141, 1: "Lorgnette"—cf. *Noah*, v., 528-29.

141, 9: "er ist mir aus dem Gelenk gegangen"—cf. *Noah*, v., 569 ff.

"Gog (one of the giants) ganz ergrimmt, langt mit der Hand aus, Noah zu schlagen,
Aber die Hand ward aller Bewegung des Lebens beraubt,
Hing in der Luft erstarrt, bis dass sie Noah berührte."

141, 28: "Apoll"—cf. *Wanderers Sturmlied*, II. 17, 58.

141, 35. Cf. *Noah* I., 85: Japhet perceives from his look-out a strange crowd in the plain:

"Dieses Gewimmel schien ihm wie eines Haufens Ameissen."

141, 36: "Kapriolen"—cf. *Prometheus*, I. 119.

142, 16-17. Here Schubart cannot be meant,

as Sauer seems to suggest. He did not even know, when the *Hofmeister* came out (1774), that Lenz was the author of the drama. Lenz's particular friends in Strassburg were the Actuar Salzmann, Röderer, Haffner, Ott. Ott and Salzmann received portions of Lenz's translation of Plautus, which Lenz communicated to Goethe apparently only later on (*Dram. Nachlass von J. M. R. Lenz*, ed. by Weinhold, p. 10). It is impossible to say whom Lenz has in view. One could even think of Goethe. Cf. the passage in a letter from Lenz to his brother Joh. Christian, Nov. 7, 1774: "Konnt' ich mein edler Bruder! einen bessern Gebrauch von deinem Briefe . . . machen, als dass ich ihn einem zweyten Du . . . meinem Bruder Goethe . . . zuschickte und dein Glück mit ihm theilte? Wie ich denn nichts geheimes für den haben kann" (*Sitz. Ber.*, u. s. w., 26). Cf. also Goethe's account of his relations to Lenz in *D. u. W.*

142, 22: "Lenz an einem einsamen Orte"—cf. Milton's *Par. Lost*. II, 546 ff.:

. "Others, more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
. and complain that Fate
Free Virtue should enthrall to Force or Chance."

The lines 555 ff. in the same passage suggested probably *P. g.* 139, 28 ff.:

. "In discourse more sweet
Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute."

143, 5: "herabhängend"—cf. *Noah*, I., 58: "hangender Rand," 68: "mit hochhangenden Gärten;" also *Messias* IV., 1337: "herhangend."

143, 10. Cf. Goethe's poem, *Der unverschämte Gast*, publ. Sept., 1774.

143, 15: "Gelehrtenneide"—cf. *F. v. Hagedorns poet. Werke*, publ. by J. J. Eschenburg, 4. part, 25:

"Ich habe es oft für eine nicht geringe Glückseligkeit gehalten, dass es niemals mein Beruf gewesen ist, nicht hat sein können, ein Gelehrter zu heissen . . . Dafür habe ich die beruhigende Erlaubniss, bei Spaltungen und Fehden der Gelehrten nichts zu entscheiden."

143, 35: "und Geld machen obenein"—Refers perhaps to the price offered Febr. 28, 1775, by S. C. Ackermann and F. S. Schröder in Hamburg for the best drama (*Deu. Litt. D. d. 18. u. 19. J.*, vol. 32, ix ff.).

144, 10: "wirft ihnen ein Seil zu."—Taken from *Noah* v., 658 ff., where Raphael by divine command spreads a net in order to intercept the balloon of Adramelech.

144, 10-11: "die Journalisten verwandeln sich in Schmeissfliegen und besetzen ihn von oben bis unten"—cf. Nicolai, etc., 367: "Was das für 'n Junge war, der Werther. Gut, edel, stark. Und wie sie 'n verkannt haben. Da kamen die Schmeissfliegen, setzten sich auf 'n."—Cf. also *Prometheus* II. 264-266.

144, 12. Cf. Nicolai, etc., 369.

144, 20-23. Cf. Voss' well-known apostrophe to Klopstock: "Was ist Milton, was ist Virgil und Homer gegen den Messiasänger?"

144, 35: "Strich wider die Natur"—cf. Goethe's poem, *Künstlers Abendlied*.

144, 36 ff.: "die Antwort die der König von Preussen einem gab."—One day when Frederick the Great made a short stay in a provincial town of his kingdom, he was met by the burgomaster, who commenced his address of welcome by saying: "O halber Gott, du grosser Friederich." The king interrupted him by the sarcastic remark: "O ganzer Narr, du kleiner Dieterich," whereby the address was brought to a sudden close. Dieterich was the burgomaster's name (*Characteristic Anecdotes, etc., of Frederick II.*, by B. H. Latrobe, London, 1788, p. 124).

145, 5-6. Cf. *Prometheus*, I. 263.

145, 13: "Verfall der Künste"—cf. Lenz's translation: "Johannes Ludovikus Vives von Verderbniss der Künste," made at Strassburg (*Sitz. Ber.*, u. s. w., 8).

145, 16: "auf allen Vieren"—cf. *Prometheus*, I. 99.

145, 18-19: "Maler der menschlichen Gesellschaft."

"Gemählde" frequently used by Lenz; so in the title of his *Sizil. Vesper*, in a letter to Merck (1775), in his *Anmerk. über's Theater* (*Ges. Schriften* II., 207, 216), and elsewhere.

SECOND ACT.

The idea of the passing of the poets in review may have been suggested to Lenz by the fourth book of Pope's *Dunciad* and by *Prometheus*, perhaps also by Schmid's article.

146, 2: "Tempel des Ruhms"—cf. *Dunciad*, fourth book. Lenz worked 1780 on a poem, *Der*

Tempel der Freundschaft (*Die Sizil. Vesper.*, ed. by Weinhold, 59).

146, 18: "Wenn ihr gute Worte gebt."—This expression was apparently common among the storm-and-stress people. Cf. a letter from J. D. Salzmann to Lenz, June 1776: "Wenn ihr mir gut wort gebt so schick ich's euch" (*Sitz. Ber. u. s. w.*, 29); Nicolai, etc., 368: "spitze Rede geben."

The lines 18–19, although under quotation marks are no quotation; also 149, 5, 12. 164, 31. 158, 31. The quotation marks simply indicate that a new person is speaking.

147, 29: "Ôté la culotte."—Note a similar passage in Rabelais' *La vie de Gar. et de Pant.*, fourth book, XLVII. chapter, where the devil is frightened away by the sight of the denuded figure of an old woman (*Oeuvres de Rabelais*, ed. by Johanneau, Paris 1823, vol. 6, 443–447). It is however possible, that Lenz refers only to the general obscenity of Rabelais' writings, which is made obvious especially in the *Songes Drolatiques de Pantagruel* (*ibid.*, vol. 9). Possibly Lenz was acquainted with the coarse drawings of these songes.—Cf. also *Menalk und Mopsus* in Lenz's *Ges. Schriften* III., 70, 75; *Prometheus*, epilogue.

148, 18: "Der ernsthafte Zirkel."—By that Bodmer and Breitinger are not meant, as Sauer suggests; otherwise Uz would not step forward from their midst, as he does in 148, 19. The line refers to the "honetten Damen und Herrn von gutem Ton" in 148, 8.

157, 21: "Ich will nicht nachzeichnen."—This (also 23–24) shows, that Lenz was acquainted with Herder's fundamental ideas on poetry. Herder draws a sharp distinction between "nachbilden" and "nachahmen." He approves the first, disapproves the second, and maintains that poetry must be rooted in the home and in the nation, not in the thoughts and beliefs of outside peoples.

157, 22: "so stell' ich Euch ein paar Menschen hin, wie Ihr sie da vor Euch seht."—Lenz's conception of what the modern tragedy should be, is expressed in a passage of his *Anmerkungen über's Theater*: "Das Trauerstück bei uns war also nie wie bei den Griechen das Mittel, merkwürdige Begebenheiten auf die Nachwelt zu bringen, sondern merkwürdige Personen" (*Ges. Schriften*, II., 227). He also says on the drama in general (*ibid.*, 212): "Es gehört zehnmal mehr dazu, eine

Figur mit eben der Genauigkeit und Wahrheit darzustellen, mit der das Genie sie erkennt, als zehn Jahre an einem Ideal der Schönheit zu zirkeln."

159, 34: "Fabel"—cf. the chapter "Der Teuffel ist vnsers herr Gots affe" in *Agricolas Sprüchwörtersammlung* (in *D. Nat. L.*, vol. 24).

We may infer from the preceding this much: Lenz gets his material from all possible sources; his *P. g.* is simply the precipitate of his rather extensive reading. Lenz doesn't show much originality in subject matter, but in arrangement and composition he is not without genius. It seems to me, that because of these merits of form the *P. g.* ranks, it is true, not with Goethe's *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, but certainly with the *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plunders weilern* and with *Prometheus D. u. s. R.*

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NOTES ON THE SHORTER OLD ENGLISH POEMS.

1. *Wanderer* 77.

The passage *Wanderer* 75–77:

*Swā nū missentlice geond þisne middangeard
winde biwāwne weallas slondað
hrīme bihrorene, hryðge þā ederas,*

contains a word *hryðge*, not occurring elsewhere, of which the precise meaning is not clear. It has been variously interpreted: 'tottering' (Thorpe); 'zerrütet' (Grein); 'in ruins' (Sweet, *Dict.*); 'uprooted' (Gollancz); etc. In texts which mark quantities, it has always been given as short.

If we compare ll. 101–105 of the same poem:

*and þās stānhleoþu stormas cnyssað;
hrīð hrēosende hrūsan bindað,
wintres wōma, þonne won cymeð,
nīpeð nihtscūa, norþan onsendeð
hrēo haglfare hælepum on andan,*

a passage dealing with the same theme as the former, it becomes plain that our word is the adjective formed from *hrīð*, *hryðge* (*hrīðge*) with long *i*. *Hrīð* occurs in Old English only here, but its meaning is clear from the context and from the

Icel. *hrīð*, 'storm,' especially 'snow-storm.' *Hrýðge* may therefore be translated 'snow-covered.'

2. Gifts of Men 93.

In this poem, lines 91-94:

*Sum cræft hafað circnyttla fela;
mæg on lof-songum Līfes Waldend
hlūde hergan; hafað hēalīce
beorhte stefne,*

the second *hafað* should be changed to *hefeð*. The copyist has by mistake repeated the *hafað* of two lines above. The verb *hæbban* is not elsewhere found in similar use, whereas *hebban* is used with *stefne* in *Exod.* 276, *hōf þā for hergum hlūde stefne; Exod.* 574, *hōfon hereþrēatas hlude stefne; Ps.* 92.4, *hōfon heora stefne strēamas.*

3. Seafarer 69.

This line has already sustained one correction. Grein's *tīd āgā* for MS. *tīdege*. The passage involved (68-71), as thus amended, reads:

*Simle þrēora sum, þinga gehwylce,
ær his tīd āgā, tō twēon weorþeð:
ād̥l obbe yl̥do obbe ecghele
fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð.*

Wülker has explained that *þinga gehwylce* means 'in any event.' The antecedant of *his* must be supplied from the context, unless we go fourteen lines back to *heorn* (l. 55).

But, like much else in the *Seafarer*, the passage is still obscure. What is meant by *tō twēon weorþeð*? 'Becomes doubtful?' I propose to read *tō tēon weorþeð*, 'becomes his ruin, destroys him.' Compare *Rid.* 51. 3, *ðone* [the dog] *on tēon wīgeð fēond his fēonde*, and (for the similar use of a related word) *Blickl. Hom.* 51. 9, *eal hit him wyrð tō tēonan*.

4. Fates of Men 8.

The lines to be considered are 7-9:

*Fergað swā ond fēdað fæder ond mōdor;
giefað ond gierwað; God āna wāt
hwæt him weazendum winter bringeð.*

The verbs are used with reference to the child (*beorn*, l. 3). Cosijn (*Beitr.* xxiii, 125) proposes *frēogað* for *fergað*, certainly an improvement. But, with either reading, the four verbs are not used in a similar manner. If the word *beorn* were expressed it would be the direct object of

three of them, but the indirect object of *giefað*. Rhythmically, also, there is objection to *giefað*, in that its first syllable is short, whereas a perfect balance with *frēogað*, *fēdað*, and *gierwað*, would demand a long first syllable. I suggest *giēmað*. Although this word is ordinarily followed by the genitive, Bosworth-Toller cites one instance of its use with the accusative, *Lev.* 26. 41, *ic gýme mīn wedd*. I need hardly dwell on the additional point that *giēmað* makes better sense.

5-6. Wonders of Creation, 85 and 88.

Lines 82-85 of this poem run as follows:

*Forþon swā teofenede sē þe teala cūpe,
dæg wið nihte, dēop wið hēan,
lyft wið lagustrēam, lond wið wæge,
flōd wið flōde, fisc wið gýðum.*

The expression *flōd wið flōde* is not in harmony with its five accompanying phrases, as it alone does not consist of a pair of opposites. For *flōde*, read *foldan*.

In l. 88, the word *meahtlocum*, ins. pl. of **meaht-loc*, has been overlooked by the lexicographers, and does not appear in any OE. dictionary.

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CHAUCER'S IDENTICAL RIMES.

An examination of the *Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere MS.* of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, shows that Chaucer used identical rimés with a frequency that can hardly be called "sporadic." In all they number 657, of which two-thirds (447) are such as *recchelees-waterlees*, *tappestere-beggestere*, *fetisly-solempnely*. With these endings, 42 are words in *-tie*, 51 are words in *-nesse*, and 130 are words in *-ly*. There are 123 cases of compounds, such as *served-reserved*, *benefice-office*, *affect-inject*, *lond-Engelond*. In 67 cases the words are identical in sound, but have different meanings, as *in myn armes-god of armes* (64 / 22478). In four cases the words are used as different parts of speech:

right n. obj. and adv. 88 / 3090,
wight n. obl. and adj. 264 / 3457,
wise n. obl. and adj. 272 / 3705,
wyse n. obl. and adj. plu. 406 / 116.

In five cases the words are different forms of the same verb:

caste 1 s. pres. and 3 s. perf. 62 / 2171,
fare inf. and pp. 70 / 2435,
telle inf. and 1 s. pres. 143 / 411,
tolde 1 s. perf. and 3 s. perf. 158 / 880,
lye v. and inf. 278 / 3898.

And in eleven cases the words are absolutely identical. These instances are:

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>wey</i> | 89 / 3133, | |
| <i>woot</i> | 143 / 439, | |
| <i>was</i> | 153 / 752, | |
| <i>wyse</i> | 155 / 796, | |
| <i>contree</i> | 191 / 1908, | (in a 7-line stanza). |
| <i>sente</i> | 263 / 3403, | } (in an 8-line stanza). |
| <i>two</i> | 270 / 3643, | |
| <i>broughte</i> | 278 / 3884, | |
| <i>he</i> | 278 / 3904, | |
| <i>smale</i> | 415 / 382, | |
| <i>reste</i> | 439 / 1132. | |

These eleven clear cases of absolutely identical rime are worth noting because Professor Skeat, in his edition of *The Prioresses Tale*, says (on page 215): "Chaucer sometimes rimes words which are spelt exactly alike, but only when their meanings differ." And on page LXVIII: "words thus repeated must be used in different senses." I cannot find that he either retracts or modifies this statement in his complete edition of Chaucer.

[It may be worth while to note that *wyse*, which Mr. Cromie quotes as riming with itself in 269 / 3609, occurs only once in that stanza; and that seven other cases of identical rime in the Ellesmere MS. are changed in Skeat's edition. These are:

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------|
| 53 / 1832 | <i>doutelees</i> , | in Skeat | <i>recchelees</i> , |
| 158 / 910 | <i>sonne</i> , | " | <i>eft-sonne</i> , |
| 275 / 3788 | <i>sonne</i> , | " | <i>eft-sonne</i> , |
| 401 / 2278 | <i>is</i> , | " | line changed, |
| 416 / 418 | <i>name</i> , | " | <i>fame</i> , |
| 437 / 1069 | <i>supposed</i> , | " | <i>purposed</i> , |
| 470 / 2234 | <i>sette</i> , | " | <i>fette</i> .] |

As there are some 8800 rimes in the *Canterbury Tales*, the 657 identical rimes form almost seven and one-half per cent. of the whole number, a percentage, which, so far as I know, is more than twice that found in any modern English poet.

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MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE.

H. SCHNEEGANS, *Molière*. Berlin, 1902, xi, 261 pp.

Professor Schneegans' excellent biography of Molière (which forms the forty-second volume of the well-known series *Geisteshelden*, published by Ernst Hofmann and Co., Berlin) is divided into eight chapters: I. *Kindheit und erste Anfänge*, II. *die Wanderjahre*, III. *die Zeit des Suchens und Tastens*, IV. *Heirat und Schule der Ehe*, V. *die Jahre des Kampfes*, VI. *die trüben Jahre*, VII. *In der Schule der Alten und im Dienste des Königs*, VIII. *das Ende*.

From the short preface the reader may already guess that Professor Schneegans, not content to compile and render intelligible to a vast circle of amateurs and novices the chief results gained by the patient and laborious researches of the last twenty years, intends to represent the great French genius in a new light, firstly, by strictly observing the chronological order (which had been neglected by former biographers), secondly, by assuming a more comprehensive stand-point, from which the originality of the poet might be more clearly discerned than in former days. Professor Schneegans, the well-known scholar and excellent Molière-connaisseur, is indeed fully entitled to express new opinions and thoughts of his own on this subject, though it cannot be denied that the long row of essential discoveries concerning the life and works of Molière appears to have come to a close. In this case, perhaps, the strictly chronological order has its drawbacks. I believe that the juxtaposition of the principal events of the poet's life and comedies of approximately the same date, urged Professor Schneegans more than was necessary to insist on the sombre reflexes which the bright garment of Molière's Muse fatally caught from dreary episodes of his life. Ph. Aug. Becker (*Literaturblatt für germ. u. roman. Philologie*, Februar, 1902) objects to the "*zu lyrische Auffassung des Komikers*." But who can help falling now and then into the alluring habits of Paul Lindau? Especially with Molière, whose unwise marriage must have now and then galled his wit and humor.

A few trifling remarks may not seem out of place. On p. 4, Professor Schneegans calls the French "*leichtsinnig*". This severe mode of judging the character of a whole nation reminds me

of a passage of E. Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (sixth book), which I shall certainly not quote here in its full length but which contains a wholesome lecture on the levity with which opinions are handed over till "*the same thing shall pass at last for absolutely wise, and not with fools exclusively.*" And so we say the French are light, as if we said the cat mews or the milch-cow gives us milk.

On p. 70 ff. Professor Schneegans turns our attention to the dismal conditions of the French stage in the seventeenth century. Perhaps the interesting, most accurate description might be enhanced by mentioning the year 1672. On the 16th of October, "la Comtesse d'Escarbagnas" was performed as well as "l'Amour médecin." It was a Sunday, and pages and domestics of the Maréchal de Gramont were busy thrashing a spectator, and pelting the actors with stones; and when Molière entered the stage, they aimed at him part of a large tobacco-pipe. P. 71 reminds me of Musset's ingenious way of explaining difficulties caused to the French classics by the preposterous privileges of the noblemen. In his essay on the "Tragédie" (à propos des débuts de Mlle Rachel), Musset asserts that he perfectly understands why Racine's tragedies appear inanimate to the public of his day.

"Et d'où vient maintenant qu'au théâtre, il faut le dire, les tragédies de Racine, toutes magnifiques qu'elles sont, paraissent froides par instants, et même d'une froideur bizarre, comme de belles statues à demi animées? C'est que le comte de Lauraguais a donné trente mille francs, en 1759, pour qu'on ôtât les banquettes de la scène; c'est qu'Andromaque, Monime, Emilie, sont aujourd'hui toutes seules dans de grands péristyles où rien ne les gêne, où elles peuvent se promener sur une surface de soixante pieds carrés, et les marquis ne sont plus là pour entourer l'actrice, pour dire un bon mot après chaque tirade, pour ramasser l'éventail d'Hermione, ou critiquer les canons de Thésée. Oreste, son épée à la main, n'a plus besoin d'écarter la foule des petits-maîtres et de leur dire: "Messieurs, permettez-moi de passer; je suis obligé d'aller tuer Pyrrhus . . ."

Why does Don Juan "*hypocrite*" (p. 137) seem rather strange? Hypocrisy belongs to his rôle. Molière's predecessors Dorimond and Villiers furnished some religious mockery, of which the author

of Tartuffe willingly benefited; moreover, real, living "Don Juans" have screened themselves behind religious scruples. I need but quote Henry VIII of England's example, who pretended to feel conscience-stricken after eighteen years of marriage with Catherine of Aragon, his late brother's wife!

For the same reason which makes Professor Schneegans prefer Goethe's "*Gretchen*" to "*Henriette*", I would adjudge the palm to Molière's "*Agnès*". Her letter to Horace (*École des femmes*, III. 4) is an unrivaled masterpiece of virginal purity.

To the list of works and studies on Molière, which forms the appendix and which has already been augmented by Mahrenholtz (*Ztschrft. f. rz. u. engl. Unterricht*, Heft I, 1902, pp. 92-93), I but add: van Hamel, *Het Letterkunde Leven van Frankrijk*, Amsterdam, 1898, which contains: Molière's *Don Juan* and *Misanthrope*.

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GERMAN SYNTAX.

Concerning the Modern German Relatives, "Das" and "Was," in Clauses Dependent upon Substantivized Adjectives. By STARR WILLARD CUTTING. The Decennial Publications. The University of Chicago Press, 1902. 4to., pp. 111-131.

Professor Cutting, in briefly outlining the history of *was* as a relative, says that "the use of *was*, first as an indefinite and later as an interrogative pronoun, is a common feature of Old High German and Middle High German syntax." This seems to mean that the change from the indefinite to the interrogative function of *was* took place in historic times. Now it is true that in the Indo-European languages the same word generally serves as indefinite and as interrogative pronoun, but there is apparently not sufficient evidence to show which of the two functions was the primary one. Theoretically either may be derived from the other (cf. Paul, *Principien*,³ 121). A glance at the examples in Kelle's and Sievers' Glossaries to Otfrid and Tatian shows how much more often *wer* and *waz* were used as interrogatives than as indefinites even

at that early period in the history of the language.

Nor does it seem to us by any means certain that "the free use of the latter [viz. of *was* (*wer*) as a relative] is derived from the combination of indefinite *waz* (*wer*) with the particle *sô*." Cf. Otfrid i. 27. 52: *thaz sinu uuort gimeinent, uuaz thisu uuerk zeinent*; iv. 22. 2: *thaz er thaz gihôrti, uuaz druhtin thes giquâti*; iii. 7. 45: *uuaz forasagon zellent, er unz iz zalta*; v. 14. 19 ff.: *uuaz thaz nezzi zeinit, . . . Grêgôrius er spânôta iz*; ii. 8. 19: *sâr sô thaz irskînit, uuaz mih fon thir rînit*. It is true that these clauses introduced by *waz* partake somewhat of the nature of indirect questions, but the fact that it is impossible to draw a sharp line between indirect questions and relative clauses would sufficiently account for *waz* being used in both. That Otfrid made no sharp distinction appears from the use of *daz* in ii. 9. 87: *fîrnim in thesa wûtsun, thaz ich thir zalta bî then sun*, and similar cases. The transition from interrogative to relative is found in many languages that have nothing to correspond to the German *sô wer*, *sô waz*, though it need not be denied that the latter may have helped the transition in German.¹

The author then points out that the majority of grammarians have defined the spheres of *das* and *was* as relatives only quantitatively. They agree that while *das* was generally used in the eighteenth century when referring to antecedents like *alles*, *etwas*, *das Gute*, *das Beste*, etc., *was* is now preferred, some of them even declaring *das* as now inadmissible. Becker and Blatz, however, recognize a qualitative difference between *das Gute das* and *das Gute was*, and Sanders attributes to the former an individualizing, to the latter a generalizing force.

By means of some 275 examples gathered from

¹The examples given by Horn (PBB. 22, 220) merely show that in a part of the territory in certain fixed combinations of words intervocalic *sw* passed into *w*. But to explain the modern use of *wer*, *was*, etc., as relatives for the older *swer*, *swaz*, etc. (cf. *Grundr.*² i. 724), by such a phonetic tendency without giving due weight to the natural syntactical tendency to use an interrogative as a relative, is like explaining the modern future *wird geben* by the phonetic reduction of final *-nde* or *-nt* to *-n* without taking account of the influence of the more or less synonymous phrases *sol geben*, *muoz geben*, etc.

over seven thousand pages of the prose of Hauptmann, Heyse, Keller, Meyer, Nietzsche, Raabe, Schopenhauer, Spielhagen, Sudermann, and Wildenbruch, the author then shows conclusively that as far as this material is concerned, the traditional view of the grammarians is incorrect. Only after superlatives are the *was*-clauses found to be in the majority; the type *das Beste was* occurs 53 times, the type *das Beste das* 24 times. After antecedents in the positive and comparative degree, on the other hand, the ratio is reversed: 156 *das*-clauses to 41 *was*-clauses.

This result is interesting and valuable beyond the particular point involved: it shows how easily the examination of a reasonable amount of recent German prose may show a traditional statement of the grammars to be incorrect; it confirms what has long been our impression, that a new German grammar should be based less upon its predecessors than upon a complete re-examination of the material. Nor is the value of this chief result of the present investigation likely to be materially affected by some deductions which in our opinion should be made from the figures quoted above, before a new positive statement concerning the present use of *das* and *was* as relatives can safely be formulated.

The inclusion of *alles* and *einzig* in the superlative category seems reasonable, inasmuch as a relative referring to one of these is likely to have the same generalizing sense as after a superlative; but we may ask what the difference is between *das Erste* and *das Zweite* or *das Dritte*, and why the first should be classified with the superlatives, but not the others. The author himself is not quite sure that he is correct in classifying clauses introduced by the relative adverbs *worüber*, *wovon*, and even *wohin*, etc., as *das*-clauses, 15 in all. To our feeling they belong rather among the *was*-clauses. In the spoken language certainly *worauf es ankommt* is equivalent to *auf was es ankommt*.

It seems to us further that the clauses introduced by *dessen* and *dem* can throw no light on the present question, because *wessen* is but rarely, and *wem* never, used in the cases under consideration, so that the relations of *dessen* to *wessen* and *dem* zu *wem* are very different from that of *das* to *was*. As compared with 94 cases of *was* and 22 with *dessen* and *dem*, not a single case of *wessen* or *wem*

is included in the collection. These deductions lessen the ratio of the *das*-clauses to those with *was*, but still leave the former in the majority.

The author also includes among the *das*-clauses all clauses introduced by *welch*. Insofar as it is merely a question of determining the territory of *was*, this seems justifiable; but inasmuch as it is in some degree a question of the gradual restriction of *das*, which was used in the eighteenth century more generally than it is now, the relations between *das* and *welches* should also be considered. We must reckon, for instance, with the fact that not a few persons avoid more or less the use of any form of *der* as a relative after an antecedent that is also a form of *der*, particularly the use of the same word for both antecedent and relative, e. g., *der: der, das: das*, while on the other hand the extent to which *welch* is used, varies not a little with different writers. The issue, therefore, seems to be not wholly one between *was* on the one hand and *das* or *welches* on the other, but from another point of view one between *das* on the one hand and *was* and *welches* on the other. The superlatives, which show such a large preponderance of *was*-clauses, are in nearly every instance preceded by *das* (or *des, dem*); while *alles*, which is classified by the author with the superlatives, but which is not ordinarily accompanied by such a determinative, shows a much smaller proportion of *was*-clauses, namely 3 *was* to 3 *das* (+ 1 *alles das was*). While the total number of such cases presented is too small to warrant a very definite assertion, it seems safe to say that if due allowance were made for the tendencies mentioned, the author's general conclusion, that the qualitative difference between *das* and *was* consists in the more determinative function which the former has assumed since the eighteenth century, is even more generally true than his figures would indicate.

The author promises to make a detailed examination of earlier writers as well as of the living dialects. We suggest that in that case modern prose-writers outside of the realm of philosophy should also be examined to a greater extent than has been done. More than one-half of the material so far examined is taken from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, which is certainly an amount so disproportionate that it cannot fail to effect the general result by giving undue weight to individual usage,

while on the other hand the most widely read authors, who are most likely to represent and influence general usage, are either not represented at all or only in comparatively small amounts.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Estudios de Historia Literaria de España, por D. EMILIO COTARELO Y MORI, de la Real Academia Española. Tomo I. Madrid, 1901.

The well-known scholar and critic, D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori has here collected a number of essays on Spanish literature which he had contributed to various journals, and has published them in book form, amplified and improved by his own later investigations and by availing himself of the works of other scholars which have appeared since their original publication. An idea of the importance of these *Studies* may be formed from the following partial list: *El supuesto Libro de las Querellas del Rey d. Alfonso el Sabio*; *El Trovador Garcí-Sánchez de Badajoz*; *Las Imitaciones castellanas del Quijote*; *Juan del Encina y los Orígenes del Teatro Español*; *Lope de Rueda y el Teatro Español de su Tiempo*.

Students of Spanish literature that still had any doubt about the spuriousness of the *Libro de las Querellas* of Alfonso the Wise, will be entirely relieved of them by reading the searching article with which Sr. Cotarelo opens this volume. The genuineness of this work had been questioned long ago by such scholars as Wolf and Ticknor, but no direct evidence was produced by them. Here the subject is examined with a thoroughness that conveys conviction, and the *Libro de las Querellas* is shown to have been a fabrication of that *falsario aragonés*, as Sr. Cotarelo calls D. José Pellicer de Osau y Tovar, a voluminous writer of the seventeenth century, and the friend of Góngora and enemy of Lope de Vega.

In the article on Garcí-Sánchez de Badajoz, which contains some curious information about this mad trobador, Sr. Cotarelo denies that the Sánchez de Badajoz of the *Cancionero General* is

identical with "Badajoz, el Músico," and asserts that the *Músico de la Corte portuguesa*, whose name is Juan, is still a third person. The essays on Juan del Encina and Lope de Rueda are the most important in the volume, as they are also the longest, occupying nearly two hundred pages. Juan del Encina, the first writer of distinction for the Spanish stage, was born in Salamanca in 1468, or perhaps 1469. Nothing is known of his family, and there has been some question even as to his real name. What is certain, Sr. Cotarelo tells us, is that "by the name of Encina he was known, not only here but in Italy, and he never used any other." He studied at the University of his native city the humanities, philosophy and perhaps also theology. At the University he was the protégé of D. Gutierre de Toledo, brother to the second Duke of Alba, into whose service he afterwards, towards the close of 1492, entered.

Encina composed verses at the age of 14, and by the time he was 25 he had written nearly all the lyrical compositions which are found in his *Cancionero*. It was while serving the Duke of Alba at his seat, Alba de Tormes, that he wrote the dramatic pieces which are the foundation of his renown. The first edition of his *Cancionero* was published at Salamanca in 1496. It contained, beside the lyrical poems, eight farces,—*representaciones* two were called,—the others he calls *églogas*.

In December, 1498, Juan del Encina obtained the post of *cantor* in the cathedral of Salamanca, after which he is lost sight of for a long time. He afterwards went to Italy—when is not known—attracted thither, it has been surmised, by the kindness with which Spaniards had been received by popes Calixtus III. and Alexander VI. In Rome he remained several years. He seems to have been back again in Spain in 1509, in which year he was named *arcediano mayor* of the cathedral of Málaga. Juan del Encina made at least three—perhaps four—voyages to Rome: the journey just mentioned, and again in 1512, 1516 and probably also in 1519. While at Rome he was very favorably received, and in 1513 one of his plays—probably *Plácida y Victoriano*, as Menéndez y Pelayo has conjectured—was performed at the house of Cardinal de Alborea, the poet taking part in the representation. The account of this performance is quoted by Sr. Cotarelo from d'An-

cona, *Origini del Teatro italiano*, Vol. II, p. 82. It is not without interest as a picture of the society which at that time filled the palaces of the princes of the church. I quote it here, supplying the omission of Sr. d'Ancona:

"Zovedi a' 6, festa de li tre Re, il sig. Federico . . . si ridusse alle xxiii ore a casa del card. Arborensis, invitato da lui ad una comedia . . . Cenato dunque, si ridussero tutti in una sala, ove si aveva ad rappresentare la comedia; il pred. Rev.^{mo} sedendo tra il sig. Federico, posto a man dritta, e lo ambascador di Spagna a man sinistra, et molti vescovi poi a torno, tutti spagnuoli; quella sala era tutta piena de gente, et piu delle due parte erano spagnoli, et piu puttane spagnole vi erano che homini italiani, perchè la comedia fu recitata in lingua castigliana, composta da Joanne de Lenzina, qual intervenne lui ad dir le forze et accidenti di amore: et per quanto dicono spagnoli non fu molto bella, et poco delectò al S. Federico."

(See also Arturo Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Torino, 1888, p. 264.)

Encina afterwards went to the Holy Land in the retinue of the Marquis of Tárfia, and returned to Rome in 1520. According to Gil González Dávila he died in Salamanca, his native city, in 1534, and was buried in the cathedral. Sr. Cotarelo also takes up the various plays of the poet and examines and discusses them at considerable length.

Perhaps the most important essay in the volume is the one on Lope de Rueda. And right at the beginning Sr. Cotarelo calls attention to the fact that the progress that had been made in the secular drama by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro was not continued by his successors, and that a period of stagnation followed in Castile, which lasted, with rare exceptions, until the appearance of Lope de Rueda. There can be no doubt that the *farsas*, *coloquios*, *tragedias*, *comedias* and what else they were called, which were produced for nearly half a century after the appearance of the *Propaladia* of Torres Naharro, marked a distinct step backward. The works of the illustrious *extremefío* seemed to be without influence upon his countrymen. Various reasons have been assigned for this, and they are mentioned by Sr. Cotarelo. One reason is that his works having been written in Italy, they were not generally accessible. But he points out that after the first edition of Naharro at Naples, in 1517, quite a number appeared in other places: at Seville in 1520, 1526, 1533 and 1545;

at Antwerp about 1550, and at Madrid in 1563, 1573, and others. In view of this array of editions it cannot well be maintained that the comedies of Naharro were unknown in Spain. Nor can the fact that they were prohibited by the Holy Office account for it. Sr. Cotarelo believes that the true cause of the lack of popularity of the plays of Torres Naharro is to be found in their very perfection. In other words, having been produced in Italy, where the *comedia* had attained a degree of development unknown in Spain, they could not at once be adopted in the latter country, and besides, the rude state of the appointments and scenic apparatus of traveling companies of players at that time in Spain (we see from the *Prólogo* to Cervantes's *Comedias* that all the effects of such a troupe of players consisted of false beards and a blanket for a curtain) made their representation in the public squares almost impossible. Whatever the true reason may have been, the fact that the theatre in Spain was uninfluenced by the plays of Naharro for a long period, seems undisputed. Lope de Rueda, the founder of the Spanish *comedia*, as Lope de Vega calls him, a native of Seville, and a gold-beater by trade, has the rare distinction of having the greatest of all Spaniards for his biographer, for all that was known of him up to recent times, is what Cervantes says of him in the *prólogo* to his *Comedias* (1615). It is not known when Lope de Rueda was born—perhaps in the first decade of the sixteenth century—nor do we know the date of his death. According to Cervantes, he died in Córdoba, where he was buried in the *iglesia mayor*. By a happy chance his last will was discovered about a year ago, and from it we learn that his father's name was Juan de Rueda, that that of his wife, who survived him, was Angela. Rafaela, and that they had an only daughter named Juana, who died at an early age in Córdoba.

The life of the *histriones* in Spain at this time—especially at about the beginning of Lope de Rueda's career—was not an enviable one. Sr. Cotarelo mentions an ordinance of March 9, 1534, issued by D. Carlos and his mother, Da. Juana, concerning the garments and ornaments to be worn by players, which had to be different from those ordinarily worn, in order to distinguish them from other social classes. To stigmatize a particular

class of the community by obliging its members to wear some distinctive garment was a common enough practice in Europe about this time. We know that a few years later, in 1549, by a rescript of Duke Cosimo the *cortigiane* of Florence were obliged to wear a yellow veil, "*a fine che elle sien conosciute dalle donne da bene e di honesta vita*," etc. (Salvatore Bongi, *Il Velo giallo di Tullia d'Aragona*, Firenze, 1886, p. 10). It is recorded that the famous poetess Tullia d'Aragona, who fell under this category, protested against wearing this hateful stigma, and was excused therefrom through the aid of her friend, Benedetto Varchi, the Duke granting the favor because she was a poetess and endorsing her petition with the words: "*Fasseli gratia per poetessa*." (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

So the evil reputation of players in Spain since the time of the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise, in which they are denominated *facedores de juegos de escarnio, remedadores*, etc., continued to pursue them. This did not, however, prevent Lope de Rueda from joining a company of strolling players, and in 1554 we find him a full-fledged *autor de comedias*, with a company of his own. Subsequently to this date Sr. Cotarelo prints a number of documents concerning Rueda, one of them dated September, 1561, shows that our author was then in financial difficulties—a complaint as old, apparently, as the profession itself—and that his theatrical wardrobe, "*que no seria muy rico ni abundante*," was attached for a debt of 22 ducats, as he was about to leave with his wife for Valencia, the birthplace by the way, of his wife.

It was in Madrid, then, and about this time, that Cervantes, then a youth of perhaps 14, first saw Lope de Rueda with his company. The date of Rueda's death, as already mentioned, is not exactly known, but he was already dead on October 7, 1566, for that is the date of the *censura* of the posthumous collection of his works published by his friend Joan Timoneda at Valencia in 1567. He probably died not long after March 21, 1565, the date of his last will and testament, made in Córdoba when he was so ill that he was unable to sign his name. The above edition of Lope de Rueda's works consisted of four comedias, two *coloquios pastoriles* and a short dialogue in verse "*sobre la invención de las calzas*."

Sr. Cotarelo concludes his very interesting essay

with a careful examination of the *comedias, coloquios, pasos*, etc., of Rueda's that have survived, discussing their origin—they are all from Italian sources—and follows this with a careful bibliography, and finally, in an appendix, he describes a hitherto unknown work of our poet, from a manuscript in possession of Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo—a satirical work entitled *Flor de medicina*. Sr. Cotarelo's *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España* is a book of exceeding interest, containing much that is new, and should be read by every student of Spanish literature.

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ROMANCE VERSIFICATION.

Zur Lateinischen und Romanischen Metrik, von Professor Dr. FRIEDRICH HANSSSEN. Valparaíso: Helfmann, 1901, pp. 80. Separatabdr. Verhdl. Deut. Wissensch. Vereins in Santiago (Chile), iv, S. 345–424.

This investigation deals with the nature and origin of the Classic, that is, metric, rhythmic and Romance syllable-count. We are already indebted to Dr. Hanssen for a valuable article on Spanish and Portuguese Metrics, 1900. The present essay is valuable, not so much on account of any new theories or original views, but on account of the material made accessible to those interested in the origins and relation of Romance versification to Latin poetry of early Christian times.

The author is of the opinion that it is wrong to oppose the accentual metrical system of the *neueren Kulturvölker* to the quantitative of the Greeks and Romans; this has led to confusion and done a great deal of harm. The basis of Romance metrics is syllable-count, hence, *quantitierend*; the essential fact is that both systems have a definite number of *Takteinheiten*, and this holds as well for the later Greek and Latin rhythmical poetry. There is a close relation between the Romance and the metrical system, thus opposing the views of Huemer and others who maintain that "für das Metrum das Quantitätsprinzip, für den Rhythmus das Accentuationsprinzip in der Verskunst massgebend war."

Starting from this view-point, Dr. Hanssen first discusses in a general way the quantitative and accentual versification, and this part is highly suggestive. Suffice it to mention one point that most verse technicians overlook. The physiological laws or principles of rhythm are everywhere alike, but in some respects they have traveled different roads. The rhythmic feeling is by no means the same everywhere; and in verse-structure habit and education have a greater influence than nature, contrary to general opinion. This point seems of the utmost importance, in the opinion of the writer, to a safe guide and sure appreciation of the relation between the Romance and Classical verse-structure and its development. So much criticism in verse-technique is based entirely on the individual feeling and on an appreciation that necessarily follows therefrom, and which invariably calls forth a different standard of critical measure. And here we venture to say that the reason why German criticism on French verse-technique, especially on the subject of rhythm, in general, is fundamentally wrong, is the fact that the German critic takes a wrong standard, a standard based on a German acoustics and not on a Latin. Not until one is able to thrust aside the individual, inherent feeling is it possible to appreciate different verse principles. From this standpoint Professor Stengel is probably the greatest living verse-technique critic.

In the second chapter, "Beziehungen zwischen Reim und Silbenzählung," the author shows that the difference in rhyme in Latin and Romance is based on the difference of the nature of their syllable-count; many examples of entire poems are given to show the nature and development of verse-division and rhyme.

The chapter "Der Accent in der Spanischen Metrik" is of exceptional value, because so little reliable work has been done in this field.

In the chapter "Der Lateinische Zehnsilbner" one point is especially interesting, outside of the many examples cited, he shows that the paroxytonic and proparoxytonic verse-end was not a *Verwild-erung*, but *eine Altertümlichkeit* (p. 45).

Under "Rhythmische Daktylen und Anapäste" the nature of the ictus in the Classical verse is discussed; the author agrees with Bonnet (*Amer. Jour. Philol.*, xix, xx) that verses were to be read

as prose. The ictus, according to Professor Hanssen was not put into the Classical verse through recitation, but through the rhythmical feeling inherent in man (p. 49).

In the last chapter "Die Gleichsetzung jambischer und trochaischer Reiben im lateinischen Achtsilbner" he illustrates the principle that in Romance metrics the last stressed syllable is used as a *festen Punkt* for syllable-count; in the rhythmic metrical system the last syllable of the verse. The conclusions drawn by the author are the following:

1. The Classic, rhythmic, and Romance metrical systems designate three grades of progressive development;

2. The rhythmic metrical system has remained in close relation to the Classical; it imitates prosodic forms, counting syllables;

3. The rhythmic system has retained the verse accent of the prosodic prototypes; it remains an open question, whether, and how they were expressed in recitation;

4. Word-accent and verse-accent are not identical in the Classical and rhythmical systems; the rhythmical verse-structure has nothing in common with the Germanic accent-system.

Although these points may not seem to contain anything new, yet, there is much valuable information and much suggestive reading in this very scholarly and interesting essay. It must be read and studied, however; on account of the numerous examples cited, a review will always fall short of any adequate presentation of what has been done.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green, von HENRY CHETTLER und JOHN DAY: nach der Q 1659 in Neudruck: hrsg. von W. BANG. *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, vol. 1. Louvain, Uystpruyst, 1902. 8vo. pp. x + 80.

The appearance of Professor Bang's *Materialien* calls attention again to the lack of periodicals in English devoted to the study of English literature

and to the debt we owe the various German publications of this class. A publication especially devoted to the early English drama is sure of a hearty welcome, and Professor Bang will receive the thanks of all students of the Elizabethan period.

The *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green*, an edition of which forms the first number of the *Materialien*, is not an important play but offers several points for investigation in connection with the history of the drama and the careers of its authors. In his brief introduction Professor Bang does not dwell on these questions, reserving them for discussion in a forthcoming edition of Chettle's Works. It may be hoped that he will there note the relation of this play to *Look About You* and to Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. The plot of the latter play, first acted in 1596, depends on the many disguises assumed by the blind beggar. In *Look About You*, (published in 1600, first acted 1599?) the complications are similarly caused by the disguises of a hermit and of various people masquerading as the hermit. Similarly, in the *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green* (acted 1600), the main plot deals with the affairs of Lord Momford, the pseudo-blind beggar, who assumes various disguises and thus confounds his enemies. The indebtedness of the play to the two earlier ones, and especially to Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, seems clear. Chapman's *May Day* (acted 1601?) also depends for its action upon several disguises, and perhaps further evidence could be secured for the popularity of comedies abounding in disguises at about the time of the *Beggar of Bednall Green*.

Professor Bang's notes are succinct and careful but rather scanty, and he corrects only a few of the many errors in the original text. Consequently we are left in doubt whether the error be in the first edition or the present one. "Desper-view" (l. 657) is defined with a reference to this passage in *N. E. D.* as 'an indigent man, a poor beggar.' The meaning of 'to hamper' (l. 670) seems to be 'to beat.' (See *N. E. D.*)

Notes and introduction, however, are manifestly of less importance than the text itself which Professor Bang has endeavored to reprint from the first quarto with absolute accuracy. The text has also been collated with the copy of the quarto in

the British Museum and several variations noted. Unfortunately, however, Professor Bang was not able to examine the reprint of the quarto in Bullen's edition of the *Works of Day* (privately printed, London, 1881). This reprint differs in many respects from Professor Bang's, and it does not always correspond with his notes of variations in the British Museum quarto. Without considering punctuation or capitalization, which Mr. Bullen modernizes, I have noted over two hundred variations between the two reprints which are not accounted for in the notes of either. I have not been able to examine a copy of the first quarto and so cannot say how these variations are to be explained. Bullen apparently corrects misprints and occasionally alters spelling without comment, and he is presumably less painstaking than Professor Bang in reproducing the original text; but a large number of the variations seem due to grave faults in editing.

It is not worth while to print the entire list of different readings, but it certainly is a matter of importance to learn whose editions of Elizabethan plays are trustworthy. I give a complete list of the variations which I have noted in the first act and a few of the more important ones in the later acts.

Bang, line 1, awfull; *Bullen*, awful. 9, read; *Bullen omits*. 30, last night late; late last night. 41, *Swiz.*; *Switz.* 43, *Swiz.*; *Switz.* 44, watt; what. 50, suddain; suddaine. 60, for-send; for-fend. 62, any; an. 83, *Beamart*; *Bramart*. 89, *Swiz.*; *Switz.* 90, sall; full. 104, Here; Hear. 124 (stage direction), Landeresse; Launderesse. 125, digrac'd; disgrac'd. 130, Landress; Laundress. 136, trim'd; trimm'd. 180, teady; ready. 197, tarryed; tarried. 238, bust; must. 243, mony; money. 253, morgage; mortgage. 264, stedfastly; steadfastly. 273, as; so. 281, feign'd; feigned. 294, s. d., *Serv.*; servant. 298, s. d.; *Enter Gloster disguised with a Letter*; *Bullen omits*. 329, breaths; breathes. 340, this; his [so Q 1 b; see *Bang*, p. ix.]. 351, betcer; better. 354, s. d., *Draw*; *Draws*. 378, you to walk; you walk (so Q 1 b). 380, Towu; Town. 384, *Playusey*; *Playnsey*. 389, me; *Bullen omits*. 407, homesome; homespun, (so Q 1 b). 411, you cheated; you have cheated. 411, bed; abed (so, Q 1 b). 414, evenings; Evenings. 445, kuow;

know. 446, s. d., *Oficers*; *Officers*. 473, baffe; baste. 508, tearms; tearmes. 517, *Westfords*; *Westford*. 517, s. d., *Souldier*; *Soldier*. 522, s. d., *Playnseys*; *Playnsey*. 523, hem; them. 602, abuse; abase. 662, sneaking; speaking. 747, follow me; *Bullen omits*. 796, bang, hang. 803, I say I have; I say that I have. 891, wee; were. 901, and; &. 1036, mingled; mangled. 1129, with; to. 1138, with; to. 1170, excellent; I, excellent. 1221, I met Mr.; I met with Mr. 1245, and go . . . Stratford; *Bullen omits*. 1292, from open; from an open. 1308, faults; thoughts. 1314, sayes; sayest. 1316, debts and goods; debts, my goods. 1443, smitten; *Bullen omits*. 1480, w'od we had; wo'd that we had. 1584, foul; false. 1868, in; with. 2513, and is; 'Tis. 2538, Gill; Gilt. 2595, fisht, fight.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Poema Del Cid. Edición anotada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, 1900. 8vo., pp. vi + 113.

The editor has here given us the results of the latest collation of the codex of the *Poema del Cid*, now in the possession of D. Alejandro Pidal y Mon. The present edition is identical with the one of 1898 by the same editor, but gives in the introduction more detailed information regarding the manuscript and its present condition, besides correcting a few more misprints not noted in the 1898 edition.

We have here undoubtedly the most perfect reproduction of the manuscript of the *Poema* that has yet appeared, and as it is not probable that another paleographic edition will be issued for many years to come, a brief account of the editions that have preceded may not be out of place.

Not including the one under consideration, there have been printed four editions based on manuscript authority. Of these the *editio princeps* is the one published in 1779 by Tomas Antonio Sanchez, being Vol. I of his *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV*. 4 vols. Madrid,

1779-1790. Besides a few foot-notes, the edition of Sanchez contains an introduction describing the manuscript, which at that time was kept at Burgos, remarks on the language, versification and literary value of the *Poema*, and appended is an *Indice de las voces antiquadas y mas oscuras de este poema, que necesitan explicacion*. Sanchez states that in 1596 a certain Juan de Ulibarrez y Leyva made a copy of the manuscript at Burgos. The title of this copy, as cited by Menéndez Pidal, is *Historia del Famoso Cauallero Rodrigo de Bibar, llamado por otro nombre Cid Campeador, sacada de su original por Juan Ruiz de Vlibarri, en Burgos a 20 de Octubre de 1696 años*. Sanchez thus criticizes this copy:

“Un tal Juan Ruyz de Ulibarri y Leyva, sacó una mala copia de este codice, la qual he leído y cotejado con su original. Tenia ya este entonces las mismas faltas de hojas que tiene ahora; y Ulibarri las aumentó en su copia, omitiendo por descuido muchos versos, emendando algunas voces que no entendió, y errando otras que no supo leer. Y no reparando en la raspadura de la fecha, copió la era de 1245 como cosa en que no habia duda. En fin sacó una copia de ninguna estimacion como lo suelen ser las que despues de hechas no se cotejan con sus originales, mayormente si son de letra y cosas antiguas.”¹

This manuscript copy was completely revised by Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pilares in 1792.

In 1864 Florencio Janer published with additions Sanchez' collection of *Poesías castellanas*, being Vol. 57 of Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. The full title of Janer's work is *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV. Coleccion hecha por Don Tomas Antonio Sanchez, continuada por el excelentísimo Señor Don Pedro José Pidal y considerablemente aumentada, á vista de los códices y manuscritos antiguos, por Don Florencio Janer. Madrid, 1864*. Janer's text of the *Poema* is not only a better reproduction of the codex, but the entire edition is more valuable than that of his predecessor on account of the excellent notes, both historical and critical, which are given at the foot of every page. He reprinted Sanchez' vocabulary without additions or change of definitions.

The next collation of the manuscript was made by Professor K. Vollmöller, who in 1879 published his text entitled: *Poema del Cid. Nach der einzigen*

Madriider Handschrift mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar neu herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller. I Theil: Text, Halle, 1879. It is to be regretted that only the text has been published. It is now out of print.

The last edition preceding Menéndez Pidal's is the one edited by Mr. Archer Huntington, a review of which was given not long ago in the columns of this journal² and, as Menéndez Pidal puts it, “no se aparta de la de Vollmöller en ningun punto esencial.”

The first reprint of the *Poema* was made in Germany, 1804, being included in Vol. 1 of the *Biblioteca castellana, portuguesa y provenzal, por Don G. Henrique Schubert. Altenburg, 1804*.³

Sanchez' entire collection was reprinted by Ochoa, Paris, 1842. In 1858 was published at Paris a magnificent edition of the *Poema*, by the French savant, M. Damas Hinard: the scope of this work is indicated by its title: *Poème du Cid, texte espagnol accompagné d'une traduction française, de notes, d'un vocabulaire et d'une introduction, par Damas Hinard. Paris, 1858*. Damas Hinard did not make use of the manuscript, although he had seen it, but states (p. LXXII) that he frequently consulted Gayangos in whose possession the codex was at that time. His text follows closely that of Sanchez but has a number of conjectural emendations, many of which have been accepted by later editors. The vocabulary is quite complete, and the notes, critical, historical and geographical, are interesting and instructive. Copies of this edition are now scarce.

An excellent edition was published in 1896 by the Swedish scholar, Lidfors: *Los Cantares de myo Cid, con una introduccion y notas por D. Eduardo Lidfors. Lund, 1896*. Lidfors' task was made easier not only by the work of previous editors, but by valuable recent contributions to literature on the Cid, in the various journals of philology.

Menéndez Pidal's edition aims at presenting exactly the present condition of the codex, and to attain this end the editor has used every means at his command. Reagents have been employed

¹ By George G. Brownell, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1898.

² Cited by Wolf, *Hist. d. l. Literaturas castellana y portuguesa*, trad. p. M. de Unamuno, con notas p. M. Menéndez Pelayo, Madrid. See p. 39, note.

¹ *Poesías castellanas*, vol. 1, p. 228.

whenever necessary and they seem to have been needed in many instances where the reading has caused no difficulty to previous editors; for example, on *O* beginning l. 283 and *E uos* l. 284, he remarks: "Leído con reactivo: el *E uos* se hizo y vos con tinta negra;" l. 2047, M.: *Dixo*, with the note: "Leído con nuevo reactivo;" V.: [*Di*]xo; but Sanchez and Janer: *Dixo*, without comment. Other similar examples might be cited. Lidforss also notes the apparent deterioration of the codex: "Su estado parece haber empeorado algo despues que Sánchez lo publicó, porque éste no demuestra haber encontrado dificultad alguna en su lectura, y ahora, hasta los renglones finales descubiertos ó al menos por primera vez impresos por Janer, ya no se pueden decifrar sino parcialmente."⁴

As Menéndez Pidal informs us, the codex has corrections chargeable to various hands. Some have been made by the copyist in revising the copy. Others are made with different ink and in less elegant handwriting than that of the copyist, but contemporaneous. The rest have been written in the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth and especially the sixteenth century by persons unacquainted with other mss. of the *Poema*, and, being therefore arbitrary, have no value whatever.

In his text Menéndez Pidal has accepted corrections by the copyist and a few by the first corrector. Remaining emendations either by the first corrector or later ones, that seemed justifiable, have been given in the foot-notes. Abbreviations are printed in full, except when there might be some doubt as to their value; for example, *m̃*, or where the reading presented no difficulty; for example, *z*. The editor has made no corrections or additions except to mark the punctuation and employing capital letters for proper names. Editions cited are those of Sanchez, Janer and Vollmöller, and the copy of Ulibarri and Pellicer.

The notes are merely textual and give no help to the student beyond explaining ms.-readings. It is difficult to see how a more correct and exact reproduction of the codex could be brought out in print than the present edition, surpassing in minuteness of detail and in the methods employed even that of Vollmöller. However, the student who is just beginning the study of Old Spanish, or who would like to read the *Poema del Cid* as

literature rather than as an exercise in textual criticism, will undoubtedly prefer one of the older annotated editions to either of these last mentioned. To future editors of the *Poema* who have no access to the ms. the present edition will be of inestimable value.

In comparing the edition of Vollmöller with the present one we are surprised at the large number of variant readings. Differences in the two texts occur in at least 265 lines. A careful count including repetitions would make the number considerably larger. It should be remembered, however, that many of Menéndez Pidal's variants are due to the fact above mentioned, that corrections other than those of the copyist himself and the first emendator are not accepted by him. The two editors differ somewhat in the transcription of certain letters. Menéndez Pidal prints *R*, *r*, Vollmöller, *Rr*, *rr* for the double *r* of the codex, e. g., l. 15, M. *Ruy*, V. *Rruy*; l. 19, M. *kazon*, V. *rrazon*; they often disagree in the use or omission of cedilla, as in ll. 34, 41, etc.; likewise in the use of tilde, e. g., ll. 113, 279, 305, 1010. The texts of Sanchez and Janer have *sancto*, *-ncta*, etc., while V. and M. print *santo*, *-nta*, etc. M. explains that the ms. has *f̃eo*, *-f̃eā* and that the *e* is not used where the word is written in full.

One much disputed and doubtful reading, the beginning of line 2788, where V. has "*Mio trapo [f] es*," M. "*Mientra [f] es*," is thus explained by the latter:

"Muy dudoso, si el copista no tachó las dos últimas letras que puso; *Mie* es seguro, encima no se ve tilde, sólo una *q̃* chica y parece posterior, de uno que tomó la *M* por *Q*; luego hay espacio de una letra en blanco y sigue *tpa*, *tpo*, acaso *tra*, *tro*, con una *a* sobre la *t*, todo de tinta rojiza, repasado con tinta negra, con la que se substituyó por una tilde la *a* sobrepuesta."

The closing lines of the *Poema* were partly illegible at the time Professor Vollmöller made his collation, and not wishing to damage the letters yet visible, he used no reagent.⁵ His reading is therefore identical with that of Janer. Menéndez Pidal after employing reagents reads the last three lines as follows:

En era de mill τ .C. C zL. v. años . el el Romanz
[E]s leydo, dat Nos del vino; si non tenedes dineros, echad
[A] la vnos peños, que bien vos lo dararan sobrellos.

⁴ Loc. cit., p. 97.

⁵ Dozy, *Recherches*, Vol. II, p. 82.

His notes on these lines are of interest with reference to the date of the copy. He tells us that after the second *C* space for another letter is scratched, but the reagent betrays no presence of ink. Menéndez Pidal himself, however, does not seem to attach much importance to this fact, since he dates the codex from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The letters of the concluding lines are poorly written but are contemporaneous with the rest of the codex.

I have selected from the text under consideration and submit as follows a few variants of greater or less importance, considerably different from previous readings, interesting from the fact that they almost invariably represent the original draft of the copyist, and illustrating the editor's principle of excluding all additions by later emendators of the codex:

69: V. *ençeruigio*; M. *çeruigio*. 142: V. *Amos todos tred*; M. *Amos tred*. 280: V. *partir nos tenemos*; M. *partir nos emos*. 293: V. *conio*; M. *coio*; Janer's reading is also *conio*. 1691: V. *coian el campo*; M. *coian el [p]an*. 1898: V. *ello a mereçer yo*; M. *el lo mereçe* (omitting *yo*). 2264: V. *De todas las dueñas e de los fijos dalgo*; M. *Ea todas las dueñas e alos fijos dalgo*. 3647: V. *lanças*; M. *amas*.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Voltaire's Zaire and Epitres, edited with introduction and notes by CHARLES A. EGGERT, Ph. D. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1902. 8vo., 53+183 pp.

Curiously enough this famous tragedy by the great master of the eighteenth century had never before been edited in America, and the present edition may therefore be said "to fill a want." Moreover, the careful manner in which both the editor and publishers have done their work will contribute much towards securing for it a favorable reception.

The introduction covering forty-three pages and giving a rapid survey of the literary activity of the eighteenth century in France, a biographical

sketch of the author of *Zaire* and a brief analysis of the tragedy, is neither elaborate nor especially original. Yet there is in it ample material to give the student a fair idea of the poet's personality, life and work. Attention is also called to *Zaire's* resemblance with, or rather difference from Shakespeare's *Othello*, under whose conscious influence Voltaire wrote his masterpiece.

As for the notes, I should call them rather scant. They occupy barely seventeen pages for a hundred and nine pages of text, and contain, on the other hand, a not inconsiderable number of superfluous translations, or at least such as any school dictionary is likely to give. For instance: 944, *mon âme étonnée*; 1057, *hasarder*; 1173, *sens interdits*; 1226, *on m'aime*; 12 (*Lettre à M. de la Roque*), *sensibilité*; 116 (same letter), *en présence même*. Other notes are somewhat misleading through lack of precision, as: 505, *La cendre*, of which the editor says that it is used in the singular by poetical license for *les cendres*; this is true in this case referring to the remains of a deceased person, but the ordinary meaning of 'ashes' is *la cendre* as well as *les cendres*; 1587, *expiré* is said not to be used any longer; it is again true in the present case, but any modern novel is likely to contain this word at least once; 92 ("*Epître à Mme la Marquise du Châtelet*"), *cagots* is translated by 'bigots,' which in English has a far more comprehensive meaning and is even obsolete in the sense of religious "hypocrite" (see *Century Dictionary*).

Among the expressions or words that needed, in my opinion, a word of explanation I will merely quote the following:

L. 51, *encor*; 63, *essuyer un outrage*; 70, *faibles appas*, compare the singular *appât*; 77, *vos félicités*, an unusual plural; 120, *de respect et d'effroi*, pronounce *respek* et *d'effroi*; 129, *A la loi musulmane*; and 135, *à ta loi*. The meaning of *loi* here and in various other places is that of *lei* in mediæval French, namely religion, which latter is a word of learned origin; for obvious metrical considerations, *religion* is little used in classic verse; 176, *Maitres du monde entier s'ils l'avaient été d'eux*; the *l'* should have been explained and attention called to the cacophony of the second half of the verse; 189, *J'atteste ici la gloire*, etc., should be translated; 223, *mes destins*, uncommon

plural for *destin* or *destinée*, neither of which could be used on account of the rhyme; 249, *grâces à*, generally in the plural in the eighteenth century, but now almost exclusively used in the singular, *grâce à*; 387, *Courbé du faix des ans*, peculiar use of *du* for *par* or *sous*.

About the notes I should like to make the following remarks:

L. 119, *Cette croix, je l'avoue, a souvent malgré moi Saisi mon cœur surpris de respect et d'effroi.*

The editor states that the construction is "inevitably amphibological unless changed." But it is obvious that *surpris* is a mere *cheville* and that *respect* and *effroi* are dependent on *a...saisi* and not on *surpris*. The cesura, compulsory in the classic alexandrine, makes this perfectly clear.

L. 484. To *legers* rhyming with *fers* it is remarked that "this is only for the eye, a practice discountenanced by Voltaire." The rhyme is, however, both for the eye and ear and the pronunciation was *légère*. Cf. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, sec. 172: "A côté de la forme ordinaire en -é(r) on a conservé -èr jusqu'à nos jours dans les rimes et dans le discours soutenu."

L. 714. De la féconde Egypte il menace les bords. *Bords* is rendered by *fontières*, whereas *shores* is the meaning. We could not very well speak of *les bords de la Suisse*, for instance.

L. 772. Toucher à. The note is misleading. It says: "Toucher à = to be on the point of touching; without the preposition *toucher* is exactly touch." But does not *toucher à* also mean 'to touch', for example, *n'y touchez pas*, sc. with the hands.

L. 1395. Vous la verrez sans doute avec indifférence
Sans que le repentir succède à la vengeance,
Sans que l'amour sur vous en repousse les traits.

The last line is translated "discharge his shafts upon you again, that is, subject you again to her charms," and the editor adds: "*ses traits* would be expected."

The fact of the matter is that the line is as obscure as possible; even replacing *les* by *ses* the sense would hardly be improved. Personally I would prefer making *en* refer to *repentir* and would take *traits* in the sense of *aiguillons*, sc. *du repentir*, which, I admit, does not entirely satisfy me. At any rate, attention should be

called to this obscurity, which is not much less than *galimatias*.

L. 67. ("Epître à Mme. la Marquise du Châtelet".) Under *Régent*, Philippe d'Orléans is said to have been regent during the minority of Louis XIV; it should, of course, be Louis XV.

L. 24. ("Epître à M. de Formont".) *Notre René* is explained merely by "René Descartes." A short biographical note would be desirable.

The work is remarkably free from misprints; the text is clear and in all other respects the book is got up tastefully and substantially. I have noticed only the following errors: l. 1369, *n'edt* for *n'eut*; l. 1509, *extrême* for *extrême*; l. 1086, note, thirteen for thirteenth.

In the introduction, p. 50, ll. 29 ff., leave the reader under the impression that a passage has been cut out and the connection thus broken. *Vice* does not refer to anything preceding.

Dr. Eggert has had an excellent idea in incorporating in his book four letters in prose and two *épîtres* in verse, written or dedicated to some of the poet's acquaintances. They contain in brief Voltaire's views about the requirements, qualities and defects of the tragic stage in France and in England and a few details about the play here discussed, all in his graceful, easy epistolary style, far more effective to convey information to young minds than rules or maxims.

On the whole, the edition before us is a good piece of work and one that will be welcomed by all teachers of French.

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OLD FRENCH CUSTOMS.

Beiträge zu den Bildern aus dem altfranzösischen Volksleben auf Grund der "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages," von FRIEDRICH MORITZ FORKERT. Heidelberg dissertation. Bonn, 1901.

This work is thus divided: *Teil I. Das Glaubensleben.* 1. The Old and the New Testament. 2. The New Testament. 3. Belief in the Trinity. 4. The Angels. 5. Mary, the Mother of God and the Mary cultus. 6. The saints. 7. The devils. 8. Heaven or Paradise. 9. Purgatory. 10. Hell.

11. Miracles and belief in miracles. *Teil II. Kirchliches Leben.* 1. The church. 2. The clergy. 3. Functions of the church. 4. Hermits. 5. Martyrs. 6. Justification by good works.

The writer promises to treat secular life in Part III and then to publish the three parts as a book. The importance of such contributions to the study of the life of the Middle Ages can readily be seen. It is only through the aid of special investigations of this character that a comprehensive and accurate history of medieval life can be written.

The *Miracles* of *Notre Dame* have been already rather fully treated by Petit de Julleville in his very readable work, *Les Mystères* (Paris, 1880). An up-to-date summary of the subject by Gröber may be found in his *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (II. Band, I. Abt., pp. 1204-1218) under the heading: *Marienmirakel*. Forkert's dissertation, limited to a special phase of the subject, contains much material of value. It is written in a facile and readable style. The conclusions for the most part seem sound. In the Introduction, Forkert qualifies the reliableness of the *Miracles* as a historical document reflecting the life of the time. He fully realizes that the allusions, the remote sources and the supernatural, formal and conventional elements often render the interpretation of the material difficult. We may remark, however, that the men of the Middle Ages depicted past centuries with the coloring of their own time. Forkert says (p. 4):

"Wenn die Annahme richtig ist, dass die *Miracles* ihre Entstehung oder ihre Zusammenstellung derselben Hand verdanken, was umso wahrscheinlicher dadurch wird, dass dieselben Anschauungen in derselben Einkleidung immer wiederkehren, so verringert sich ihre Bedeutung für die Kenntniss der Kultur jener Zeit noch mehr."

Gröber (*op. cit.*, p. 1215) says:

"Auf speziellere Unterschiede und Uebereinstimmungen ist Verschiedenheit oder Gleichheit der Verfasser nicht zu gründen. Fast alle Kriterien dafür versagen. Die Benutzung z. B. derselben erfundenen Namen in verschiedenen Stücken kann auf Entlehnung beruhen, die sich der jüngere Dichter gegenüber einem älteren erlaubte. Die Anwendung desselben Rondeaux oder Rondeauxrefrains in mehreren Dramen ist ebensowenig eine Anzeige desselben Verfassers."

On page 27, Forkert says:

"Maria nennt Christus ihren Vater, ihren Sohn

und ihren Gemahl, und Christus selbst bezeichnet sich als Sohn, Bruder, Freund, Gemahl, und Vater der Maria. Mir. 8, 659-60. *Mon pere, mon fil, mon espoux.* Mir. 32, 442-43. *Qui sui de ma fille et ma mere fils, frere, ami, espoux et pere.* Dr. Schröder in seinem Buch *Glaube und Aberglaube in den Altfranzösischen Dichtungen*, S. 13, Anm. 1, erblickt darin eine Spielerei. Vielleicht lassen sich derartige Bezeichnungen als Ueberschwänglichkeiten charakterisieren, die eine Folge des übertriebenen Marienkultus sind."

This is rather a naïve mode of expressing intimate relation and protection. Compare Homer's *Iliad*, 6, 429-30, where Andromache says to Hector at parting: "Hector, thou art my father and potent mother, yea and brother even as thou art my goodly husband." The dissertation contains many interesting details. The misprints seem altogether too numerous in the extracts from the *Miracles*.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer. Eine litterarhistorische Studie von O. E. LESSING. A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Michigan, 1901. (= *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, No. 54. Philology and Literature Series, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 77-204. Madison, Wisc., 1902.)

The author of this thesis treats in a thorough manner Grillparzer's conception and opinion of Schiller and the influence of the latter upon the dramatic writings of Grillparzer. But the investigation is not yet complete, as it is limited to the dramas from *Blanka* to *Sappho*; a treatise of the others and of the lyrics being promised for the near future.

In his first chapter Dr. Lessing treats Grillparzer's personal attitude toward Schiller, using for this purpose all obtainable utterances ever made by the Austrian poet about his predecessor. Apparently it was not the author's intention to show the development of this very peculiar attitude, but rather to bring out the affinities or differences of the literary and aesthetic views of the two poets. Yet we find that Grillparzer's

views of Schiller had undergone various changes. His utterances are first full of admiration for Schiller, later, in the years of *die Ahnfrau* and *Sappho*, he shows very little appreciation for the poet of *Tell*, and only with the advance of his career he seems to comprehend the great German classic better. In order to understand these changes and to find reasons for them, Grillparzer's views in regard to Schiller, should be, first of all, considered in chronological order. The following lines will attempt to explain briefly this development.

It was at first a mere youthful enthusiasm for Schiller, which filled the soul of the young Austrian poet. Schiller is so dear to him that he recommends him to his friends and acquaintances [*Jahrb.* III, p. 108]. While writing *Blanka* and the comedy, *die Schreibfeder*, while beginning *Robert von der Normandie* and *Spartakus*, he looks upon Schiller as his model, he still considers him the only really great poet. He has given little time, so far, to Lessing and Goethe or Shakespeare, he hardly knows the Spanish poets, whom he later admires so much. But his play-writing does not meet with the success for which he longed so eagerly. This disappointment forces him to look for reasons of his failure. Schiller, the master, whom he had almost copied, could evidently not be the model whom it was worth his while to follow. He loses faith in his former master entirely, and we find our author in a struggle to gain a clear account of his attitude toward Schiller [*Jahrb.* III, pp. 130, 134]. In those days Grillparzer begins to study Goethe, whose style and artistic conception he finds entirely different and more pleasing than those of Schiller [*Jahrbuch* III, pp. 127-9]. While reading *Goetz*, *Werther*, *Faust* he shapes his own dramatic principles and forms his ideas of art more clearly. Thus the former admirer of Schiller becomes his opponent and is in his attacks so bitter that he himself feels that his opposition may be looked upon as mere partiality, 'blosse Parteilichkeit.' Only gradually does he recognize the reason for which he turns against Schiller. He feels an impulse, as he expresses it, to make his play-writing the exponent of the pure and unhidden truth and not to carry into it 'irgend etwas Lehr- oder Reflexionsmässiges.'

This is the sentiment which prevails in Grillparzer's notes and statements until 1812. Little

do we know of his development as a poet until 1816. During this time he has given up the study of law; he was tutor for about two years, a period during which his poetic endeavors are not stimulated but rather oppressed. Later he enters into the service of the Royal library and from there, soon afterwards, of the treasury department. The peculiar and rather narrow education which he had received, the death of his father, and the poverty, with all its gloom, which falls afterwards upon his family, the tiresome spirit in Count Seilern's home, his unsuccessful attempts to support his needy family—all this leaves a stamp upon his character and marks the condition of his mental mood in later years. These experiences influence most prominently the next work of his pen, *die Ahnfrau*, in 1817. This drama means to him the first success on the stage and a second one soon follows, when *Sappho* is received with great applause by large audiences of the *Burgtheater* in the following year. Both plays show a marked progress, and the fruits of eager study since the days of *Blanka*, but to no small extent do they also prove that the poet has not freed himself, as he thought, from the influence of his former ideal, Schiller. At this time, again, his criticisms of other works and authors run freely and frequently into his notes and letters, and not a few of them deal with Schiller and his theories. But all his estimates of the great classic prove that his principles have become fixed in the course of time and by the experience which he had by the recent success of his art; as Dr. Lessing says (p. 86): 'with increasing maturity his boyish hatred changes into the respect more proper to Schiller.' Nevertheless we cannot well deny that his humor, so frequently mixed with bitter satire, bursts forth here and there in almost unjust and incorrect statements about his predecessor. 'Schiller hatte in den Stücken von *Don Carlos* mehr Charakteristik entwickelt z. B. im alten Miller, Fiesco, Mohren als später;' with these words Foglar reports a remark made during a conversation (Dr. L., p. 90). There are not many, certainly, who would concur in this estimate; it seems rather to be universally admitted that *Tell* and even the *Demetrius*-fragment are superior in that respect. A similar bold statement we find in a note of 1822 (Works, vol. 18, p. 73): "Schiller's greatest mis-

take is evidently, that he too often speaks himself instead of letting his characters speak." But, naïve as he often is, he admits that he almost criticizes himself by such a remark; and therefore he adds: 'Übrigens ist darin leichter tadeln als besser, machen.' In fact he had found himself guilty of this same mistake several years before—if it is a mistake at all—when he says, 1818 (Works, vol. 18, p. 173), that *die Ahnfrau* was most effective because the sentiment, expressed in it, is in many places much more that of the poet than that of the acting characters. Still, these are only two of the few passages where he, as stated before, attacks Schiller with more or less good reason; several sound and well founded criticisms on Schiller, as made during these years, one may find well enumerated in the thesis before us.

With his next production Grillparzer seems to have left Schiller's path entirely; for the latter has very little effect upon *das goldene Vliess* which stands preëminently under the sign of the classics of antiquity. Only for the plan of the drama, as a trilogy, *Wallenstein* was surely the poet's model, and as motto for the whole plot the first page of the manuscript shows Schiller's words: 'Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That, dass sie, fortzeugend, Böses muss gebären.'—Dr. Lessing, characterizing Grillparzer's attitude during the following years, says (p. 86): 'In seinem Urtheil wie in seinem Schaffen ist er Schiller bei aller Nacheiferung vom goldenen Vliess an unabhängig und des eignen Wertes bewusst gegenübergestanden.' Of course one cannot say that Grillparzer ever becomes again dependent upon Schiller, but as to his course in the following years, especially with his next play, *König Ottokar*, Dr. Lessing himself must admit (p. 91) that 'Grillparzer made Schiller's theories concerning the treatment of historical material entirely his own.' This shows that he clings to Schiller even after the time just named; but this term may not be sufficient. 'He returns,' says Sauer (Grillp. Works, vol. I. p. 49) more graphically, 'to the dramatic technique of Schiller which he had given up more or less since the time of *die Ahnfrau*. He attains grand effects in concentration of actions, extending over long intervals of time; he is as successful in scenes showing throngs of people on the stage, as Schiller is in *Wallenstein* and *Demetrius*.' Moreover Ehrhardt, in his bi-

ography of Grillparzer, points out in several places how strong Schiller's influence has been precisely during this period of the former's historic dramas. That our poet again follows Schiller's footsteps must naturally have a different explanation from that which his former imitation needs. It is because he finds himself more than he formerly acknowledged in agreement with Schiller's views, as just mentioned concerning the treatment of historical material, or the relation of history and poetry in the drama, the conception of nature, the idealizing of characters, etc. (Thesis, p. 92). It is no longer an attitude, marked by certain prejudices, but he looks upon Schiller, since the time of *Ottokar*, as the poet, who, surpassed only by Goethe, is the highest type of a real poet and, therefore, will always be mentioned at the same time with his illustrious contemporary. He upheld Schiller's merits, especially when the 'Junge Deutschland' proclaimed with blatant clamor that it considered itself to be called to outdo Goethe and Schiller. It was meant for this 'Junge Deutschland,' when Grillparzer later, frankly said that Schiller would and should be imitated, as he is the model for every poet who still considers it worth while to follow an ideal. 'I myself was the first one,' so he continues, 'who acted according to this principle.' (Works, vol. 18, p. 53.)

But Schiller's influence did not stop with *Ottokar*, we find it also in *des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, a subject treated by Schiller in his ballad: *Hero and Leander*. And then, almost twenty years later, before our poet lays his pen aside, he proves once more in *Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg*, how willing he is, even in the days of his old age, to be taught by a master like Schiller (cf. Ehrhardt, pp. 279 and 387). It is true we need not deny that we find, now and then, a line even from these later years, which proves that he does not always show the same high appreciation of Schiller. But in considering these remarks we must not forget that at this time it had become a habit with the poet, who felt himself so unjustly treated and who had therefore retired from the world into the narrow surroundings of his study, there to burst forth in the most bitter irony, by which he sought to free himself of the disgust, which he had for his time. This view must chiefly guide the interpreter of passages of the kind men-

tioned above; the context also and the reason for them should not be left out of sight, especially with regard to his fragmentary note (Works, vol. 18, p. 51): 'Schiller wurde der Lieblingsdichter des Volkes. Gewiss, weil dieses auf das Wie nicht so sehr zu achten pflegt.' Dr. Lessing regards this as a sneering remark. This it certainly is, but according to the context one may consider the sneer of the poet as chiefly directed against the public of his time that has misinterpreted not only Grillparzer, but also a poet like Schiller. As a general summary of Grillparzer's view, and as the prevailing opinion which he had of Schiller in the days of his advanced age, we may quote the words which he wrote several days before the Schiller jubilee in 1859 (Works, vol. 18, p. 75):

'Was die Feier betrifft, so kann über meine Gesinnung für Schiller kein Zweifel sein. Ich habe ihn immer durch die That geehrt, indem ich immer seinen Weg gegangen bin. Wenn ich nicht Schiller für einen grossen Dichter hielte, müsste ich mich selbst für gar keinen halten.'

This expresses in words so plain that they cannot be easily misunderstood his own attitude toward Schiller and of what great importance his noble predecessor was to him. But of what value Schiller is to the German nation as a whole, he expressed (vol. 18, p. 74) in simple but significant words when, writing in 1855 to the 'Schiller-Verein' in Leipzig, he says:

'Goethe mag ein grösserer Dichter sein und ist es wohl auch. Schiller aber ist ein grösseres Besitztum der Nation, die starke und erhebende Eindrücke braucht, Herzensbegeisterung in einer an Missbrauch des Geistes kränkelnden Zeit. Er ist nicht zum Volke herabgestiegen, sondern hat sich dahin gestellt, wo es auch dem Volke möglich wird zu ihm hinauf zu gelangen.'

In concluding this survey we may say that Grillparzer's attitude toward Schiller was not an exceptional one; though his admiration for him was not equally strong at all times, he nevertheless accords to him the rank and place that belongs to him; that is, next to Goethe. With a clear and precise judgment he approaches him; wherever he finds him, according to his conception, on the wrong path, he does not hesitate to express his disapproval; but he is equally ready to acknowledge his enormous merits and even 'to walk in his footsteps' whenever he believes that his great pre-

decessor's way was the right and the only one to follow. How far he found his own view regarding questions of dramatic technique and aesthetic doctrines in accord with those of Schiller, is distinctly brought out in the first chapter of the Thesis before us.

In his second chapter Dr. Lessing investigates Schiller's influence upon *Blanka*, and from this discussion we cannot help gaining the impression that Grillparzer has committed an obvious plagiarism. There is probably no means of justifying this action; but it may not be an idle undertaking to explain as much as possible how it could happen that Grillparzer, standing later so firmly on his own convictions, is at the outset found really copying some one else. Let us consider for a moment his mental disposition at that time. As a young, inexperienced beginner, he was spell-bound by the strong impression which Schiller's rhetorical and yet effective style made upon him. Several years later he defines that state of mind (*Jahrb.*, III. p. 129) by saying: 'I read Schiller and at the same time wrote my drama *Blanka*: and it never came into my mind to doubt its eminent excellence or my own extraordinary poetic talent; for Schiller was my idol and my model, and my feeling (perhaps rather my vanity) told me that I was well on the way toward overtaking him.' And thirty-six years later he by no means tries to conceal the mistake of his youth; for in his autobiography (Works, vol. 19, p. 38) he frankly repeats the thought of his diary: 'It took me a pretty long time to finish *Blanka* and while writing it I had always *Don Carlos* in mind.' Besides these passages we may also take into consideration those which dwell particularly on his mental disposition at that time. 'My zeal to imitate,' he says in his diary, 'surpasses all conception. All my ideas are shaping themselves according to something recently read.' It is essential that this mental habit does not remain with the poet. Eleven years later he expresses himself altogether differently about the strength of his memory. 'I am often reading without the least attention,' he says (*Jahrb.*, III. p. 143): 'and forget easily what I have read.' This weakness then becomes so apparent that he intends to aid his memory by a note-book. If we keep in mind that all these statements are diary-notes and,

therefore, not intended to be a vindication before the public, we may be permitted to form the following conclusion from these personal remarks: At the time when he wrote *Blanka*, his memory was to so great an extent the chief factor of his mental equipment, that much of what he read remained almost literally in his mind and was later reproduced wherever there was an opportunity to do so. As far as this peculiarity is concerned, our poet's case is not at all an extraordinary one. As he at that time was especially full of enthusiasm for Schiller and eagerly read his works, he adapts many ideas from him which later almost involuntarily find their way into his own writings. At the same time his mind must have worked with a certain amount of elasticity for, though he found it a difficult task to bring the plot to an appropriate outcome, he nevertheless expresses, several years later, a longing for 'that spirit which flowed in such liberal measure into his drama *Blanka*.' (*Jahrb.*, III. p. 130.) When we take his state of mind into consideration, it surely must furnish us to some degree an explanation for the great similarity between *Blanka* and *Don Carlos*.

That this resemblance extends not only to certain passages but also to the general arrangement of the plot and of the scenes, Dr. Lessing has shown very elaborately. To the many passages which he places opposite one another in order to prove Schiller's influence, I wish to add at least one, which seems to me a case of very obvious imitation. *Blanka* Act III. scene 3 and 4 can be easily compared with *Carlos* II. 11-13 in the following way: *Blanka* III. 3: Haro, Rodrigo; the plan of Fedriko's ruin is laid out.—*Carlos* II. 10 Alba, Domingo; the plan of *Carlos*' ruin is mentioned.—*Blanka* III. 4: the king, Maria, Haro, Rodrigo; Fedriko's love for Maria is discovered.—*Carlos* II. 11-13 Eboli, Domingo, Alba; *Carlos*' love for the queen is discovered.—Striking is also the way in which a change of the action is brought about in *Blanka* III. 3 and *Carlos* II. 7: 'Still, ich höre kommen,' says Eboli before the prince enters, and the same words Haro uses at the approach of the king.

But in some places of the Thesis, where Dr. Lessing sets a passage of Schiller over against one of Grillparzer, one cannot very easily see the point of comparison that is supposed to lie in such

quotations. For instance, it is stated in the Thesis (p. 109) that *Blanka*'s description of nature (*Works*, vol. 10, p. 30) resembles some words of King Charles in *die Jungfrau von Orleans*. Now, Charles' admiration for the nature of the country, of which he speaks in that place, expresses itself in sensual terms and he dreams of a spot where he can escape the burdens of his royal duty and satisfy his low desires, while *Blanka* remembers France and the peaceful, pastoral surroundings of her home as standing in great contrast to her present environment, full of vice and treachery. In the first case the motive is the most frivolous indifference, in the second it is a longing to flee from the threatening catastrophe into the refuge of her home. One may have similar doubts concerning the quotations on page 111 and, most of all, in regard to the remark on the same page:

'Wie Thekla gegen die Gräfin Terzky so macht *Blanka* gegen Jaqueline das Recht der freien Herzenswahl geltend.—Weder *Thekla* noch *Blanka* fragen nach dem Stand der Geliebten; beide fühlen sich emporgehoben und beseligt durch die Liebe, die nichts sucht als Gegenliebe.'

If the passage in *Blanka* permits such an interpretation I think the first of the two ideas is so very common in literature in general that we need not necessarily trace it back to Schiller's *Wallenstein*. Still, Dr. Lessing is by no means blind to Grillparzer's own achievement and points out in various places where one can notice the poet's individual work. We must admit that Grillparzer is remarkably independent in developing his characters; with what success we can hardly discuss here; but in general the strength and the weakness of his talents as a dramaturgist are foreshadowed in this first piece of his dramatic poetry. The male characters in *Blanka* are surely not presented very happily; he cannot bring before our minds in sharp, distinct contour men like Marquis Posa, Alba, or *Wallenstein*. But types of women like Hero, Sappho, or Libussa show his ability in analyzing woman's character; and here in *Blanka* we find the first sign of this strength, so fully developed later. When Ehrhardt, with special regard to Maria, says (*Biogr.*, p. 195): 'The disciple is like his master, especially unfortunate in the delineation of female characters,' he certainly does Grillparzer a great wrong. Though the poet

admits himself (Works, vol. 18, p. 166) that it was difficult for him to gain a clear conception of the character of Maria Padilla, she is nevertheless, compared with other delineations, unique and the best outlined figure of the play. As the mistress of the king, she represents thoroughly a woman of her kind. Grillparzer shows her in all the passion, and unscrupulous enterprises of that type of womanhood, thus creating scenes almost as full of dramatic fervor as some of his later plays. What relation she holds to the other persons of the cast and of what importance this is to the whole play, is graphically shown by Sauer (Grillp. Works, vol. i. p. 28).

So much for *Blanka*. In a third chapter Dr. Lessing treats the fragments of 1810-1813 and their relation to Schiller. Among other things he says about the torso *Spartacus*: 'ohne *Fiesco*, *Jungfrau von Orleans* und *Wilhelm Tell* wäre es nicht geworden, was es ist.' I think it is merely an incomplete enumeration of sources when the author omits to mention *die Räuber*. For Ehrhardt, while showing the relation between the two plays, says very truly (Biogr., p. 439): 'Grillparzer steht vollständig im Banne Schiller's und zwar des Verfassers *der Räuber*.'

One must find the beginning of Dr. Lessing's last chapter very surprising. '*Die Ahnfrau*,' so the Thesis reads (p. 186), 'verdankt ihre Entstehung weniger inneren Erfahrungen als unklaren Vorstellungen.' If one follows, for comparison, first Grillparzer's own testimony as to the disposition of his mind at that time (*Jahrb.* III. pp. 123-126; pp. 130-132), and then reads *die Ahnfrau*, he will discover in the latter all these well and clearly defined mental moods noted in the observations of the diary. Minor (*Jahrb.* IX.) and Dr. Kohm (*Jahrb.* XI.) take this fact for granted in their respective discussions. But, most of all, Grillparzer himself maintains very emphatically (Works, vol. 18, 173) that 'just these personal views and individual perceptions made his drama so effective.' Concerning the influence of Schiller upon *die Ahnfrau*, the author's view differs likewise from that of other interpreters of the drama. Verbal imitations and resemblances may not be so frequent as in *Blanka*, but a closer investigation forces one to believe that the influence is stronger than Dr.

Lessing admits. How much the poet owes, especially to *die Braut von Messina* and *die Räuber*, has been shown more than once by Minor, (*Jahrb.*, IX) Volkelt,¹ and others; it will therefore not be necessary to enter into any lengthy discussion of that question.

What Dr. Lessing expresses in a foot-note on p. 200 as his view of the value of *Sappho*, is, as he admits himself, somewhat startling, and one can only wish that he may prove his statement as soon as possible.—As said in the beginning, Dr. Lessing's interpretation of Grillparzer's dramas does not go beyond *Sappho*. The promised treatment of the whole subject will naturally furnish still more interesting material; for as every Grillparzer student will admit, the real value and profit of Schiller's influence upon the Austrian poet becomes evident only in his dramas after *Sappho*, for example, *Ottokar*, *Hero* and *Leander*, *der Bruderzwist*, and, to some extent also, in *Ein treuer Diener*.

A. BUSSE.

Cambridge, Mass.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PHONETIC RECORDS OF DIALECTS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Hardly any more important problem could be undertaken than that of collecting phonograms of the dialects of the world. All of them are rapidly changing and many are fast disappearing. They should be collected on indestructible material, such as hard rubber or celluloid, so that they can be duplicated by the thousand, used as often as desired, and traced off on paper for measurement.

Several arrangements for collecting dialects have already been made.

For America the following can be done. On proper application I can meet the person in Philadelphia and have a record made. Two matrices will be preserved, one to be deposited with me, the other at some place to be designated. These

¹ Franz Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen. Nördlingen, 1888.

matrices will be under my personal control and no use can be made of them without permission. Rubber impressions will be made and furnished through my secretary. A limited number of these will be distributed free to certain libraries and institutions; others can be obtained at cost. During the summer a car will be fitted with a gramophone laboratory; it will be run to any points designated and records can be made at thirty to forty miles from the railway. Matrices and records will be controlled as stated above. With still another method, graphophone cylinders and metal molds, a single operator can travel where he pleases. It would be highly desirable to formulate some plan for a phonetic survey of the United States. Such a survey would be something far more complete and detailed than Gilliéron's atlas for France or that for British India.

For foreign languages several things are possible. By an arrangement with H. Lioret, 12 rue Thibaud, Paris, anyone in Paris can, on my recommendation, have records made in celluloid at 2 frs. 50 each. These records can be traced off by my special machine (Elizabeth Thompson Science Fund) and the curves delivered to anyone competent to study them. As Paris contains all things, it would not be difficult to carry out a phonetic survey of France of this new kind. The cost would not be great.

Another means of getting records is to arrange with the traveling gramophone operators; one of these is now in Finland and another in British India. These men collect for commercial purposes and seldom include anything except music; I have no doubt that specimens of speech could be included and delivered free of charge.

Still another method is to use the Philadelphia laboratory by bringing immigrants to it.

The graphophone cylinders and metal molds can be advantageously used for foreign travel; a specially light machine can be furnished for the purpose.

As the result of work for the last six years, the methods of tracing and studying these speech records have been developed to a high degree of accuracy, and the above arrangements have been completed for collecting, preserving and studying all the languages. It is impossible to go further without coöperation. My tracing machines every

month grind off enough material for three large doctor-theses, and the material accumulates rapidly. These results must be placed in the hands of interested workers. At Yale I have only one special student, and his work has already been traced. I am now arranging to send a quantity of material to Germany. If there are in America persons with the enterprise and patience to work up records of American, English or French or any other language, they can be furnished with the tracings free of charge and the cost of publication will be attended to.

E. W. SCRIPTURE.

Yale University.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—There was some discussion in your columns last year (Jan., Feb., April) on the question of teaching the English-speaking student how to pronounce the German *ch* sound; as, in *ich*, *Berg*, etc. One writer suggested proceeding from the initial sound of English *hew*, *here*, *humane*, but this method is vitiated at least by the fact that the sound referred to as being similar to the German *ch* in *ich* is certainly not uniformly found in English pronunciation. I myself have observed it only occasionally, and then only in very emphatic utterance. A second writer proposed to require the learner to bring the tip of the tongue from the position of *sh* in *she* to the back of the lower teeth, a process which he characterized as "rather awkward." In fact, the adjustment of the tongue required in passing from the position of one sound to that of another of an entirely different class is so considerable as to be, I should think, quite beyond the skill of many beginners.

Would not the simplest method be to proceed from the sound requiring a practically identical tongue position, namely, the corresponding voiced sound of *j* in *ja*, or its English analogue *y* in *yes*? This sound can be prolonged at will, the tongue position being readily maintained by the learner. A little exercise in alternating the voiced and the voiceless sound, under the direction of the teacher, results in a mastery of the difficulty, as I can testify from experience.

W. H. FRASER.

University of Toronto.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Referring to the review of my edition of *Le Petit Chose* in the MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, I desire to say, in the first place, that I am greatly indebted to Professor François for pointing out the errors in my book. They will be corrected at the first opportunity. There are a few points, however, where it seems to me there is room for a difference of opinion and to these I propose to call attention.

To the objection that my introduction is insufficient for college students, I would reply that it was not my purpose to write a biography or a critical study of Daudet. This would have been out of place in an unpretentious little book like mine. Besides, the college student is supposed to have access to sources of information where he can learn more about Daudet than could be given even in a lengthy introduction. I also question the utility of reading much about an author before reading his works extensively.

Professor François disapproves of the hyphen in *chez-moi*, page 39, line 7, but the authorities seem to be against him. The Paris edition which I followed has the hyphen and this is also the spelling given by Littré, as well as by Sachs-Villatte. I have before me now a book called "Journal d'un Curé de campagne," Paris, 1902, and on page 111, line 8, I read, "Que c'est bon, le chez-soi!"

Nous montâmes, page 68, line 30, sounds "strange" to Professor François, but it seems to be what Daudet wrote. At all events, the entire paragraph, beginning with line 29, is taken literally from a recent Paris edition. That the German edition was different here did not concern me.

Regarding the note on *plein*, page 51, I may say that authorities are not agreed as to what part of speech it is in this construction and there is good authority for calling it an adjective. It is so treated; for example, in Fraser and Squair's *Grammar*, page 254, and Bescherelle, in his dictionary, also calls it an adjective, while in the *Dictionnaire général* of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter it is treated as an adjective, substantive and adverb but not as a preposition. It is, therefore, a fair inference that it was not so regarded. There is also authority for calling *plein* in this construction an adverb of

quantity. True, Professor François has the authority of Littré on his side, but the point may well be regarded as unsettled, as will appear from what has been said above.

Pain in "painsome" is, of course, intended to be pronounced as a French word. It is impossible to indicate the proper pronunciation with English characters.

O. B. SUPER.

Dickinson College.

OLD FRENCH PARALLELS TO *Inf. V.* 127-138.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Van Hasselt has remarked¹ the parallel in Froissart² to the love scene, *Inf. v.* 127-138. The lines will bear repetition:

Droitement sus l'heure de prime
S'esbatoit une damoisele
A lire un rommant. Moi vers ele
M'en vinc, et li dis doucement
Par son nom: "Ce rommant, comment
L'appelés-vous, ma belle et douce?"
Ele cloï autant la bouce;
Sa main dessus le livre adoise.
Lors respont comme courtoise
Et me dist: "De Cléomadès."
.....
Et quant ele ot lit une espasce
Elle me requist par sa grace
Que je vosisse un petit lire.
.....
Adont lisi tant seulement
Des feuilles, ne sçai deus ou trois.
.....
Adont leissames nous le lire.

Apparently it has not been observed that before as well as after Dante similar parallels are to be found in Old French literature. In each of these foreshadowings the treatment is frivolous; but the merest hint would have been sufficient.

Floire et Blanceflor,³ a poem of the twelfth

¹ *Li Roumans de Cléomadès*, p. p. A. Van Hasselt. Bruxelles, 1865, p. xxvi.

² *Œuvres de Froissart: Poésies*, p. p. Aug. Scheler. Bruxelles, 1870, pp. 107-108.

³ *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. p. Édélestand du Ménil. Paris, 1856. Bibl. Elzévirienne.

century,⁴ recounts among other things the early loves of two young persons whose reading makes them the more susceptible:

Livres lisoient paienors
 Ou oient parler d'amors;
 En con forment se delitoient,
 Es euvres d'amor qu'il trovoient
 Cil livres les fist moult hastier.
 (p. 11.)

*Floris et Liriope*⁵ is assigned approximately to the year 1250.⁶ Floris, a vassal's son, is enamored of Liriope, daughter of an emperor. Disguised in his sister's clothes, Floris takes his sister's place as companion to the princess:

Ce fu en mai, ou tens serain,
 Les .ii. compaignes main a main
 S'asirent sous .i. olivier.
 Biaux fu li leus por soulacier;
 Desous vers, desoure floriz.

 .i. romans aporteï avoient
 Qu'eles mout volentiers lisoient.
 Por ce ke tous d'amors estoit;
 Et au comencement avoit
 Coment Piramus et Thysbe
 Furent de Babiloine nei,
 Coment li enfant c'entrainerent.

 Qant ont ceste aventure lite,
 Floris, cui ele mout delite,
 Dist: " Dame, certes, se i'estoie
 Piramus, ie vos ameroie.

 Or me dites vostre pense."
 " Ne sai," fait ele, " Ke i'en die."

 Del surplus riens ne vos dirai
 Car nule veritei n'en sai.
 (ll. 955-1045).

The pitfalls of this mode of presentation may have suggested letting Francesca tell her own story.

ALFRED J. MORRISON.

Johns Hopkins University.

⁴ Gröber: *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 527.

⁵ *Floris et Liriope*, herausgeg. von Wolfram von Zingerle. Leipzig, 1891.

⁶ Gröber: *Grundriss*, II, 1, pp. 832-833.

THE AUTHOR OF *La Spagna*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In speaking of the fourteenth century romantic epic, *La Spagna*, Ginguené, (*Histoire de la littérature d'Italie*, vol. IV, p. 201) says, after quoting the lines in which the author announces himself,

A voi "signor ho rimato tuttò questo
 Sostegno di Zanobi da Fiorenza,"

"mais on n'en est pas plus avancé, car l'on ne trouve nulle part rien qui nous puisse apprendre ce que c'était que ce rimeur florentin."

Recently, in looking over some scattered portions of the *Libro del Monte del Comune di Firenze*, belonging to the Plimpton Collection, I came across the following items:

Nofri di Giovanni pagò per se e per fratelli
 ad(i) 10 d(i) Settembre f(io)r(ini) trenta

Ad(i) VII gennaio 1397 Il sopradetto nofri
 permutò la sopradetta p(ar)tita di fiorini trenta
 doro evolle siponessono aragione di M(adonn)a
 pagola don(n)a fu d(i) Sostegno d(i) Zanobi,
 Q(uar)t(ier)e di S(an) G(iovanni) colle paghe E
 p(er)ò qui cancellato p(er) me pagolo not(aio)accio
 diputato Imperoche posto i(n) questo registro in-
 nanzi a 245.

Likewise, Piero di Falco pays over to the same Paola's account on Dec. 8th, 1397 eighty gold florins, of course, for value received.

In consideration of the fact that the poem belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century: that Sostegno is a most uncommon first name, that the father's name, in each case, is Zanobi; and that it is improbable that Paola could have been a widow more than fifty years, I think that we may establish the identity of the poet without a doubt, as well as the following facts:

Sostegno di Zanobi was not living in 1397 but he left a widow Paola who, in that year, was living in the *Quartiere* of San Giovanni in possession of the comfortable sum of 110 fls. (about \$250, with the purchasing value of about \$875) an offset to her husband's statement in *La Spagna*:

Che or vi piaccian alquanto por la mano
 A vostre borse e farmi dono alquanto
 Che qui ho già finito il quinto canto.

MARGARET H. JACKSON.

Wellesley College.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In the January number of the *Notes*, page 27, Professor Geddes refers to "Professor Hempl's series of *Ideophonic Texts*." This implies an error. The series referred to is that of Mr. Robert Morris Pierce. The pedagogical ideas upon which the series is based are his, not mine, though I am in part responsible for the execution of the Tell volume. My position as to the teaching of foreign languages may be seen in the Introduction to *The Easiest German Reading* (Ginn and Co.) and in my forthcoming *German Grammar*. In the latter book I have also presented the modification that I advocate of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

GEORGE HEMPL.

University of Michigan.

BRIEF MENTION.

A Student's History of English Literature. By WILLIAM EDWARD SIMONDS, Ph. D. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

It is probably impossible to produce a perfectly satisfactory manual of English Literature. The compiler of such a work—unless he aims at nothing higher than a mere cram-book of names and dates—has four elements to deal with: the character and tendencies of the time; accounts of individual authors and works; critical estimates; and illustrative excerpts. It is not possible to treat all these adequately in the limits of a text-book; so every compiler must frame an equation for himself, and determine, according to his tastes and judgment, what he will insert and what omit.

Dr. Simonds has adjusted this equation in a fairly satisfactory manner: the characteristics of the times and leading lines of drift in thought and action are noted, and the critical remarks are clear and just. If some of the biographical sketches seem meagre, and illustrative extracts too few, we must bear in mind the necessary limitations of a manual of this kind. The "suggestions for study" are excellent.

A few minor inaccuracies may be passed over as

unimportant; but the student should not be told that Burke "was raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield."

A few years ago (Dec., 1897) the Northwestern University acquired a valuable collection of German classics, gathered by the late Geheimrat Schneider, a member of the local government in Schleswig. Professor James T. Hatfield, to whose initiative and zeal the acquisition of this treasure for the Library of the Northwestern University is principally due, has just published in *The Book-Lover*, Vol. III, No. 6 (January-February, 1903), pp. 485-490, an interesting article, giving a brief account of the collection and illustrating by a few typical examples its usefulness for the study of German literature. The library contains some two thousand seven hundred volumes and consists almost entirely of original editions of German authors, from the time of the Reformation down to the latter half of the nineteenth century. The classics of the eighteenth century are especially well represented, and in Professor Hatfield's article a prominent place is naturally given to the works of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. We learn that not only such rare books as the first editions of Goethe's *Werther*, *Iphigenie*, and *Hermann und Dorothea*, or Schiller's *Anthologie* and *Die Räuber* are included in the collection, but also important periodicals like the *Thalia* and *Die Horen*. The library, moreover, contains one of the most complete collections of "poetical almanacs" (*Musenalmanache*); for example, complete sets of the Göttingen, Leipzig, and Berlin series.

PERSONAL.

Professor F. J. A. Davidson, who was Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at Leland Stanford University from 1895 to 1900, and in 1900-1901 Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Cincinnati, is now special lecturer on Spanish at the University of Toronto. His resignation of the chair of Romance Languages at Cincinnati was occasioned by the death of his father, the administration of whose estate necessitates Dr. Davidson's residence in Toronto.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 4.

ORIGINALS AND ANALOGUES OF THE *Exeter Book Riddles.*

The Riddles of the *Exeter Book* (*E.B.R.*) are, in the main, literary enigmas (*Kunsträtsel*). With a few exceptions, they display the hand of the artist. Not here, as in distinctly popular products, are we met by a scanty framework, a hurried statement of the subject, naïve description, a sudden check in our progress to the goal of the solution, and finally a word of summary. All these divisions may and do appear, but each or every one of them is patiently elaborated with a conscious delight in workmanship and rhythm, with a regard for detail that overlooks no aspect of the theme, however trivial,—in a word, with a poetic subordination of the end in view to the finish of the several parts. In such compositions as the poems of the Storm (II, III, IV), Badger (XVI), Sword (XXI), Book (XXVII), Lance (LXXXIII), Water (LXXXIV) and the Horn cycle (XV, LXXXVIII, XCIII) the reader soon becomes aware that the riddle is the least part of itself, that concealment of solution has been forgotten in the joy of creation. Even in the shorter problems, the riddle-maker, draw though he may from the stores of the folk, shapes anew with loving art the story of the ingratitude of the Cuckoo (X), the fate of the Ox (XIII), the labors of the Plough (XXII) and the Rake (XXXV), the journeys of the Ship (XXXIII); or else, by the aid of runes, converts into logogriffs or word-riddles of the study such commonplaces of folk-poetry as the themes of the Cock (XLIV) and Man on Horseback with Hawk (XX, LXV). Yet a small number of the riddles, in tense, terse, pointed style and absence of epic breadth, in freedom from all that is clerkly or bookish, in their almost prosaic adaptation to the primitive understanding, bear so clearly the stamp of popular production that we can hardly deny them a place in the rank of *Volksrätsel* (LIII, LVIII, LXVI, LXX). Notably in those puzzles whose smut and smiles point directly to a humble origin (XXVI, XLV, XLVI, LV,

LXIII) do we miss the presence of the craftsman: at times, indeed, we seem to detect even here, amid the coarseness of the cottage, the leer of a prurient reworker.

Of the authorship of these problems I shall say but a word now. With Bradley's article upon the so-called First Riddle (*Academy*, XXXIII, 1888, 197 f.) died the time-honored belief in Cynewulf's connection with that lyric;¹ but the oft-expressed opinion—resulting inevitably from the first misconception—that Cynewulf was the author of all the riddles in the *Exeter Book* was more tenacious of life, receiving doubtful support from Herzfeld,² surviving, though hard wounded, Sievers' essay (*Anglia*, XIII, 1891, 19–21)—which assigned the Riddles on linguistic grounds to the time before Cynewulf—and done to death at last by Madert's monograph.³ Madert clings, however, to the theory of one author of the Riddles—a view opposed by Herzfeld in a review of the thesis.⁴ Whether

¹ Compare also Gollancz, *Academy*, XLIV, 1896, 572; Lawrence, *Publications of Modern Language Association*, N. S. X, 1902, 247–261; Schofield, *Id.*, 262–295.

² *Die Rätsel des Exeterbuches und ihr Verfasser. Acta Germanica*, Bd. I, 1890, Heft. I.

³ *Die Sprache der altenglischen Rätsel des Exeterbuches und die Cynewulffrage*. Marburg, 1900. For the literature of the subject, see Madert, 5 f. and Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900, LII–LIX.

⁴ *Herrigs Archiv*, CVI (N. S. VI), 1901, p. 390. Herzfeld has journeyed far from his old position (*supra*) when he says: "Ich gehe sogar noch weiter als Madert und glaube auch nicht dass die Rätsel das Werk eines Dichters sind. Hierbei stimme ich Bülbring zu, der in der Recension meiner Schrift (*Litbl.* 1891, Sp. 156) mit Recht bemerkt: Ohne vollkommenen Gegenbeweis solle man lieber annehmen dass die Angelsachsen wie mehr als einen lateinischen Rätseldichter, so auch mehrere altenglische gehabt haben. Wie man bei einer Sammlung von Volksliedern schwerlich an einen einzigen Verfasser denken wird, so darf man es meines erachtens ebensowenig bei diesen Rätseln, die mit geringen Ausnahmen doch auch ein Produkt der Volkspoesie sind." Herzfeld may be justified in his conclusions against one-man-authorship: in his premises, however, he has not only confused hopelessly the two classes of riddle-literature, but has failed to understand the true character of the enigmas of *E.B.*

E.B.R. emanated from one enigmatograph or from such a school of riddlers as flourished in Germany three centuries since (see Reusner)—I reserve discussion of the question—this much is certain:—that these enigmas not only owe a debt to the Latin *Kunsträtsel*, but that, like many other “literary problems,” they are often deeply rooted in popular tradition. To these various borrowed elements in the Anglo-Saxon collection,—whether derived from scholars or the people,—let us now turn.

I have noted in my introductory article that Prehn⁵ has most unfairly exaggerated the indebtedness of *E.B.R.* to the Latin problems so well known in the eighth century.⁶ To Symphosius and Aldhelm, it is true, our enigmas owe a small debt, which now for the first time must be properly estimated. At least thirty-nine riddles are totally unconnected with the Latin in theme and treatment.⁷ Add to this list eight fragments that furnish no clue to their origin,⁸ and the six riddles that treat—if Dietrich’s solutions be accepted—the same subjects as the Latin in quite independent fashion,⁹ and the number of queries unrelated to the famous Latin problems amount to more than one half of the whole. Eighteen others of the Anglo-Saxon bear to Symphosius and Aldhelm only a very slight resemblance—perhaps in a single phrase or line—so slight indeed, that the likeness may often be accidental or else produced by identity of topic.¹⁰ But in some sixteen problems

the use and development of one or more motives so closely suggest both the matter and manner of the Latin enigmas that we can hardly entertain a doubt of the service done to *E.B.R.* by the earlier and more bookish puzzles.¹¹ Yet only seven riddles—seven of ninety-four—are based so directly upon the Latin that we may fairly regard them as translations or reproductions. These are the enigmas of the Mail-shirt (*Leyden Riddle* and *E.B.R.*, xxxvi; A. vi, 3), the two of Creation (*E.B.R.*, xli and lxvii; A., *De Creatura*), Book-moth (*E.B.R.*, xlvi; S. 16), Reed (*E.B.R.*, lxi; S. 2), Flood and Fish (*E.B.R.*, lxxxv; S. 11), and One-eyed Onion-seller (*E.B.R.*, lxxxvi; S. 92). Only in the first three is the English rendering literal, and two of these constitute a poetic homily rather than an enigma. *E.B.R.*, xxxvi, in its two forms, stands out as the solitary instance in our collection of a very close translation of a Latin puzzle.

Quite as unfortunate in results as Prehn’s too fruitless source-hunt has been the attempt among more recent and better scholars to minimize this comparatively slight but certainly very real relation between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin enigmas (see Herzfeld, *supra*). Blackburn’s pretty and ingenious theory (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, 1 f.) that our riddle of the Reed (*E.B.R.*, lxi) should not be regarded as an enigma, but should be united with the poem that follows in the ms., fol. 123 a., “The Husband’s Message,” into a lyric, “A Love-letter,”¹² can rest only upon a studious ignoring of the correspondence between all the motives in the little Anglo-Saxon poem and those in the *Arundo* problem of Symphosius (2)—a correspondence indicated *through parallel columns* by Dietrich (*Haupts. Zs.*, xi, 452). Then, too, this theory calmly overlooks the striking circumstance—riddles are, indeed, dangerous ground for those who

⁵ *Komposition und Quellen der Rätsel des Exeterbuches*. Paderborn, 1883.

⁶ Zupitza, *Deutsche Littatg.*, 1884, p. 872, long since took issue with Prehn’s conclusions of wholesale borrowing from learned sources, and affirmed his belief in the popular origin of many *E.B.* puzzles.

⁷ *E.B.R.*, viii, xiv, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xx, xxii, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxx, xxxii, xl, xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, li, lii, liii, lv, lvi, lxii, lxiii, lxv, lxviii, lxix, lxx, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxviii, xc (Latin) xciii, xciv.

⁸ *E.B.R.*, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxviii, lxxix, lxxxii, lxxxix, xcii, xciv.

⁹ *E.B.R.*, v (S. 100), vii (A. viii, 3), xxiv (S. 64), xxxiii (S. 13), xxxiv (S. 10), lxxi (A. iv, 8).

¹⁰ *E.B.R.*, ii, iii and iv (A. i, 2); vi (A. iii, 13), ix (A. ii, 5), xi (A. iv, 11), xii (A. xii), xxi (A. iv, 10), xxviii (A. ii, 3; vi, 9), xxix (A. vii, 2), xxxv (S. 60), liv (A. v, 8), lvii (A. iv, 3), lviii (A. vi, 1), lxxii (S. 76), lxxiii (A. v, 8; vi, 8), lxxxiii (S. 89), xci (S. 4).

¹¹ *E.B.R.*, x (S. 100), xiii (S. 56; A. iii, 11; v, 8), xvii (S. 61), xxvii (A. v, 3, 9), xxxi (S. 9; A. i, 3), xxxvii (A. vi, 10), xxxviii and lxxxvii (S. 72), xxxix (A. iii, 11), xlix and lx (A. vi, 4), l (A. ii, 14), lix (S. 70, 71), lxiv (A. vi, 9), lxvi (S. 44), lxxxiv (A. iii, 1; iv, 14). There is, of course, a possibility even here that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon enigmas draw their parallel passages from a common source—perhaps popular tradition.

¹² Morley, with the same disregard of origins, long since suggested (*English Writers*, II, 38) as an answer to *E.B.R.*, lxi: “A letter-beam cut from the stump of an old jetty.”

have never investigated their history—that this Latin *Arundo* enigma has been expanded into *Kunsträtsel* in several languages. One of Reusner's troop of sixteenth-century pedants, Antonius Thylesius Consentinus (R. I, 311), develops this pleasing puzzle into a long-winded problem, "Fluminis undisonas ripas praetexit arundo," etc. It appears a hundred years later in an elaborately descriptive sixteen-line French version (Menestrier, *La Philosophie des Images Enigmatiques*, Lyon, 1694, p. 241):—

"Je suis de divers lieux, je nais dans les forêts,
Tantôt près des ruisseaux, tantôt près des marais," etc., etc.

An incorrect Latin text of the riddle is crudely rendered into fifteenth-century German in the *Volksbuch* version of the Apollonius of Tyre story.¹³ With all these the Anglo-Saxon furnishes an instructive comparison. I shall have occasion to return to Blackburn's theory.

Though the claims of Symphosius and Aldhelm, as creditors of *E.B.R.*, must be duly acknowledged, a protest should be registered against those of Aldhelm's contemporaries and countrymen, Tatwine and Eusebius.¹⁴ The evidence that these enigmatographs influenced the Anglo-Saxon riddles in either matter or form is too slight to convince anyone but him handicapped by a set thesis based on antecedent probability. In some ten cases I notice a resemblance between *E.B.R.* and the Latin enigmas;¹⁵ but this likeness is very slight, being limited in every case to a single phrase or line, and seems to be entailed rather by the nature of the subject than by actual transmission. It is moreover noteworthy that in all these instances, except the Horn Cycle and the Body and Soul enigma (XLIV), both *E.B.R.* and the Latin writers are working under the influence of the motives of Symphosius and Aldhelm (*supra*).¹⁶ But in one

riddle, at least,—that of the Young Bull—the resemblance to the Latin of Eusebius is indeed very close and striking. *E.B.R.*, XXXIX closes:—

"Mon mabelade, se þe me gesaegde,
seo wiht gif hio gedygeð, duna briceð;
gif he tobirsteð, bindeð cwiçe."

Eusebius (37) following Aldhelm (III, 11) writes:—

"Si vixero, rumpere colles
Incipiam, vivos moriens aut alligo multos."

So Ebert, 50, and Prehn, 213, insist with every show of reason that the speaker ("mon mabelade") is Eusebius. Unfortunately for this conclusion, other Latin riddles of the Old English period furnish quite as close a parallel to *E.B.R.*, XXXIX. Bede, "Flores," No. 12 (M. P. L. 94, 539 f; Kemble, *S. and S.*, 326) gives the following:—"Vidi filium inter quattuor fontes nutritum: si vivus fuit, dirupit montes: si mortuus fuit, alligavit vivos." And I find the same motive later in Brit. Mus. ms. Burney 59 (eleventh cent.), fol. 11 b.:—

"Dum juvenis fui, quattuor fontes siccavi;
Cum autem senui, montes et valles versavi;
Post mortem meam, vivos homines ligavi."

In the light of the wide vogue of the riddle,¹⁷ the chief claim of Eusebius as a source fails.

To another writer, far more famous than these enigmatographs, *E.B.R.* may perhaps confess a small obligation. Pliny's *Natural History* was a cherished book in the English libraries of this period, as Alcuin's oft-quoted verse-catalogue shows. The Anglo-Saxon Bird riddles (*E.B.R.*, IX, X, XXV) furnish interesting parallels to Book x of the Roman's work, but, as in the Swan riddle (VIII), it is entirely possible that the folk-lore of

Ähnlichkeiten der englischen Rätsel mit zwei oder drei lateinischen Dichtern nachweist, wären wir geneigt nicht an unmittelbare Entlehnung zu denken sondern zu glauben dass sowol die Gegenstände, wie auch die Art der Betrachtung Gemeingut des Volkes geworden war und somit der Dichter nur bekanntes aufgenommen hatte, aber es doch eigenartig wiedergab." The history of *E.B.R.*, XXXIX, Young Bull, and of several other Anglo-Saxon riddles confirms this view.

¹⁷The Ox riddle, with motives very similar to the Anglo-Saxon version, appears in many modern collections:—Simrock,³ p. 33; Eckart (Low German), Nos. 585, 586; Renk (Tyrol), *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, 115, No. 68; Wossidlo (Mecklenburg), No. 78; Schleicher (Lithuania), 205, 207.

¹³Schröter, *Mitth. der deutschen Gesellsch. zur Erforschung vaterl. Sprache*, u. s. w., Bd. v, 1872, Heft II, p. 66: compare also Weismann, *Alexander*, Frankfurt, 1850, I, 80.

¹⁴Ebert, *Berichte über die Verh. der k. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Leipzig. Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, XXIX, 1877, 20-56.

¹⁵*E.B.R.*, xv, LXXXVIII and XCIII, Horn Cycle (E. 30); "Water" riddles, II, XXXI and LXXXIV (E. 21, 15, 23); XXI (T. 30, E. 36); XXIV (T. 32), XXVII (T. 5, 6; E. 31, 35); XLIV (E. 25).

¹⁶Holtzhaus (*Anglia*, VII, *Anz.*, 125) makes an eminently sane remark:—"Besonders in den Fällen wo Prehn

the time is really the creditor of our enigmas.¹⁸ In one instance, however, there is some slight evidence of a direct literary connection. *E.B.R.*, II, follows, not verbally, but motive for motive, Pliny's account of "Water" (*Nat. Hist.*, Bk. xxxi, c. 1):—"Terras devorant aquae; flammas necant; scandunt in sublime et caelum quoque sibi vindicant: ac nubium obtentu vitalem spiritum strangulant, qua causa fulmina elidunt, ipso secum discordante mundo. Quid esse mirabilius potest aquis in caelo stantibus? At illae ceu parum sit in tantum pervenire altitudinem rapiunt eo secum piscium examina: saepe etiam lapides subvehunt, portantes aliena pondera." The "calculus of probabilities" invites a doubt whether this resemblance be a mere matter of coincidence. It is, moreover, singularly significant that this very passage from Pliny is cited as an enigma by one of Reusner's authors ("Natale de Comitibus Veneto," R. I, 77): that the Anglo-Saxon poet should have recognized, many centuries before, its value as riddle-stuff, is in no way unlikely.¹⁹

If *E.B.R.* must admit a debt to natural history, popular and scientific, to the folk-lore and mythology of their credulous century they owe surely as much. Riddle LXXIV has troubled students sorely. Though Dietrich admits in honest scholarly fashion (*H. Z.*, xii, 248) that his solution, Cuttlefish, was wide of the mark, the changes have been rung upon this answer somewhat helplessly by Prehn and Walz (*Harvard Studies*, v, 266). Trautmann (*Anglia, Beibl.* v, 48) futilely suggests, "Water." I find a clue in two Latin riddles in Reusner's collection; the first is by Scaliger (R. I, 177):—

"Me fugere pice et velo victricia signa,
Qua sum, qua non sum foemina, piscis, avis."

¹⁸ Compare *E.B.R.*, ix, with Alcuin's pretty lyric in praise of the Nightingale (*M. P. L.*, 101, 803.)

¹⁹ *E.B.R.*, xxxi, Rainwater, also points to the *Natural History* chapter. That it is one of the Water cycle, no one can for a moment doubt who compares it carefully with Vienna ms. 67, No. 50 (Mone, *Anz.* viii, 219), Brussels ms. 604 (12th cent.), No. 48 (*Id.*, 40), *Strassburg Rb.*, Nos. 52, 54, 57, and Scaliger's *Pluvia* (Reusner, I, 184). Blackburn's solution, *Bēam* (Wood), (*Journal. Germ. Phil.*, III, 1 f.)—indeed his entire theory—is based upon the sandy foundation of insufficient knowledge of riddle-literature.

The second is by Reusner himself (R. II, 77):—

"Foemina, piscis, avis sum, nautas fallere docta,
Sum scopulus, non sum foemina, piscis, avis."

The answer to each of these is "Siren." Now the word appears several times in the Anglo-Saxon glosses (Bosworth-Toller, s. v. "Meremen"), and the creatures themselves were well-known in British waters.²⁰ No mention is made in the Latin riddles of the double sex referred to in *E.B.R.*, LXXIV; but it is noteworthy that in Middle High German "Siren" appears sometimes as a male water-sprite.²¹ Had it not been for the evidence of the Reusner enigmas—with their interesting ascription of Protean traits to Sirens—I should probably have offered as a solution, "Dolphin" or "Sea-pig" ("Mereswin"—common enough in A-S. vocabularies, B-T.), as this fish was supposed to possess the power of assuming other forms (Gervase, c. LXIII, p. 30). As it is, the "Dolphin" solution fits so well the second half of *E.B.R.*, xxxvii, "Pregnant Sow," "She fared the flood-ways," etc., that one is inclined to believe that the poet has emphasized thus the double meaning and gender of the word, "Porcus" ("Sow" and "Dolphin").²²

There is yet another riddle, which opens the gates to a world of strange beliefs and superstitious fancies. To *E.B.R.*, xi, Stopford Brooke (*Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 179, Note) offers the fitting answer, "Barnacle Goose;" and this solution is sustained by the first enigma in the collection of Pincier (*Aenigmatum Libri Tres*. Hagae, 1655), which

²⁰ Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia* (1211)—edited by Liebrecht, Hannover, 1856—c. LXIV, p. 31, describes the "Sirenes maris Britannici," their woman-fish shape and their song. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 70, classes the Sirens among fabulous birds. So Reusner's "foemina, piscis, avis" gains in some fashion support.

²¹ "Da kam ein syren
Gefloggen der den selben sarc uf brach"
(*Orendel*, 94).

²² Says Gervase, LXIII, p. 30:—"Quisquis marini fluctus investigator extitit aut ipsius maris explorator audiat et constanter affirmet, nullam in nostra habitatione terrena repertam cujusvis animantis effigiem, cujus similitudinem non liceat in piscibus Oceani Britannici ab umbilico superius speculari. . . . Illic porcus quem delphinum nominant, quem de genere militum esse vulgus autumat, porcina inter fluctus maris transsumpta latentem effigie."

has many points in common with the Anglo-Saxon:—

"Sum volucris, nam plumosum mihi corpus et alae
Quarum remigio, quum libet, alta peto.

Sed mare me gignit biforis sub tegmine conchae
Aut in ventre trabis quam tulit unda.

Solutio—

Anseres Scotici quos incolae *Clak gyyse* indignant . . .
in lignis longiore mora in mare putrefactis gignuntur."

The first literary account of this fable,—which caps the query at every line—is found in the *Topographia Hiberniae* of Giraldus Cambrensis in the last half of the twelfth century.²³ Giraldus, after a long description which tallies remarkably with the Anglo-Saxon, declares that 'bishops and clergymen in some parts of Ireland do not scruple to dine off these birds at the time of fasting, because they are not flesh nor born of flesh.' With such evidence as this, we must accept Max Müller's opinion (*l. c.*) that 'belief in the miraculous transformation of the Barnacle Shell into the Barnacle Goose was as firmly established in the twelfth as in the seventeenth century.' If we refuse to believe that this superstition existed four centuries before Giraldus, there is another solution of *E.B.R.*, xi, which also has an analogue to recommend it. Dietrich, with Aldhelm's "Famfaluca" (iv, 11) in mind, suggested, "Ocean-furrow." Now, while the Anglo-Saxon has little in common with Aldhelm, it bears, at least in part, a certain resemblance to

²³ Two strangely created goose-species are described by medieval writers:—1) The Tree Goose; 2) The Barnacle Goose or Clack. The first of these is discussed at length by Gervase of Tilbury, *l. c.*, c. cxxxiii, p. 52, by William of Malmesbury in a story of King Edgar (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, II § 154, *Rolls Ser.*, 1887, I, 175), by Mandeville (c. xxvi) and by other writers until the time of Hector Boethius (*Description of Scotland*, 1527, c. xi, englished in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. I), who declares this tree-procreation false, but affirms his belief in Barnacles or Bernakes. The second is treated by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniae*, Dist. I., c. xv (Dymock, *Rolls Series*, 1867, v, 47-49); by his contemporary, Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, c. XLVIII (*Rolls Ser.*, 1863, p. 99), by Hector Boethius, *l. c.*, by Turner, *Avium Praecip. Hist.*, 1544, s. v. "Anser," by Gerard, *Herball*, 1597, p. 1391 (Brooke), and by many other authors quoted by Pincier and Liebrecht. Excellent reviews of the history of the superstition will be found in Müller's *Science of Lang.*, 2d Ser., 1865, 552-571, and Harting's *Ornithology of Shakspeare*, 1871, 246-256.

the Wave riddle of the *Hervarar Saga* (*Heidreks Gatur*, 21—see Heusler, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.* xi, 127), and to its derived form in modern Icelandic (Arnason, *Izlenzkar Gatur*, 1887, No. 684). But Brooke's solution seems in every way better, as this alone fits all the motives of the poem.

Let us consider now the use in *E.B.R.* of popular material. To Riddle xiv, Dietrich (*H. Z.*, xi, 464) answers, "The 22 Letters of the Alphabet," and points to Aldhelm, iv, 1. But there are at least three strong objections to this solution:—a.) Of the unknown creatures appear only "ten in all—six brothers and their sisters with them;" and Dietrich does not cope successfully with the numerical difficulty. b.) "Their skins hung on the wall." That the "skin" is the parchment Dietrich tries to convince us by citing an Alphabet riddle of a Heidelberg ms. of the 15th century (Mone, *Q. F.*, 120),—"Es hat ein teil in leder genist,"—and by changing for his purpose "teil" to "fell." But this sort of circular reasoning is seldom effective. c.) "Bereft of their robe . . . they tear with their mouths the grey leaves," could hardly be said of letters.²⁴ In a word the solution is far-fetched. This Trautmann felt, when he offered (*l. c.*) another answer; but "Ten Young Chickens" is, like so many of his solutions, an absurdly random guess. The key to the problem is presented by Bede's "Flores," No. 2 (*M. P. L.* 94, 539 f.), "Vidi filium cum matre manducantem cujus pellis pendebat in pariete;" where the "son" is evidently the pen, the "mother," the hand, and the "skin," the glove. So, in our riddle, the ten creatures are the fingers—the six brothers being the larger, the four sisters, the little fingers and thumbs. Since both the Latin and Anglo-Saxon queries suggest stuff drawn from the people, it is not surprising that *Volks-rätsel* are full of parallels. In popular riddles the fingers are always browsing animals.²⁵ And the

²⁴ Indeed in many German *Volksrätsel*, we are distinctly told (Wossidlo, 469), "Sie (d. h. Buchstaben) essen nichts, sie trinken nichts." Compare Eckart, *Nd. Rätsel*, Nos. 387, 999; Renk (Tyrol) *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, v, 157, No. 164.

²⁵ Note Frischbier (Prussia), *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, xxiii, 248, No. 73, "Fif Zege fräte von einem Hupe" (Fingers of spinning hand); Simrock,³ p. 67, "Daer gungen tein Tatern | Um einen Busck matern;" *Id.*, p. 103, "Zehn Schäfflein fressen an einen Heuhaufen."

glove ever hangs on the wall.²⁶ The new solution is thus clearly established.

Among the problems of *E.B.* are a few that from their wide vogue in all centuries well deserve the title of world-riddles. Prominent in this short list is the query of the Month (*E.B.R.*, xxiii). This is, of course, a variant of the Year problem, which, in one form or other, appears in every land as Ohlert, 122-126, Wünsche (*Kochs Zs.*, N. F. ix, 1896, 425-456) and Wossidlo, pp. 277-278 have shown. The Anglo-Saxon chariot-motive has long since been linked by Dietrich with Reinmar von Zweter's "ein sneller wol gevierter wagen" (Roethe, *R. von Z.*, 1887, Rid. 186, 187, p. 616). But there are many other analogues. Haug²⁷ translates from the *Rig-veda*, I, several Time riddles, in one of which (Hymnus, 164) the year is pictured as a chariot bearing seven men (the Indian seasons (?)) and drawn by seven horses; in another (H. 11) as a twelve-spoked wheel, upon which stand 720 sons of one birth (the days and nights). Still closer to the Anglo-Saxon is the Persian riddle of the Month,²⁸ also cited by Wünsche, in which thirty knights (the days of the month) ride before the Emperor. In the "Disputatio Pippini cum Albino," 68-70 (*H. Z.*, xiv, 530 f.) the Year is the Chariot of the World, drawn by four horses, Night and Day, Cold and Heat, and driven by the Sun and Moon. And finally in the *Lügenmärchen* of Vienna ms. 2705, fol. 145—classed by its editor, Wackernagel (*H. Z.*, II, 562) as a riddle—the narrator tells how he saw, through the clouds, a wagon, upon which seven women sat and near which seven trumpet-blowers (*garzūne*) ran and a thousand mounted Knights rode.

"Der lügenaere nam des goume,
Das si nach dem selben sliten,
Alles uf dem wolken riten,
Und wollen da mite über mer."

²⁶ Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, 158, No. 170:—

"Was hängt an der Wand
Wie Totenhand?"
(Handschuh.)

Simrock,³ p. 70.

"Es hängt wott an der Wand
Un lett off'ne Daudemanns Hand."

²⁷ *Sitzb. der könig. Akad. der Wiss. zu München, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, II, 1875, 457 f.

²⁸ J. Gorres, *Das Heldenbuch von Iran aus dem Schah Nameh des Firdussi*, Berlin, 1820, I, 104 f.

The likeness of these last lines to the desire of the sixty knights in *E.B.R.*, xxiii, to pass over the sea is peculiarly suggestive. "Reinmar's riddle," says Roethe, p. 251, "is really popular—that is, it is not drawn directly or indirectly from learned or Latin sources." This is equally true of the Anglo-Saxon problem; still we must feel that, like Reinmar's poem, it has come to us from an artist's hand.

Inferior in interest and popularity to the riddle of the Month, yet among the oldest and best known of relationship problems, is the query of Lot's Daughters (*E.B.R.*, XLVII—compare *Gen.* xix, 32-38). Friedreich, p. 98, cites from Lightfoot's selection²⁹ from the Talmud (Midras Mishlae) the narrative of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the riddles proposed by the royal guest.³⁰

The second of these is our enigma. Though this had no vogue in the Middle Ages—yielding in favor to such riddles of strange family-ties as those of the Reichenau ms. 205 (M. and S., *Denkmäler*, 1892, p. 20) and *Strassburg Rb.*, 305, or of incest as that proposed by the King in the Apollonius story (Riese, *Ed.*, 1893, c. iv; *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 153; Shakspeare's *Pericles*, I, 1)—it appears twice in Reusner's volume (I, 335, 353), in the second case as a mock-epitaph, and is noted by Wossidlo (No. 983, *Notes*) in several modern German forms. The query does double duty in the *Izlenzkar Gatur*, 594, 688. And in England we meet it, not only in the collections of Chambers (*Ed.*, 1871, p. 113) and Gregor (*Publ. Folk-Lore Soc.*, 1881, p. 76), but two centuries earlier in the *Holme Riddles*, No. 10 (Harl. 1960, fol. 2 a.) *E.B.R.*, xxxiv, (Ice), contains, at least in its closing lines, a motive known to all ages of riddle-makers (See my introductory article), while *E.B.R.*, xxxvii (Pregnant Sow) has been traced through many analogues by Heusler, *l. c.*, p. 141.³¹

²⁹ "Horae Hebraicae in Evang. Lucae, xi, 31," *Opera Omnia*, Rotterdam, 1686, II, 527. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, I, 354.

³⁰ Hertz, "Die Rätsel von Königin von Saba," *H. Z.*, xxvii, 1883, 1-33, treats at some length the various versions of the Queen of Sheba story and the several riddles put into her mouth of wisdom by the authors of different lands. In the English form of the legend (Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, I, 263) no riddles are mentioned.

³¹ Dietrich (*H. Z.*, xi, 470-472), with his usual acumen, discovers in *E.B.R.*, xxxvii, the use of "secret script," but he says nothing of the history of this kind of writing, nor does he seem to have known that it was often em-

We may now pass to those riddles, which, in their form and substance, are so evidently popular products as to suggest that the poet has yielded in large measure to the collector—the puzzles of double meaning and coarse suggestion. To these we should naturally expect to find many parallels in folk-literature, and we are not disappointed. To *E.B.R.*, XLV, Dietrich offers two answers, "Key" and "Dagger Sheath." Either or both may be correct (compare my first article), as each has strong support. The first is favored by Roland's fifteenth-century French riddle (No. 144), by Eckart's Low German queries (Nos. 222, 223), by Wossidlo, Nos. 145^a, 434 n², and by the very lively problems in the *Izlenzkar Gatur* (Nos. 603, 607, *Skra og Lykill*), all which bear many resemblances to the Anglo-Saxon: the second is sustained by Wossidlo, 434 i², and by the very similar English puzzle in *Holme Riddles*, No. 130 (Harl. 1960, fol. 13 b.) and *Royal Riddle Book*, 1820, p. 11. To *E.B.R.*, XLVI, Herzfeld and Trautmann have independently given the obvious solution, "Dough." Confirmatory evidence is overwhelming. The riddle appears in various forms in modern Germany (Eckart, Nos. 88, 440, 506; Wossidlo, Nos. 71, 126), does service in the fifteenth century (Köhler, *Weimar Jhrb.* v, 329 f. No. 30), is cited twice in Schleicher's Lithuanian collection, p. 195, and is known to English peasants (*R.R.B.*, p. 4). Dietrich's "Bakeoven" and Trautmann's "Buttercask" fit equally well *E.B.R.*,

played in medieval enigmas. Suetonius records (*De Vita Caesarum*, I, 56) that Julius Caesar employed in his familiar epistles a cipher formed by a consistent exchange of the letters of the alphabet; and that Augustus, too, used "notae" or secret writing (II, 88):—"Quotiens autem per notas scribit B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentes litteras ponit." Isidor, Bishop of Seville (d. 636), in his widely-read *Origines* (I, c. 25), ascribes the use of this device ("notae litterarum") to Brutus and the two great Caesars and quotes a letter from Augustus to Tiberius. Mention in so famous a text-book doubtless gave to the script a vogue. Alcuin turns to account the method in giving the solutions of his "Propositiones" (*M. P. L.*, 101, 1145), sometimes assigned to Bede (*M. P. L.*, 90, 665)—e. g., No. XXVI, "CBNIS BC FUGB LFFPREK"—and a similar substitution of consonants for preceding vowels appears in the answers to the riddles of the early tenth-century Reichenau ms. 205 (*supra*). This enigmatic style of writing survived long, as its use in solutions by the anonymous author of *Aenigmata et Griphi Veterum et Recentium* (Duaci, 1604) testifies.

LV; but the weight of modern riddle-testimony is on the side of the second solution (Eckart, Nos. 59, 86, 427, 905, Wossidlo, Nos. 138, 144, many references, 434 u²). On the other hand, in *E.B.R.*, LXIV, we cannot but prefer Dietrich's "Beaker" to Trautmann's "Flute," if we compare with the Anglo-Saxon the spirited Holme Riddle, No. 128 (Harl. 1960, fol. 13 b.), "A young man in a tavern drinking a gill of sack." And finally *E.B.R.*, XXVI—with the exception of its first lines that make Dietrich's second solution, "Hemp," preferable to all other answers—is reproduced almost verbatim in the "Onion" stanza of *R.R.B.*, p. 11. Such analogues establish beyond question the genuinely popular character of this coarse riddle-stuff.

Not only, however, in those riddles that bear in form and style the distinct impress of the folk do we find popular elements. Many enigmas of *E.B.*—"literary" though their manner proclaims them—are indebted to that stock of commonplace domestic traditions, that simple lore of little things, which we recognize as the joint property of kindred races. Though the Anglo-Saxon puzzles are often entirely individual and isolated in their treatment of familiar themes, yet the likeness of their motives to those of other Germanic queries is surely as remarkable as their differences. To many riddles we seek in vain for parallels; to others analogues throng apace. Let us compare these problems of early England with those of Scandinavia. Heusler, *l. c.*, has already invited attention to the correspondences between the themes and motives of *E.B.* and of the *Hervarar Saga*. The list is not long. *Heidreks Gatur*, 21 (Waves) has a slight affinity to *E.B.R.*, XI (*supra*); the Old-Norse Anchor (*H.G.*, 6) is, like the Old-English one (*E.B.R.*, XVII), a fighting warrior; the Pregnant Sow riddle is common to both people (*H.G.*, 12, *E.B.R.*, XXXVII), and *E.B.R.*, LVIII is treated in the same manner as *H.G.*, 10 (Hailstones), though the matter is somewhat different and the likeness of topic more than doubtful.³² With the modern

³² The following riddles of the two groups treat the same topics but in a totally different fashion:—*H.G.*, 1, *E.B.R.*, XXVIII (Beer or Mead); *H.G.*, 8, *E.B.R.*, LXVI (Leek or Onion); *H.G.*, 9, *E.B.R.*, XXXVIII, LXXXVII, (Bellows); *H.G.*, 15, *E.B.R.*, VII (Sun); *H.G.*, 24, *E.B.R.*, XXXIV (Iceberg); *H.G.*, 26, *E.B.R.*, VI (Shield); *H.G.*, 29, *E.B.R.*, LI (Fire); *H.G.*, 30, *E.B.R.*, LVII (Loom); *H.G.*, 34, *E.B.R.*, LXXX (Falcon).

folk-riddles of the *Izlenzkar Gatur*, our problems yield an interesting comparison—and this no one has yet made. *E.B.R.*, LVII, Web and Loom, may be annotated throughout by the twenty-six Icelandic riddles of various phases of the Weaver's craft.³³ The Anglo-Saxon Ship (*E.B.R.*, XXXIII) vies as a benevolent monster with the creature that plays the chief part in more than forty Norse problems;³⁴ while the glorious Book, bringer of many blessings (*E.B.R.*, XXVII, 18 f.), and the Bible, "thing of the Lord God" (*E.B.R.*, LXVIII) received equal praise in the Icelandic collection.³⁵ The Bellows of *E.B.R.*, XXXVIII, LXXXVII(?) is the theme of five Norse riddles,³⁶ and the Anglo-Saxon problem of the Rake (XXXV) has much in common with the *Gatur* of like subject.³⁷ On the whole the likeness between the queries of the two groups is too general to betray any very intimate connection; but the appearance of such similar elements in *I.G.* furnishes no slight proof of the popular character of *E.B.* riddle-germs.

With the *Kunsträtsel* of various centuries our collection naturally invites comparison; and the points of meeting, though few, are highly suggestive, for they show beyond question that the artist or school of artists of the *Exeter Book* did not disdain those motives, which enigmatographs of every age readily borrow from the people. We have already seen that, in the Bull and Ice and Fingers riddles, popular motives are employed that appeared with equal force to the author of the

so-called "Flores of Bede." At least two other problems in that small but valuable collection develop but slightly themes worthy of fuller and finer treatment; and the Anglo-Saxon, possessed of the same motives, displays a master's use of suggestive material. "Flores," 7, tells us boldly enough that Day flees before Night, that the resting place of Day is the Sun and of Night a cloud. Upon a similar idea of hostility between the forces of Day and Night—truly, a common enough tradition, yet rare in riddle-literature—the poet of *E.B.R.*, XXX, builds an exquisite myth, worthy of the Vedas, indeed not unlike the Sanskrit problems of the powers of nature (see Haug, *l. c.*).³⁸ "Flores," 1, is a literary riddle of *Sapientia*, "illa mulier quae innumeris filiis ubera porrigit." To *E.B.R.*, XLII, I propose the same solution. Wisdom is "the mother of many races, the most excellent, the blackest,"³⁹ the dearest, which children of men possess."

In Reusner's volume a few enigmas, when compared with *E.B.R.*, display an identity of mental processes peculiarly interesting in view of the great difference between the times and men that produced them. The Bow and *Ballista* are the subjects of one riddle by Scaliger (R. I, 172); while the very language unites closely *E.B.R.*, XXIV and XVIII.⁴⁰ Another riddle by Scaliger (R. I, 190), *Cannabis*, gives in every line a reason

³³ *I.G.*, 6, 49, 60, 79, 81, 82, 339, 447, 499, 536, 576, 644, 657, 737, 798, 853, 912, 976, 982, 983, 1082, 1088, 1110, 1133, 1140, 1147. These are full of accurate detail, human interest and lively personification. Side by side with these and the Anglo-Saxon, we may put the Lithuanian Loom riddle (Schleicher, p. 198), in which "a small oak with a hundred boughs calls to women and to maidens."

³⁴ In *E.B.R.*, XXXIII, the Ship moves on one foot: in *I.G.*, 151, it crawls on its belly footless; while in *I.G.*, 514, the eight-oared craft has eight feet. The Anglo-Saxon vessel is like the *Kaupskip* of *I.G.*, 615, 651, bearing food to men. Compare, also, *I.G.*, 131, 293, 429, 516, 585, 725, 1162-1194 (seventeenth century).

³⁵ The Book is a joyful health-giver (*I.G.*, 241, 329) and has an immortal soul (*I.G.*, 711). Compare *I.G.*, 390, 558, 584, 599, 619, 904; and the nobly-conceived Bible riddles (*I.G.*, 775, 805, 999).

³⁶ *I.G.*, 195, 726, 860, 925, 1152.

³⁷ *I.G.*, 578, 629, 1053. Compare riddles of Shovel (*I.G.*, 154, 358, 608, 1102, 1135).

³⁸ Dietrich's solution of *E.B.R.*, XXX, Moon and Sun, seems to me strongly supported by the close likeness between the last lines of that riddle, "Nor did any one of men know afterwards the wandering of that wight," and Vienna ms. 67, No. 60 (*Luna*), 1-2 (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 219):—

"Quo movear gressu nullus cognoscere tentat,
Cernere nec vultus per diem signa valebit."

³⁹ "Blackest," of course, refers to the script of books, the precious products of Wisdom—"black seed" it is called in one of the best known of world-riddles (Wossidlo, No. 70). If my answer be correct, this riddle belongs, in subject at least, to the class of the *Aenigmata* of Boniface (Brit. Mus. ms. Reg. 15 B. XIX, fol. 204—See Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, I, 332).

⁴⁰ "Altera mi similis," says Scaliger's "Bow" of his comrade in arms; the similarity of the two weapons is evidenced in the Anglo-Saxon descriptions. Dietrich's first solution of XVIII, *Ballista*, is therefore better than his second, *Burg*; while Trautmann's *Backofen* is a characteristically wild shot.

for accepting "Hemp" as an answer to the misleading *E.B.R.*, xxvi, that interesting adaptation of the Onion motive to another theme. The sketch of the overthrow of potent potters in the long riddle of Lorchius (R. I, 282, *Dolium Vini*) has much in common with *E.B.R.*, xxviii, Mead.⁴¹ And one can have, I think, little doubt of the correctness of Morley's Apocalyptic solution ("Lamb of God," *E. W.*, II, 224-225) of the obscure Latin riddle, *E.B.R.*, xc, after a comparison with the enigma of Aurelius Prudentius (R. I, 295):—

"Christus Agnus,
Agnus vice mirifica
.
Agnus hiare lupum prohibes."

and with the last line of the German problem, Pfälzer ms. 693, fol. 27 (Mone, *Anz.*, VII, 381, No. 312):—

"Do quam ein lam und benam dem wolfe dy herte
.
(Solutio) Der arge wolf, daz ist Luciper;
.
Das lam, das waz der werde got."

I select but two more parallels between our group of riddles and literary enigmas. The fifteenth century German query (Mone, *Anz.*, II, 235), so lengthy and confused in its symbolism, suggests not so much through its contents as through the marginal note, "Es ist leib, geist und sel," *E.B.R.*, XLIV, Body and Soul. Finally the second line of the *Ostrea griphos* of Ausonius ("Epistle to Theon," VII, *Works*, Amsterdam, 1750, p. 161), "Dulcibus in stagnis refluī maris aestus opimat," resembles the opening of the Anglo-Saxon Oyster riddle (*E.B.R.*, LXXVII), "The sea fed me."⁴²

Among the modern folk-riddles of England and the Continent the number of parallels to *E.B.R.* is not after all large. Unlike the influence of Symphosius throughout Europe or the direct literary working of the *Heidreks Gatur* in Iceland and the Farøe Islands, the motives that appear in the Anglo-Saxon collection, if we may draw a conclusion from the scanty evidence at our

command,⁴³ seem to have affected little the current of native riddle-tradition. Yet there is a preceptible swirl in the stream. A few English riddles of the present resemble, in theme and treatment, *E.B.R.*; and, more noteworthy yet, two or three of these are unique among recent puzzles in this resemblance. In the latter case we may safely regard the modern riddle-stuff not as a new creation but as a survival of the old. To the Onion riddle and to others of like coarseness I have already pointed. As the Old-Norse problem of the Pregnant Sow (*H.G.*, 12) is revived in two riddles of *I.G.*, 447, 448, so the similar Anglo-Saxon query (*E.B.R.*, XXXVII) reappears in the *Royal Riddle Book*, p. 9, Sow with Nine Pigs. The interesting riddle of the Wine-cask (*E.B.R.*, XXIX) has something in common with *Amusing Riddle Book* (Montrose, 1830), p. 28, A Barrel of Beer; the Oyster puzzle (*E.B.R.*, LXXVII) is reproduced in *Wit Newly Revived* (Newcastle, 1780), p. 21; and the *leitmotif* of the splendid enigma of the Stag-horn (*E.B.R.*, LXXXVIII) is recalled by the little Ox-horn riddle in *W.N.R.*, p. 11:—

"Divided from my brother now,
I am companion for mankind," etc.

The modern "monster" riddle of "Man on Horseback with Hawk on Fist" (*Book of Merry Riddles*, Ed. 1660, No. 70; *Holme Riddles*, No. 28) employs an ancient and widely spread motive,⁴⁴ which is so totally neglected in the pointless *E.B.* logogriphs, xx, LXV, that it is difficult to regard these runic riddles as other than fragments. Several other English problems treat the same themes as *E.B.R.*; but I can detect no resemblance save that of topic between the modern riddles of Fire (*B.M.R.*, No. 74), Bellows (*R.R.B.*, p. 6), Plough (*Id.*, p. 18), Mermaid (*Id.*, p. 19) and Sheath (*Id.*,

⁴³ In unfavorable contrast to the activity of German scholars, Frischbier, Renk, Wossidlo and Petsch, and many others, in their home-field, the popular riddle has been almost neglected by students of English folk-lore. Many problems of great traditional value doubtless lie buried in the manuscripts of British libraries (compare *Holme Riddles*, ms. Harl. 1960, and the puzzles of mss. Sloane, 848 and 1489) or else, current in the mouths of peasants, await their historian.

⁴⁴ *H.G.*, 35, Odin on Slepnir; Rolland, p. 15, No. 35, Man on Horseback; Simrock,³ p. 55, Rider; Frischbier (Prussia), *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXIII, p. 256, No. 162, many references.

⁴¹ See also Hadrian Junius x, *Vinum* (R. I, 241), and Vienna ms. 67, No. 51, *De Vino* (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 219).

⁴² See Pliny's *Natural History*, IX, 74, 79, XXXII, 21.

p. 19) and the Anglo-Saxon enigmas (*E.B.R.*, LI, xxxviii, xxii, lxxiv, lvi).

A few continental parallels to the queries in our collection, and then I have done. The fearfully made creatures in the Anglo-Saxon poems of musical instruments (*E.B.R.*, xxxii, lxx) are not unlike the prodigies in the Lithuanian and Mecklenburg *Geige* riddles (Schleicher, p. 200; Wossidlo, No. 230*); but in coincidence of fancy lies doubtless the sole explanation of this resemblance. The Low German "Aderjan" and "Snaderjan" (Eckart, No. 428; also 123, 124) bear a sufficient likeness to the Two Buckets of *E.B.R.*, liii, to satisfy me that Dietrich has here found the fitting solution;⁴⁵ the Onion of *E.B.R.*, lxvi, is "a biter when bitten" as in the German riddle (Wossidlo, No. 190; Petsch, pp. 95-96); and the Communion-cup of *E.B.R.*, lx, is closely akin to the subject of the Tyrolese problem (Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, v, 149, No. 17). And finally, the motives of the highly imaginative query of the Ox (*E.B.R.*, lxxii) appear again far afield in the riddles of Lithuania and Bukowina (Schleicher, 207, 211; Kaindl, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, viii, 319).

While so short a study as this can, of course, make no claim to exhaustiveness, enough has been said, I hope, to establish the *Exeter Book* problems in their proper place in riddle-literature. I have sought not only to indicate more accurately than has before been done their relation to literary enigmas, but also to trace, what has hitherto passed almost unnoticed, their indebtedness to popular motives.⁴⁶

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⁴⁵ Trautmann's solutions, "Broom" and later "Flail" seem far-fetched and beside the mark, while Walz's answer, "Yoke of Oxen led into the barn or house by a female slave" smacks of that fatal obviousness so dear to victims of the riddler's art.

⁴⁶ Since the appearance of my first article in the January number of the *Notes*, I have read, in the Harvard Library, Pitre's important Introduction to his *Indovinelli, Dubbi, Scioqilingua del Popolo Siciliano* (*Bibl. delle Trad. Pop. Sic.*, xx), Torino-Palermo, 1897. His entertaining and scholarly treatment of several points that I have independently considered—e. g., "the literary sources and popular origins of riddles"—has simply strengthened my views upon these topics. In at least one matter of detail, however, I must admit fault. The German *Ilo*

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF FREE OPEN o IN ANGLO-NORMAN.

The present article is a chapter detached from an *essai de grammaire* of Anglo-Norman which I shall soon publish; the consideration of this dialect will represent, in its turn, but the first part of a projected *Manual of Old French Dialects*, which, as the first part will show, is now approaching completion. My hope is that material thus brought together for the first time in convenient reference form may constitute a background for the re-investigation of many points of detail of Old French grammar that are still obscure. With texts, dates and facts of each dialect as an entity before us, we can follow the definite history of a given phenomenon in a given dialect and decide what bearing it may have on general Old French. In a manual of the kind intended, it is impossible to treat at length of all these separate points; but, in order to illustrate the use to which I trust my compilation may be put, I have inserted a partial development of some ideas that suggest themselves in an examination of the history of open o in Anglo-Norman. I now offer the same here in advance, thinking that a new presentation of the light that Anglo-Norman developments throw on the general subject of open o may be of interest to the student of Old French who, perhaps, will not look for a consideration of the general subject in a special treatise on dialects.

The "definite history" of many of the phenomena arising in a study of open o is yet to be written. One cannot read what has been proposed and, after an examination of the evidence for himself, be satisfied that the last word has been said. I offer some fragmentary suggestions on various points, hoping thereby to invite attention to and discussion of them. A final solution demands a new, detailed study of open o in each old dialect; such a study will surely bear fruit.—In accordance with my general plan, I treat first the (supposably) phonetic developments of the given sound, afterwards the orthographic symbols used by the scribes

riddle must not be regarded as "distinctively Teutonic" (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii, p. 7): Pitre has proved (pp. lxxx-lxxxvii) that, in the form of a *Rätselmärchen*, it obtains in many countries of Southern Europe.

to indicate such developments. To the first class, then, belong *o*, *ue*, *eu*, *u* and *e*; to the second, *oe*, *oi*, *eo*, *ø*, *ö*. For the sake of completeness, and on account of their interdependence, I shall mention each one of these even when I have nothing new to add.

1. *o*. The keeping of *o* in its undiphthongized (by the side of the diphthongized) form is one of our Anglo-Norman peculiarities. We find the *o*, of course, in our older texts, though not with consistent frequency: *pople*, *pot*, *quor*, *ovre*, *volt*, etc. Philippe de Thaün probably did not know the diphthongization of the *o*; ¹ in the *Lois Guillaume*, *o* is used to the entire exclusion of *ue* or *oe*; ² in the Oxford (or rather Montebourg) and Cambridge Psalters *o* is found, though not in the majority of cases; ³ in the *Quatre Livres des Rois*, again, *o* prevails in the proportion of four to one ⁴ (that is, as compared with *ue*, *oe*, etc.). Leaving this older group of texts, we note the firm hold of the *o* in Anglo-Norman in that it recurs in the monuments of a much later date, certainly up to the middle of the thirteenth century, as, for example, in Angier, ⁵ Chardri, ⁶ Guillaume de Berneville, ⁷ *Amadas* ⁸ and *Boeve*. ⁹—In connection with this *o* is to be recorded the *oi* found in Anglo-Norman as a representative of open *o* before a palatal by the side of the regular *ui*, (*hoi*, *poisse*, etc.); this *oi* is doubtless a reminiscence of the original *o* before the palatal previous to diphthongization (> *uoi*, *uei*, *ui*) though it is by no

means so frequent as the *o* (for *ue*) to which we have just referred. ¹⁰

2. *ue*. This is not the place to enter upon, or even to refer to, the extensive bibliography on the interesting general questions raised with regard to the history of the diphthong *ue*: whether the *u* of *ue* was pronounced as *ou* or *ü*; if the diphthong was rising or falling; when the pronunciation *ö* (Mod. Fr. *eu*) came in, and the like. The last point (*eu*) is particularly difficult to decide for Anglo-Norman, both on account of the marked confusion of orthographies, and because the *eu* to which we are accustomed in French texts of the continent is extremely rare in our dialect (cf. below, § 3). We have reason to suppose that, for a time at least, *ue* may have had a double value in Anglo-Norman; that is, *u-e*, and *ö*. ¹¹ The earliest text for which the pronunciation *ö* is claimed for *ue* is, I think, Chardri. ¹² (The sound *ö*, however, may have existed earlier (cf. below, § 6, d).

As to whether *ue* (and *ie*) were rising or falling diphthongs, it is difficult to discover essential facts on which to base conclusions. We find as variants of *ie* (<open *ɛ*) *i* and *e*, and of *ue*, *u* and *e*; of these variants we may say, I think, that Anglo-Norman favored *e* for *ie* and *u* for *ue*; this fact seems to point to an original *îe* and *ûe*. The Oxford Psalter, where we have marks of accentuation, renders *ie* by *îe*, *ue* by both *ûe* and *ue*. The stress must have varied at different periods of the language, or with different scribes or in some other (unknown) way; such was obviously the case in our dialect where we meet *ie*, *i*, *e*; *ue*, *u*, *e*. Theorists on the original nature of these diphthongs will, I fear, be driven to seek their data outside of Anglo-Norman lines. ¹³

An important point to be observed with regard to *ue* in our dialect is that it may rhyme with close *e*, and thus give rise to a set of rhymes whose exact parallel does not exist on the continent; such a rhyme is that of *quer* with infinitives of the first conjugation, as *honurer* or *counter*. These

¹ Mall, *Li Cumpoz Philippe de Thaün*, Strassburg, 1873, p. 48; Walberg, *Le Bestiaire de P. de T.*, Paris, 1900, p. lxxxv.

² Matzke, *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant*, Paris, 1899, p. xlvii.

³ Harseim, *Vokalismus und Consonantism. Oxf. Psalt., Roman. Stud.*, iv, 292; Schumann, *V. und C. Comb. Psalt.*, Heilbronn, 1883, p. 33.

⁴ Plähn, *Les Q. L. R.*, Göttingen, 1888, p. 5.

⁵ Meyer, *Romania*, xii, 196; Cloran, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 48.

⁶ Koch, *Chardry's Josaphaz, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet* (Altfr. Bibl. i), Heilbronn, 1879, p. xxviii; cf. *Zl. Rom. Phil.*, iii, 593.

⁷ Paris et Bos, *La Vie de Saint Gilles, par G. de B.* (Soc. Anc. Text. Fr.) Paris, 1881, p. xxxi.

⁸ Andresen, *Zl. Rom. Phil.*, xiii, 85.

⁹ Stimming, *Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, (Bibl. Norman. vii) Halle, 1899, p. 207.

¹⁰ Cf. Suchier, *Altfr. Grammatik*, p. 59.

¹¹ Cf. Koschwitz, *Uebertieferung und Sprache der Chans. du Voyage de Charlemagne*. Heilbronn, 1876, pp. 29 and 73.

¹² Koch, *o. c.*, p. xxviii.

¹³ For some general remarks here, cf. Suchier, *Zl. Rom. Phil.* i, 291, *Grammatik*, pp. 40 and 48; Nyrop, *Litbl. Germ. Rom. Phil.* i. 223.

rhymes have been cited for *Auban*, *Donnei des Amants*, *Bozon*, and other texts.¹⁴

3. *eu*. Few examples of *eu* for close *o* exist in Anglo-Norman, and fewer of *eu* for open *o*. Stimming¹⁵ gives *seut*, *veut* (in which, however, the *u* may be equivalent to an *l* which has vocalized), *queur*, *peuple*, *veulle*, *peut*, *demeure* [*demeure* should not be included here since the open *o* of the Latin early became close in this word¹⁶]. Apparently we shall have to study each example and each text separately in order to determine approximately the phonetic significance of the *eu*. In the *Vie de Saint Thomas*, for example, Meyer assigns different values to the *eu* according as it represents French *ue* (*veut*) or open *o* (*eurent* for *orent*).¹⁷ What shall we say when we encounter a rhyme like one in the *Apocalypse*, *touz*: *leus* (LÖCUM)?

4. *u*. This letter used for open *o* has always been recognized as a marked Anglo-Norman characteristic; it is found in *Philippe de Thaün*, *Oxford Psalter*, *Quatre Livres des Rois* and *Brandan*, among our earlier texts: *buf*, *put*, *vult*, *uvrent*, etc.¹⁸ Our dialect is, apparently, the only one in which we find an open *o* represented by *u*. If, however, we look upon this *u* as a reduction of the diphthong *ue* and not as a direct variant of undeveloped open *o*, it will not seem so abnormal. In the earlier stages of studies in our dialect the *u* was treated as such a variant of the *o*,¹⁹ and this view of the *u* appears natural enough, since the keeping of the *o* itself (cf. above, § 1) was a distinct peculiarity, and considering *u* as a variant of so common an element was, to all intents, not

stretching a point. To my mind, however, this opinion was entirely erroneous. First of all, the use of *u* for open *o* would necessarily imply a certain assimilation of open *o* and close *o* (for the latter, *u* is the constant Norman and Anglo-Norman equivalent); we may note, too, that *o* for original close *o* is kept, with some degree of frequency in our earlier texts, being preferred to *u* in *Philippe*²⁰ and *Brandan*,²¹ and used often in *Angier*,²² *Chardri*²³ and *Adam*;²³ we would expect to find the explanation of such supposed assimilation in the fact that the *o* for open *o* was used so often and so early as to lose, in part, its separate identity, and become of the same value as close *o* (that is, *u*). The facts, however, do not warrant our assuming the assimilation. Open *o* was evidently a very independent element in Anglo-Norman; while open and close *e* rhyme together in checked position from the time of our earliest texts, such is not the case for open and close *o* (except, of course, before nasals, both free and checked which do not enter into the discussion of the present point). To suppose assimilation at all, we would have to place it at an early date, since *u* for open (or close) *o* is early; if it had been early the probabilities are that it would have been thorough and extensive, because simplifications, of whatever kind, were favored in Anglo-Norman; but our scribes obviously did not confuse the two sounds. They had little difficulty in denoting the value or values of close *o*; from the earliest texts we find *o*, then *u*; *ou* was not popular in the dialect in its early period; examples of *ou* may be counted by ones and twos up to *Angier*; *eu* was an exotic, late and isolated. When we note the expedients for indicating the developments of open *o*, on the other hand, we find that the orthographic variants for them (cf. below, § 6) as compared with those for close *o* are in the proportion of three to one; our scribes had difficulties with the open *o* from the very outset; if the developments of this latter had, in any sense, approached those of close *o*, whose value was so definite, the average Anglo-Norman scribe would have been glad to combine the two; it was a coincidence that *u* should appear

¹⁴ Cf. Stürzinger, *Orthographia Gallica* (Altfr. Bibl. viii) Heilbronn, 1884, p. 46; Paris, *Romania* xxv, 532; Smith et Meyer, *Les Contes Moralises de Nicole Bozon* (Soc. Anc. Text. Fr.) Paris, 1889, p. lix, 3.

¹⁵ Boeve, p. 208.

¹⁶ Cf. *Zt. Rom. Phil.* II, 509, and Paris, *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxxi, footnote 1. Stimming mentioned *demeur* as showing close *o* on p. 190 (*Boeve*). On p. 208 he is quoting from Stürzinger, who gives open *o*.

¹⁷ Meyer, *Fragments d'une Vie de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry* (Soc. Anc. Text. Fr.) Paris, 1885, p. xxix.

¹⁸ Cf. Gröber, *Zt. Rom. Phil.*, II, 509; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Lang. Rom.*, I, 202, § 217; Suchier, *Français et Provençal*, p. 23, *Grammatik*, p. 41; Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 208.

¹⁹ Cf., for example, Mall, *Cumpoz*, p. 50; Fichte, *Die Flexion im Cambriger Psalter*, Halle, 1879, p. 63; *Zt. Rom. Phil.* II, 481.

²⁰ Mall, *Cumpoz*, p. 41.

²¹ Hammer, *Zt. Rom. Phil.* IX, 87.

²² Meyer, *Romania*, XII, 197.

²³ Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 190.

for open *o* (that is, for *ue* < open *o*) and for close *o* too. We must remember *e* for *ue* too (cf. below, § 5); to claim that *u* is not from *ue* destroys the possibility of a reasonable explanation for *e*. This latter shows that at one time, or with some scribes, the emphasis was on the *e* (of *ue*); the *u*, that with others the accent bore on the *u*; the two, *u* and *e* are surely to be explained side by side. With *ue* so early and constant a product in general French and in Anglo-Norman too, we must be suspicious of explanations of any phase of the history of open *o* that do not take into account, when possible, this *ue*. When we confront *vult* with *vuelt* it is certainly more reasonable to look at *vult* as a derivation from *vuelt* (the original general French form) than to think that, although we can detect no apparent reason for it, the open *o* went two different ways in the two words, becoming *u* in *vult*, diphthongizing in *vuelt*. We may derive some additional light on our point from a comparison of *ue* and *ie* (< open *E*). The phenomena associated with these two must have been alike in many particulars. For *ie* we have in Anglo-Norman *i* and *e* (*cil*, *cel* = *ciel*) just as for *ue* we find *u* and *e*. I know of no suggestion that *i* for *ie* is a direct variant of open *E*, without passing through the stage *ie*; yet *i* is used for close *e*, too, even rhyming with it,²⁴ and close and open *e* are early assimilated in checked position. The analogy of *i* from *ie*, then, seems to point to *u* from *ue*.

5. *e*. The use of *e* for *ue* is likewise considered as characteristic of our dialect. We note little discussion as to any time difference between the *e* and the *u* for *ue*. Meyer-Lübke treats of *e* first, saying that it occurs early, then he continues: 'One is surprised to find *u* also for *ue*,' as if *e* were the more characteristic or usual.²⁵ Stimming²⁶ says that *ue* becomes *e* especially after 1200. If what I have said above (§ 4) as to the derivation of *u* from *ue* be correct, it follows that I must consider the original accentuation of the combination to have been *úe*, and, therefore, any time difference must be in favor of *u* as older than *e*. This "difference" in Anglo-Norman, however, is merely relative, and we need not suppose that *u* was used regularly for a period of years and that

afterwards *e* came in; the difference was doubtless slight, and the employ of the one or the other depended upon the circumstances which influenced each individual scribe. The texts cited by Stürzinger and Stimming for *e* are comparatively late: Adgar, Angier, *Auban*, etc. (*em*, *fleves*, *selt*, *velt*, etc.)

6. Orthographic Variants.

a. *oe*. This is found with great frequency in Norman and Anglo-Norman texts, especially at the beginning of words, and is, supposably, a device of the scribes to distinguish *ue* (= *ue* < open *o*) from *ue* (= *ve*) by writing the former as *oe*.²⁷ (See, however, the last few lines of my remarks under *c*, below).

b. *oi*. We have here an orthographical sign of quite frequent occurrence. Stimming²⁸ cites examples from *Brandan*, *Tristan*, *Chardri*, *Boeve*, and a few others; as, *estoit*, (*estuet*), *voit*, (*vuelt*), *poit*, (*puet*), etc. Stimming suggests that we meet here an instance of "umgekehrte schreibung;" he starts from the reduced forms, *estet*, *pet*, *vet*, etc.; these the scribe ignorantly thinks to restore (?) to *estoit*, *poit*, *voit* because he confuses *estet*, *pet*, *vet* with derivatives of original close *e* (< Latin *E* or *Y*) for which *oi* was the proper French equivalent, and by no means absent from Anglo-Norman.—The explanation does not appeal to me, though I do not insist on my own way of looking at the variant in question. Analogies for confusions and pseudo-restorations are not far to seek in the dialect, it is true; we witness such entanglements among the various *e*'s; there is the *e* < *A*, the *e* reduced from *ie* (< open *E*) and the *e* reduced from *ei* (< close *E*); confronted with these (and still other) *e*'s, the scribes became apparently bewildered, and, in their desire to reconstitute correct forms they replaced *e* < *A* by *ie* (*piert* = *PARET*), *e* < *ei* by *ie* (*fiez* = *feiz*, *fois*), and, on the other hand they wrote *ei* for *e* < *A* (*espeie* = *espee*) and for *e* < *ie* (*teirz* = *tierz*), etc.; in other words, general confusion. I hint at this well-known condition of affairs in order to bring out the point that our scribes were entirely consistent in their mistakes; every confusion worked two, or more, ways. Con-

²⁴ Stimming, *Boeve*, pp. lv, lvi and 188.

²⁵ *Gram. Lang. Rom.*, I, 202, § 217.

²⁶ *Boeve*, p. 208.

²⁷ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Lang. Rom.* I, 196, 198, § 211.

²⁸ *Boeve*, p. 208. Stimming omits *bois* (*BÖVES*) from *Cumpoa* (L) cited by Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 41.

sequently it seems to me that if the scribes had really confused the *e* (of *ue*) with the *e* (of *ei*), we would rightly expect to find them using some other variant of the *e* (of *ei*), and notably *ei* itself rather than *oi*, which is not a regular Anglo-Norman product, as is *ei*. No *ei* (*ai*) is recorded, so far as I am aware, as a variant of the *e* for *ue*, although *ei* occurs for every other *e* in Anglo-Norman, even for checked *e* (open and close).

To my mind, then, the confusion referred to by Stimming is not the one which influenced our scribes; for that matter, I question using *e* as a background for explanations in general, since it was comparatively late and rare. What more evident starting-points do we need than *estot*, *vot*, *pot*, present in the language from the very beginning (cf. above, § 1)? These the scribe changed to *estoit*, *voit*, *poit*, just as he often (ignorantly) corrected (?) every simple vowel (except *i* of course) in his language by adding *i* to it, on account of the frequency with which his eye encountered *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui* which had developed regularly before palatals. The analogy for his *oi* is even closer than in this general tradition, for *oi* < open *o* before a palatal exists in our older texts as a remnant of the old *oi* before development (> *uoi*, *uei*, *ui*), just as simple *o* represents the stage before the diphthongization of open *o*.

c. *eo*. The use of *eo* for checked *e* in Anglo-Norman is often referred to, though the examples are not frequent: *Camb. Psalter* and *Brandan iceols*, *Camb. Psalt. feorm* (FIRMUM).²⁹ We find *eo* likewise for *ue* (or rather for a development of open *o*) before both oral and nasal consonants, and, as so employed, it constitutes another peculiarity of Anglo-Norman manuscripts; *Oxf. and Camb. Psalt. veolt*, *eovre*; *Roland, deol*; *Camb. Psalt. and Quatre Livres des Rois, heom, seon*,³⁰ etc. It may, at first sight, appear illogical not to consider *eo* (for *e*) and *eo* (for open *o*) together; we can easily conceive of the pronunciation *e-o* in *feorm* where the *o* may have served as a glide; we might think of the *o* of *deol* or *heom* as such a glide too from *e* to *l* or *m*. I have already indicated, however, that examples from our texts do not demonstrate

that *e* for *ue* was early or frequent enough to allow us to take it as a basis for explaining early variants of developments of open *o* (like the present *eo*, and like *oi* considered above); as we have already noted the coincidence of *u* for open *o* and *u* for close *o* without any necessary connection between the two, there is nothing abnormal implied in supposing two *eo*'s to have existed independently; in fact it is quite sure that *eo* indicated at least three different values in Anglo-Norman, *e-o*, a sound approaching *eu*, and close *e*; consequently, if we can find evidence, within the limits of open *o* developments, as to the value of the symbol in connection with open *o*, that evidence should have its weight. Now when we have so many variants for one original element, as here for open *o*, it seems to me that we should observe these variants like we do manuscripts, for example, with the hope of discovering some possible relationship among them. In order to discover the value of *eo* (for *ue*), about the only safe method is to compare other signs used for *ue* in texts in which *eo* occurs too, especially signs of known value. Those of (supposably) known value are *e* and *o*, the latter usually being understood to indicate a sound like Modern French *eu*; this value (*eu*) for *eo* was, in fact, suggested very early.³¹ Again there is no doubt but that *eo* was used as the equivalent of a known close *e* (*cheot*, *CADIT*) though not in earliest Anglo-Norman;³² so we might say that at one time, comparatively early, *eo* was used for *eu*; at another, later, for *e*. There is no doubt about the latter use of *eo* (for *e*), but I question the conclusiveness of the opinions that assign a value *e-o*, or *eu*, or *e* to *eo* for the earlier stages of Anglo-Norman.

Returning, then, to my idea of comparison of variants, I would suggest the following: The regular phonetic representatives of open *o* in Anglo-Norman were *o*, *ue*, *u* and *e*. The appearances of *o*, *ö*, *o* and *eo* in the manuscripts coincide; the last three are attempts of the scribes to indicate a sound of the *o* that was not the simple open *o*, nor yet the distinct diphthong *ue*, but an approach to the diphthong which the scribe did not know exactly how to designate. By the side of open *o*

²⁹ Cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, p. 82.

³⁰ For texts and examples, cf. Stürzinger, *Orthographia Gallica*, pp. 44-46; Suchier, *Zi. Rom. Phil.*, I, 569, *Grammatik*, p. 41; Stimming, *Boeve*, pp. 207, 208.

³¹ Cf. Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung*, p. 29.

³² Cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, p. 42.

and *ue* there existed an intermediate phonetic element just as between open *e* and *ie* there was a product which our scribes indicate by the indefinite *ee*. This element, doubtless a remnant of an indefinite intermediate stage for open *o*, was the one our scribes were trying to fix, and the various signs used, *ö*, *ø* and *eo* reflect their uncertainty. In my opinion *oe* may well have originated in the same way, and later have found a settled place in orthography because it happened to lend itself to the expression of a necessary distinction between *ue* and *ve*.

d. *ø*. This sign occurs in the *Cambridge Psalter*, *ilæc pøple*, etc. Suchier speaks of it as indicating the sound *eu*.³³ Cf. my remarks above (c).

e. *ö*. Examples for this have been cited only for the *Oxford Psalter*, *pöple*, *repröce*, *öil*, *ölie*. Cf. my remarks above (c).

May I now dignify these remarks by attempting a species of summary of the results suggested?

Nowhere is the influence of individual caprice on Anglo-Norman scribes and the contradictory nature of phenomena in that dialect better illustrated than in the history of open *o*. In the face of the fact that the first authentic cases of the diphthong *ue* in any French monument are to be sought in the *Domesday Book* in the famous *Buenuasleth*, *Septmuele* and *Rainbuedurt*,³⁴ we note, at the very outset of our study a marked fondness for the retention of simple *o* in our early texts. May it be that by the side of *ue* our scribes heard a lengthening of the *o* which they were not sure how to indicate, and that *o* where kept is so kept because they did not know how to transcribe this lengthening? May not the *o*, even when retained in the orthography have had always the diphthongal sound hinted at in the use of *ö*, *ø*, *eo* and *oe*? The early (and rare) appearance of *ö* and *ø* seems to me to point to their use for a sound unlike any other sound the scribes were accustomed to; when *ue*, *u* and *e* were definitely established, these two signs no longer present themselves. The *oe* and *eo* used in conjunction with these two, indicated the same uncertain element; but *oe* and *eo* found places in the orthography for reasons quite apart from their relation with the early

history of open *o*. Surely it must occasion less surprise that our dialect should offer a remnant of a stage in the development of open *o* than that it should show the original *o* itself so consistently and so long. Literary, or continental, influence finally decided the supremacy of *ue*, and the other signs used found no permanent place in the orthography, with the exception of *oe* (for reasons already suggested).

It seems entirely probable that *u* where found does not represent a direct passage of open *o* to *u*, but is in all cases a reduction of the diphthong *ue*.

The orthography *oi* represents a confusion of simple *o* with *oi* out of *o* before a palatal, and is to be likened to a similar confusion of *a* with *ai*, or *u* with *ui*.

The *eo*, in the early language, does not necessarily designate a sound *e-o*, or *eu*, or *e*, but is to be classed with other variants of *o* (*ö* and *ø*) as indicating an indefinite combination which existed by the side of *o* and *ue*. (No one knows better than myself that this point will be the subject of attack, but I believe it has a germ of truth in it). If *eo* were the only variant of open *o*, there would be nothing to do except to compare it with other *eo*'s in the dialect; but we find *ö* and *ø* which occur for open *o* alone; *eo* as used for *o*, then, is to be compared with them; *eu* for close and open *o* is late in Anglo-Norman, and represents the importation of scribes who happened to be well acquainted with continental French and introduced *eu* as they did *oi* (for *ei* < close *e*). Our *ö*, *ø* and *eo* probably indicated, not *eu*, but the diphthong between open *o* and *ue* already referred to.

As to *oe*, may it not have been one of these early devices for indicating the same indefinite sound, and may not its use have been to mark a distinction between *ue* and *ve* secondary?

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MR. SIDNEY LEE AND SPENSER'S
Amoretti.

Doubtless the radicalism of Mr. Sidney Lee's conception of the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare may be regarded as a protest against the imaginative per-

³³ *Gram.*, p. 41; cf. Vising, *Jhvsbrcht. Rom. Phil.* II, 1, 250.

³⁴ *Cf. Zl. Rom. Phil.*, VIII, 359.

sonalities of the greater number of would-be picklocks of the poet's heart. Possibly, in his irritation, Mr. Lee went too far, and in rejecting virtually every tittle of a "*secretum*" in the Sonnets threw out the baby with the bath. My intention is not, however, to re-open that much-debated issue, but rather to query a side dictum of the iconoclastic Mr. Lee upon Spenser's meaning in the *Amoretti*. Mr. Lee admits somewhat grudgingly a certain amount of personal reference in these sonnets. "Some of the '*Amoretti*' were doubtless addressed by Spenser in 1593 to the lady who became his wife a year later. But," Mr. Lee continues, "the sentiment was largely ideal, and, as he says in Sonnet LXXXVII., he wrote, like Drayton, with his eyes fixed on '*Idaea*.'"¹

Now I suppose Mr. Lee's general statement, that Spenser's "sentiment (in the *Amoretti*) was largely ideal," is as incapable of disproof as of proof. Even the discovery that Sonnet LXXXI, is identical with one by Francisco de la Torre,² does not in itself prove that Spenser might not have seen fit to include a stolen blossom in his poetical nosegay to "Elizabeth." It seems to be often assumed that a poetizing lover must be either original or no lover. If desire of public praise may tempt an author to deck himself out with a borrowed plume here and there, why may not desire of his lady's praise?

My present contention, however, is not against Mr. Lee's general dictum, safe because indeterminate, but against the particular instance which he alleges in illustration and partial proof. Mr. Lee asserts that Spenser "says in Sonnet LXXXVII., (that) he wrote, like Drayton, with his eyes fixed on '*Idaea*.'" In deference, Spenser says nothing of the kind. Here is the Sonnet:

Since I have lackt the comfort of that light,
The which was wont to lead my thoughts astray;
I wander as in darknesse of the night,
Affrayd of every dangers least dismay.
Ne ought I see, though in the clearest day,
When others gaze upon their shadowes wayne,
But th'onely image of that heavenly ray,
Whereof some glance doth in mine eie remayne.

¹ *A Life of William Shakespeare*. New York and London, 1898, p. 436.

² Fitzmaurice-Kelley, *Spanish Literature*. New York, 1898, p. 186.

Of which beholding the *Idaea*³ playne,
Through contemplation of my purest part,
With light thereof I doe my selfe sustayne,
And thereon feed my love-affamisht hart.

But, with such brightnesse whylest I fill my mind,
I starve my body, and mine eyes doe blynd.

Before enquiry into Spenser's meaning in this sonnet, its context in the sequence should be observed. It is one of three concluding sonnets all dwelling on his melancholy in the absence of his Love. Sonnet LXXXVI begins:

Since I did leave the presence of my Love,
Many long weary dayes I have outworne, etc.

Sonnet LXXXVIII:

Lyke as the culver, on the bared bough,
Sits mourning for the absence of her mate;

So I alone, now left disconsolate,
Mourne to myselfe the absence of my Love, etc.

Certainly these two sonnets, preceding and following, give no internal evidence of a "sentiment . . . largely ideal." In the light of them, what is the meaning of the intermediate sonnet?

Unquestionably Sonnet LXXXVII is written in Spenser's favorite Platonizing vein. The "shadowes wayne" (v. 6) plainly allude to Plato's allegory at the beginning of Book VII of the *Republic*, where he compares objects of sense to the shadows of outer realities seen by cave-dwellers. The sonnet as a whole, then, has a two-fold intention which pervades much, if not most, of the love-lyric of the renaissance. Literally, Spenser means simply to say that in the absence of his Love, he consoles himself with the thought, or idea, of her. This plain meaning, however, is crossed with that Platonic, or more properly Neo-Platonic, doctrine to which Castiglione in the *Cortegiano* (Bk. iv) gave European vogue, and which Spenser himself

³ Both Morris and Grosart print "*Idaea*" thus capitalized. I am at loss to understand why; since, according to Morris himself (Spenser, Globe ed., p. 703), the only edition of the *Amoretti* in Spenser's lifetime, 1595, has "th'*idaea*"; and that of 1611 has "the *idaea*." Hilliard (Boston, 1842) has, correctly as it would seem, "the *idaea*." I am not sure this capitalization, even were it Spenser's, would have any real significance. Nevertheless, it might *prima facie* seem to attach more significance to the word than the plain sense of the Sonnet otherwise would intend.

in the *Four Hymnes* (and elsewhere) develops,—very possibly after Castiglione. According to this doctrine, the sentiment of love is indeed “largely ideal,” but by no means abstract. On the contrary, the renaissance Platonist required his “Idaea” to be incarnated in an individual beautiful woman. (After Bembo and Castiglione, renaissance Platonism mainly concerned itself with one participant of Beauty—lovely woman.) For instance, John Donne, in that eminently Platonizing poem, *The Ecstasy*,⁴ says:

So must pure lovers' souls descend
To affections, and to faculties,
Which sense may reach and apprehend,
Else a great prince in prison lies.

To our bodies turn we then, that so
Weak men on love reveal'd may look;
Love's mysteries in souls do grow,
But yet the body is his book.

A similar idea underlies Spenser's sonnet. While his Love was bodily present with him, her guiding light was, so to speak, duplex, emanating both from body and soul, and feeding both body and soul in him. But now the bodily current cut off, while his soul is sustained by her soul, still present with him in “idaea,” and contemplated by his “purest part,” i. e., the spiritual or intellectual, his body is starved, his eyes, lacking the light of bodily beauty, are blind. This is clear enough, surely;⁵ and it will be observed that the very point of it is missed if we conceive Spenser writing “with his eyes fixed on ‘Idaea,’” that is, on the idea of love rather than on a concrete lovable person.

Of course, Mr. Lee is welcome, if he likes, to regard the concrete lovable person here in question another ‘she’ than Elizabeth, or a fictitious ‘not-impossible-she.’ In any case, the introduction of the word “idaea” has no bearing upon that issue whatsoever; and further, the scepticism seems a little forced. We know that there was a ‘she’ in the case with Spenser just when the Sonnets were

writing; the *G. W. Junr.* of an encomiastic sonnet-introductory refers to “thy lovely Mistressse;” it seems wanton to suppose Spenser on the eve of his marriage to “Elizabeth” in 1594 to be mixing up love-sonnets to her and to another woman; and since he had a “lovely Mistressse” in the flesh, why should he have to invent one in ‘Idaea’? There remains but one alternative; to assume that the sonnet in question was written at an earlier date. But why go out of one's way to assume?

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CURRENT NOTES IN PHONETICS.

A commission appointed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna has attempted to solve the problem of establishing an archive of phonographic records. Its first step was to construct a disc machine on the gramophone pattern. A wax disc is rotated under the point of a speech recorder and the speech vibrations are recorded sidewise. A metal mold made from this disc is used in making impressions in a hard substance. The metal molds are to be kept in a safe place; copies are cast from them as desired. Such a speech machine was added to each of three expeditions sent out by the Vienna Academy, two philological ones to Croatia, Slavonia, and Lesbos and a geological one to Brazil. The plates finally made were fairly successful. The apparatus was found to be unwieldy.

The method used is really that controlled in this country by the patents of the Victor Talking Machine Company of Philadelphia, and in European countries by companies working under their assignments. The machine devised by the Austrian commission is a very cumbersome one in comparison with those used by the expert record-takers. It seems evident from the account that the records were taken by amateurs and not by professional experts; the art of taking perfect records is a difficult one that cannot be successfully learned by everybody. An expert record-taker, however, can make plates of a degree of perfection such as to leave nothing to be desired.

⁴ *ἑκστασις*, in Plotinus's sense; cf. *Enn.* VI., Bk. IX., § 11.

⁵ The second line of the sonnet certainly is not clear. It is quite against Platonist doctrine, and the general context of this sonnet, to conceive the “light” of true, i. e., spiritual, love leading the lover's “thoughts astray,”—especially as he goes on to complain that, lacking that light,—“I wander.”

The quite distorted notions of what is necessary for experimental phonetics are due largely to lack of acquaintance with laboratory methods. Large fields of work can be covered at a small expense, while some single problems require extensive funds.

For a study of tongue-action the first requirement is an artificial palate. This should be of very thin aluminum. It may be obtained by getting a dentist to make one. The gaps from missing teeth should be utilized for small projections that serve as handles to remove the palate. If no gap is present, a small wire can be imbedded in the palate and allowed to project slightly between two teeth. The inner surface is painted with blackboard paint, which takes chalk powder excellently. The amount of work to be done with the artificial palate is unlimited. A careful study of English sounds has not yet been made, and Kingsley's rather schematic palatograms still remain the only ones. The work should be extended to the problems of family and community resemblance, of the changes due to acquiring a foreign language, of the American dialects, etc., etc. Of course, a separate palate is required for each person.

For graphic records of movement a recording drum is required. For most problems the aluminum drum made under the supervision of Professor Porter of the Harvard Medical School is the most profitable investment; it is an excellent apparatus and costs only \$16. The outfit of shellac, tin pan, paper for smoking, etc., will not exceed a dollar.

For tongue and lip action three exploratory bulbs are needed; they are to be obtained from Verdin (Paris). For breath from the nose two glass nasal olives are needed. For breath from the mouth an aluminum mouth piece is readily made. The total cost does not exceed three dollars.

Two registering tambours of the best form will cost twenty dollars. The new form recently devised by Verdin is so far superior to all previous forms that it alone should be purchased.

The preceding equipment is sufficient for a very large amount of valuable investigation and demonstration. Work on speech curves, however, is a much more expensive matter.

For the phonautograph method a rapidly revolving drum of great constancy is required. Even the best phonautographs, however, seriously distort

the curves, and there is no possible test of their accuracy by turning the curve back into sound. For these reasons it would hardly be advisable to invest in one.

The phonograph and gramophone methods may be made of a high grade of accuracy. The sound itself is recorded and may be reproduced as often as desired for verification and further study. Concerning the phonograph tracing equipment I can give no figures. A gramophone equipment would include \$25 for a gramophone, and about \$100 for the machine to trace off the curves. The plates cost one dollar each. The large collections of speech in various forms, languages and dialects made by the gramophone companies in America and Europe furnish unlimited material of the most widely varied kinds. The method is so reliable and the results are so readily obtained that this is probably one of the most profitable equipments for research that could be bought. For demonstration it does not have so much value.

The sum of five hundred dollars, *properly invested*, would fit out a laboratory that in the hands of a well-trained man would be capable of doing excellent work.

The second part of Rousselot's *Principes de phonétique expérimentale* is characterized by the same ingenuity in apparatus methods as was apparent in Rousselot's previous work. The *mouillé* sounds receive the most extended treatment. A discussion of the details of the work must be left for an exhaustive review. Rousselot's work is still confined mainly to the physiology of speech sounds. The book is to be completed in another instalment.

A very interesting *Précis de prononciation française* by Rousselot and Lacleto has just appeared. This is intended as a practical book for foreigners learning the French pronunciation. The pronunciation chosen as standard is that of the cultured Parisian. A brief sketch of the vocal organs is given. Experimental aids for the learner are described; of these the artificial palate and the tambour-indicator are of approved value. The instructions for producing the vowels are illustrated by palatograms, graphic records of tongue movement and pictures of lip positions. The consonants and the combinations of sounds receive a similar

treatment. This first part of the work is as interesting as it is valuable. The second part treats of the orthography of French sounds and of *liaisons*. It ends with reading exercises in phonetic transcription, an appendix, an index of subjects and an index of words. The little book is indispensable to all who care for correct French pronunciation.

It is deeply to be regretted that two utterly different phonetic alphabets should be used by French phoneticians. Both the one used by Gilliéron, Rousselot and others and that used by the *Maître phonétique*, as organ of the *Association phonétique internationale*, are utterly unprintable without having new type cast before a single sentence can be cited. May perdition take both of them and may Heaven send along some one who will employ an alphabet based on common sense and on the possibilities of the printery!

The new international language *Esperanto* has gained popular favor in France. Courses are constantly given in Paris by the Touring Club de France. This language is intended for traveling purposes only.

Bevier has analyzed many curves traced from phonograph records. In one paper ('The vowel a', as in "hat," *Physical Review*, 1902, xiv, 171) he concludes that the American a^e consists of (1) a cord-tone more or less strong according to the amount of reinforcement given to it by the mouth cavity, quite strong below 200 v. d., weak between 250 and 600, and very strong above 600; (2) a cavity tone in the region of 1550 v. d.; (3) a strong cavity tone either around 650 or around 1050, or strong cavity tones at both these regions. In a second paper ('The vowel e,' *Physical Review*, 1902, xiv, 214) states that the open e, as in *pet*, is a composite sound containing (1) the cord-tone, generally strong below 200 v. d.; weak from 200 to 600, and very strong above 600; (2) a characteristic cavity tone in the region of 1800; (3) a strong cavity tone around 620 or around 1050, or two tones at both. A third paper ('The vowel i', as in *pit*, *Physical Review*, 1902, xv, 44) states that the open i consists chiefly of (1) the cord-tone which is strong at 200 v. d. and above 500, but weak from 275 till toward 500; (2) a characteristic

cavity tone at about 1850; (3) a cavity tone at about 575. A fourth paper ('The vowel i, as in *pique*, *Physical Review*, 1902, xv, 271) states that the close i contains (1) the cord-tone; (2) a cavity tone between 1900 v. d. and 2500.

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POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE IN THE VERSE OF TENNYSON AND THEOCRITUS.

A comparative study of the poems of Tennyson and the idyls of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, will show that the verse of Tennyson possesses the same musical qualities that characterize the poems of the Sicilian idyllists. Of course, Theocritus and his two Dorian brother-poets, whether in the original Greek, or in more or less altered translations, have been the delight of many succeeding poets, and, no doubt set the pace for much of the pastoral poetry that has been written since their days. But Tennyson in our own time, seems to have been the first English poet, who has been able not only to reproduce the charm of their pastoral description without borrowing their Sicilian shepherds or nymphs to complete the scene, but also to adapt to English the musical verse-structure, which is so peculiarly a characteristic of their idyllic style.

The distinctive element in the various beauties of verse-structure common to Tennyson and Theocritus is the musical repetition of words, phrases, or clauses, the same construction, often the same words, falling on the ear like the burden of a refrain. A striking illustration of the recurrence of words, and the effect on the ear when read, is Merlin's song in *The Coming of Arthur*. Another instance in point is this passage from *Lancelot and Elaine*,

And "him or death" she murmured, "death or him",
Again and like a burthen, "him or death".

To facilitate comparison between Tennyson and Theocritus, I shall treat the subject of the similarity of the two poets in verse-structure under three heads:—(1) the repetition of words or phrases in

similarly constructed clauses or sentences; (2) the repetition of a phrase or a clause in an inverted order; and (3) the repetition of words or phrases in no regular order.

As example of the first kind might be cited the following passages from the idyls of Theocritus.

The Singers of Pastorals (Theoc. viii, 28-29).

Χοῖ μὲν παῖδες ἄνσαν, ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ἦνθ' ὑπακούσας·
χοῖ μὲν παῖδες αἶδον, ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ἤθελε κρίνειν.

'And the youths indeed shouted to him and the goatherd came, having heard them. And the youths on their part began to sing, and the goatherd was willing to be umpire.'¹

The Shepherd, or the Herdsmen (Theoc. ix, 7-8).

Ἄδῦ μὲν ἁ μόσχος γαρύεται, ἀδῦ δὲ χά βῶς,
ἀδῦ δὲ χά σῦριγξ, χά βοκόλος· ἀδῦ δὲ κήγῶν.

'Sweetly indeed the calf lows, and sweetly, too, does the heifer, and sweetly also the pipe sounds, and the herdsman, and sweetly I, too.'

The Bacchanals (Theoc. xxvi, 15).

Μαίνεται μὲν τ' αὐτά, μαίνοντο δ' ἄρ' εἰθὺ καὶ ἄλλαι.

'Maddened indeed was she, and maddened, I ween, also were the others.'

Thyrsis, or the Lay (Theoc. i, 71-72).

Τῆγον μὲν θῶες, τῆγον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο,
τῆγον χάκ δρυμοῖο λέων ἔκλαυσε θανόντα.

'Him indeed the panthers, him the wolves bewailed. For him, when dead, even the lion from the thicket wept aloud.'

In Tennyson there are many passages which show an identity of structure with those just cited. Let the following few serve as specimens.

The Lotus-Eaters.

"But evermore

Most weary seemed the sea, weary the oar,
Weary the wandering fields of barren foam."

.....

"The Lotus blooms below the barren peak,
The Lotus blows by every winding creek."

¹The translation of the passages of Theocritus, here cited, is from the prose version of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, by the Rev. J. Banks, M. A., in Bohn's Classical Library.

Love and Duty.

"The slow sweet hours that bring us all things good,
The slow sad hours that bring us all things ill."

The Holy Grail.

"This Holy Thing.

Fainter by day, but always in the night
Blood-red, and sliding down the blacken'd marsh
Blood-red, and on the naked mountain top
Blood-red, and in the sleeping mere below
Blood-red."

The Princess

"And call her Ida, tho' I knew her not,
And call her sweet, as if in irony,
And call her hard and cold which seemed a truth."

The second beauty of verse-structure that Tennyson has in common with the Sicilian poets, consists in the repetition of a clause in the manner of these passages from *Oenone*:—

"My eyes are full of tears, my heart of love,
My heart is breaking, and my eyes are dim."

.....
"Aloft the mountain lawn was dewy-dark
And dewy-dark aloft the mountain pine."

The *Choric Song* contains the beautiful line

"Give us long rest or death, dark death or dreamful ease."

As the analogues in structure to these passages may be adduced the following, taken from among others in the Dorian idyls.

The Shepherd, or the Herdsmen (Theoc. ix, 1-2).

Βακολιάσδεο, Δάφνι· τὸ δ' ὥδᾳς ἄρχεο πρᾶτος,
ὥδᾳς ἄρχεο πρᾶτος, ἐφεψάσθω δὲ Μενάλκας.

'Sing a pastoral strain, Daphnis, and do you first begin the song; begin you the song first, and let Menalcas follow after.'

The Bacchanals (Theoc. xxvi, 30).

Αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι.

'But may I be pure and simple and please the pure and simple.'

Epitaph of Adonis (Bion i, 1-2).

Αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν· ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις.

Ὡλετο καλὸς, Ἄδωνις, ἐπαιάζουσιν Ἐρωτες.

'I wail for Adonis; beauteous Adonis is dead. Dead is beauteous Adonis; the Loves join in the wail.'

88-91.

Οὐκ ἔτι δ' Ὑμᾶν,
 Ὑμᾶν οὐκ ἔτ' αἰειδόμενον μέλος, ᾄδεται αἱ αἶ.
 Αἱ αἶ καὶ τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἔτι πλέον, ἢ Ὑμέναιος,
 αἱ Χάριτες κλαίοντι—etc.

'And no more is Hymen, no more Hymen the song that is sung; alas! alas! is chanted: alas! alas! for Adonis wail the Graces, far more than Hymenaeus.'

The third species of verse-structure, very common to both Tennyson and the Sicilian poets, is the frequent repetition of words with a view rather to a strictly musical than any rhetorical effect. It is primarily a lyrical trick, and as such found oftenest in poems of a lyrical character. Tennyson has employed it most happily in the lyrics scattered throughout *The Idylls of the King* and *The Princess*, especially the song of Merlin, *The Swallow Song* and *Tears, Idle Tears*. But even in poems where the narrative element predominates, the singing muse of Tennyson breaks forth in passages like the following:

The Gardener's Daughter.

"But all else of Heaven was pure
 Up to the sun, and May from verge to verge,
 And May with me from head to heel."

The Holy Grail.

"My knight, my love, my knight of heaven,
 O thou my love, whose love is one with mine,
 I maiden, round thee, maiden, bind my belt."

The Princess.

"And come, for love is of the valley, come,
 For love is of the valley, come thou down
 And find him."

The two refrains in *Thyrsis, or the Lay* shows this same repetition, viz:—

"Ἀρχετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰοιδᾶς,
 and

Λήγετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι, ἴτε, λήγετ' αἰοιδᾶς.

This species of repetition is, furthermore, abundant in the exquisite elegies which the Sicilian poets have bequeathed to us. The well-known "Epitaph of Adonis" has furnished the following specimens.

Epitaph of Adonis, 7-8.

Κεῖται καλὸς Ἀδωνις ἐπ' ὄρεσι, μηρὸν ὀδόντι
 λευκῷ λευκὸν ὀδόντι τυπεῖς

'Low lies beauteous Adonis on the mountains, having his white thigh smitten by a tusk, a white tusk.'

37-39.

Αἱ αἶ τὰν Κυθέρειαν, ἀπάλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις.

Ἀχὼ δ' ἀντεβόασεν, ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις.

Κύπριδος αἰνὸν ἔρωτα τίς οὐκ ἔκλανσεν ἄν; αἱ αἶ.

'Alas alas for Cytherea, beauteous Adonis hath perished. And echo cried in response, "Beauteous Adonis hath perished."

Who would not have lamented the dire love of Venus?
 Alas, Alas.'

94.

Καὶ Μοῖσαι τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀνακλαίουσιν Ἀδωνιν.

'The Muses, too, strike up the lament for Adonis, Adonis.'

The beauties of verse-structure here indicated as common to Tennyson and the Dorian poets, may not be so peculiarly Tennysonian as not to be found in other poets. Our own American poet, Poe, has made some of his verse ripple with musical repetitions and the recurrence of melodious sounds. But Poe's repetitions, even when the most musical, have not the delicate finish of those we meet in Tennyson. Poe's music is of a very different sort from Tennyson's as the temperament of Poe differed radically from that of Tennyson. The rhythm in the Sicilian idylls, however, and the repetition of words and clauses that help to make them musical show a great degree of similarity with the rhythm and melody of Tennyson's verse.

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ALLOTRIA III.

Professor Skeat has, on various occasions, laid to rest what he calls "ghost-words." I should like to exorcise one or two more.

1. *prȳdo*, or *Mōdprȳdo*, as a *nominative*, in the discussion of *Beow.* 1931. The manuscript is perfectly plain: *mod prȳdo waz*; the metre also requires a dissyllable, = ˊ ˋ x | ˊ. The leading

investigators of the Beowulf-legend, Müllenhoff and ten Brink,—Sarrazin does not touch upon this point,—speak of a queen *þrýðo*; see Müllenhoff, *Beow. Untersuchungen* 74, 81, etc., ten Brink, *Beow. Untersuchungen* 116, also Suchier, *Beiträge* iv, 500. Holder's Glossary sets up the nominative *þrýðo*, also Heyne, in his list of names, and Wyatt.

What right has any one, may I ask, to so much as dream of a nominative singular *þrýðo* in the English of *Beowulf*? Sievers has given the only correct form *ðrýð* in every edition of his grammar, § 269; whoever may cherish any doubt need only consult Sweet, *OET*. 638 and the texts there cited. Not one instance of *-ðrýðe* except in an oblique case! Whatever may be the correct interpretation of *Beow.* 1931, we shall not arrive at it by starting from an impossible nominative singular, *ðrýðo*.

2. In his earliest paper on the Beowulf myth, *Zs. f. d. A.* vii, 421 note, Müllenhoff attempts to explain the Beanstan of *Beow.* 524 as a giant-name "altn. *bauni* bezeichnet eine art haifisch; vergl. ags. *Hvala*, altn. *Hvala* Sn. 209^b." This view he repeats in his *Beow. Untersuchungen*, p. 2: "der name des Vaters, Beanstan, scheint auf die see und seeungeheuer zu deuten (vgl. altn. *bauni* walfisch)." Müllenhoff's view seems to have enjoyed also the approval of Zupitza. See his review of Holder's ed. of *Beow.*, in the *Deut. Litt. Ztg.*, vi. 489-90: "aber an derselben stelle [*Zs. f. d. A.* vii, 421] hat Müllenhoff doch auch die Möglichkeit einer anderen Erklärung angedeutet, welche weder Bugge noch Krüger der Beachtung gewürdigt haben."

Icelandic *bauni* 'whale' would undoubtedly be a most convenient word for the Beanstan of *Beowulf*. But where is it to be found? I have looked for it in vain in the dictionaries of Vigfusson, Fritzner, Egilsson, Gering, Larsson, and the supplements by Thorkelsson.

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

Dante and the Animal Kingdom, by RICHARD THAYER HOLBROOK, Ph. D. New York: the Columbia University Press, Macmillan Company, agents, 1902. 8vo., pp. xix, 376.¹

¹ Criticisms which appeared in the *Giorn. Stor. d. Lett. It.* and *The Athenæum* after the present review was completed agree with it substantially, and, like the somewhat

A study of Dante's references to the animal world is important, not merely for the understanding of Dante, but for the light it throws on the scientific ideas of the Middle Ages. The most comprehensive work yet published on the subject is Dr. Holbrook's, which is handsomely and accurately printed, with a number of appropriate illustrations. Like other books bearing the imprint of the Columbia University Press, it shows that the results of a scientific investigation can be presented in readable form. Yet we cannot help feeling that in striving to be rigidly scholarly and at the same time avoid heaviness and dryness, Dr. Holbrook has not seldom fallen between two stools. Much of his material, indispensable if the work is to appeal to specialists, can be understood by no one else; while on the other hand, important assertions are made with no reference to authority, or with such references as: "one Italian asserts" (p. 96); "some one has suggested" (p. 99). Moreover, the serious student does not find fulfilled the promise that "an adequate bibliography will be found in the notes." Many quotations are given at second-hand,—"Villani cited by Toynbee," "Gelli quoted by Vernon," or without any indication as to whether the sources have been consulted or not. One looks in vain for any statement about the editions of various often-quoted mediæval writers, such as Boccaccio, who is cited in two ways; as, "nov. 98, 36," and, "g. 7, f. 2;" some search has failed either to identify these references, or to discover why two systems are used. Even full references are not always to the standard editions; for instance, the *Bestiary* of Guillaume le Clerc is cited in the edition of Hippeau, 1852, not that of Reinsch, 1892. Many important authorities are not cited at all. Obviously, wide and thorough knowledge of mediæval literature and of modern critical works is required for the successful investigation of this subject; it is not enough merely to look up references. Dr. Holbrook has evidently worked diligently; but he betrays superficiality, without suspecting it, when he mentions as a noteworthy exception something that is a commonplace of mediæval lore. On the whale, for instance, he has this to say (p. 204):

more favorable reviews in *The Nation* and elsewhere, add considerably to the list of mistakes here given.

K. McK.

"He is not regularly a part of the fabulous lore of those times; yet Brunetto Latini tells a tale which smacks so strongly of folklore that it can reasonably be thought to represent an opinion current in Dante's time." The tale is the familiar one of sailors who take the whale's back for an island; Dr. Holbrook apparently overlooked it even in Guillaume le Clerc (ed. Reinsch, 2203 ff.). On the authority of Lauchert, he states that Guido delle Colonne and Messer Polo compare their mistresses to the panther; but he does not appear to have read their poems, nor the sonnet of Chiaro Davanzati, "Sicome la Pantera per alore," nor indeed any of the Italian lyric poetry prior to Dante. This is a serious omission, for it is well known that this poetry abounds in comparisons drawn from the animal world. In some cases an apparent lack of information is no doubt due to carelessness of statement, as when St. Ambrose is made to *follow* Isidor (p. 67); and in this: "According to the Gospel of St. Mark Jesus wrought miraculous cures" (p. 39). In regard to Dante's sources, Dr. Holbrook does not offer much that is new except in bringing together and classifying the material. Apparently he might have given credit even oftener than he does to works like those of Toynbee, Moore, and Tozer. One misses an introductory chapter which should give a connected account of the books used by Dante as scientific authorities. There should be an index showing in textual order the passages commented on. A knowledge of Italian is not assumed, for quotations are given in English, though usually accompanied by the original text. It would have been better to use more frequently the translations of Longfellow and Norton; Dr. Holbrook prefers the highly poetical translation of Parsons, and has corrected some of the mistakes in it; he should have corrected also "shakes the road" (p. 59), for *move cìd ch'ei tocca*, and "empyrean" (p. 261), where the sphere of fire is meant. Occasionally he gives his own translation, and then is not always correct, as in rendering *tempo* by "hour" instead of "season" (p. 9), and *gaietta* by "pretty" instead of "spotted" (p. 90—cf. *Arch. Glott.* xv, 286). "That most bland Boccaccio" (p. 99), is his rendering of Benvenuto's *suavissimus*. He gives few etymologies; his theory for *nibbio* (popular confusion of *milvus* and *nebula*, "for the kite flies

near the clouds," p. 254) seems to be due to Körting's dubious suggestion. "The fourth bolgia of Hell" (p. 96), should read: "the fourth bolgia of the eighth circle of Hell." The *Anonimo Fiorentino*, correctly cited on p. 206, is on p. 154 mistaken for the Italian version of Bambaglioli, ed. Vernon, 1848. On p. 312 the statement about Philomela is exactly the opposite of what was evidently meant.

Arranged roughly on a zoölogical basis, the book takes up Man, the Angels, the Devils, and then sixty or more beasts, birds, and fishes. For the inclusion of men and devils among animals there is of course warrant in Dante's own words; yet some readers might cavil at the separate treatment of all the demons in the *Inferno*. Dr. Holbrook does not decide between Pluto and Plutus as the source of Dante's Pluto,—“a devil whose shape is monstrous, but as impossible to define as his uncouth language” (p. 51). Nevertheless, he gives a new suggestion for interpreting the verse *Inf.* vii, 1. *Pape* is an exclamation of surprise, *Satan* the devil's name, and *aleppe* the Hebrew *aleph*,—so say many commentators. Dr. Holbrook, recalling that Christ is sometimes called after the first letter of the alphabet, suggests that Pluto merely used this symbol of Christ's name in blasphemy, which “would be natural in a demon. All the infernal functionaries could hardly fail to gather many oaths from the cosmopolitan throng of sinners.” Surely, of all the unsatisfactory interpretations that have been offered, none is more grotesquely impossible than this. Geryon's function in Hell “is a puzzle which Dante leaves to an already strained imagination,” (p. 66); yet in the similar case of Phlegyas, Dr. Holbrook makes a doubtful statement (p. 53), on the authority of Tozer (he might have added Scartazzini). On the whole, however, the easily available researches of others made this part of the book, some seventy-five pages, comparatively plain sailing. Chapter v, a general introduction to all that follows, is entitled “The Lower Animals.” Later, Dr. Holbrook sarcastically condemns his own word “lower” as applied to animals (p. 157). He cannot make Dante responsible for the use of “bestial” or “inhuman” to characterize a wrong or unnatural condition in man; but he reprimands him for following it, saying that it “scarcely

betokens profound knowledge of man's nature or of that of the beasts" (p. 81). Even in its context, this is amusing: "Once, at least, Dante seems to have hit upon the truth" (p. 82). Evidently, "the adulation engendered in small minds by Dante's greatness" (p. 98) is not going to lead Dr. Holbrook astray, and we finish chapter v with misgivings as to the treatment Dante is to receive in the rest of the book; and, indeed, he is made out, not so much a Homer who nods, as a Rip van Winkle who is occasionally awakened from his intellectual sleep by a flash of "heresy." To be sure, Dr. Holbrook declares that there is an abyss between the poet and the dogmatist in Dante; but he is not consistent in carrying out the distinction, which is in any case an impossible one. We can imagine saying to him, innocently: "That man looks like a ghost;" and being met with: "You poor deluded fool, do you believe in ghosts?" This is the treatment to which he constantly subjects Dante, who after all was not writing a text-book of natural science, but was treating his conception of the universe under the form of a poetical allegory. Dr. Holbrook has not quite decided whether to tell us about animals or about Dante, whose mind is certainly worth studying for its own sake, and also as a type. Of course, in his scientific statements, Dante did exactly as we do,—followed the best available authorities. It does not seem particularly important to point out every one of his scientific mistakes, yet even this might have been done without a show of patronizing contempt. Dr. Holbrook's real ability in hitting upon striking phrases is often perverted by a desire to be startling or picturesque. What shall we say of this, for instance?—"the artist's unwitting dismissal of his dogma as to the fishes' intelligence must delight all who have a mind" (p. 217). The inference is that Dante had none, except perhaps "unwittingly;" but as a matter of fact, in this particular case there is no sufficient ground for saying that the dogma is dismissed. Dr. Holbrook adopts a particularly flippant tone when speaking of the Bible; although he is not familiar enough with it to avoid the blunder of saying "straight and narrow path" (p. 85). He speaks of "lions stricken with lockjaw for the benefit of Daniel;" "the nightmare of the Apocalypse;" he enforces his opinion in and out

of season that the stories of the Bible are legends. "Anthropocentric" is the most crushingly scornful word in his vocabulary. Now this irrelevant though obtrusive feature of the book would not call for special notice if it did not seem to show a lamentable lack of sympathy between the author and his subject,—a lack which is by no means the necessary consequence of a difference of theological views. It may be said that enough unintelligent praise has been lavished on Dante; but why take delight in going to the other extreme? We would not deny that Dr. Holbrook's book shows an earnest purpose, and is worthy of being taken seriously. In matters of detail it is often interesting and instructive. But much of it is vitiated by an unfortunate attitude of mind; and in a student of Dante surely the least pardonable of all faults is flippancy.

The first individual animal treated is the monkey, whom Dante and his contemporaries regard as "a kind of imitative caricature of man" (p. 85). It is not easy to see why Dr. Holbrook says that "by chance" the Sardinian words quoted in the *De V. E.*, I, XI are the same as Latin words; Dante chose them for that very reason. The next chapters discuss the three beasts of *Inf.* I. Of these only the *lonza* offers special difficulty. This word has usually been translated panther or leopard; Dante had in mind the *pardus* of *Jeremiah*, v, 6. Dr. Holbrook translates *lonza* by "ounce," as only Butler has done before him; "panther," as he says, is not correct, for this animal had in the Middle Ages distinct traditional characteristics; these names are, in fact, "hardly more than mere words about which have clustered various legends." There seems to be little use, then, in insisting on the translation "ounce;" Dante undoubtedly chose the word *lonza* for the alliteration, and because it corresponded to *pardus* better than *lince* would have done; yet the typical quality of the lynx, envy, is without doubt the allegorical significance of the *lonza* of Dante. Dr. Holbrook is not clear on this point; he seems to think that the *lonza* cannot symbolize envy, since the wolf stands for envious greed. But he ascribes too much to the wolf, which symbolizes greed merely, while the lion is pride. Unfortunately, he has missed the one discussion concerning the three beasts that he ought to have used,—D'Ovidio's, in his *Studi*

sulla Div. Com., 1901; it would have settled for him some of the questions that he has left unsolved. The lion in Dante offers no difficulty. Dr. Holbrook points out that Dante did not know how lions attack their prey; but from seeing them in cages he could hardly be expected to know this. On the other hand, he might easily have known how Sordello looked, though Dr. Holbrook regards this as unlikely. Except for the absurd sentence that concludes it (p. 108), the chapter on the lion is good, and so is also the following one, on the wolf. Yet both here, and in speaking of the dog, Dr. Holbrook implies that the "excessive" use of allegory shows ignorance of natural facts,—a conclusion that does not follow. Dante shows no familiarity with the fox as hero of the beast-epic, but treats him as the symbol of fraud, as Cicero and others had done before. Dr. Holbrook's explanation of *Purg.*, xiv, 54 (p. 128), which he appears to think new, is given by Fraticelli. On the mouse nothing new is offered, except perhaps the idea that Dante's scene of the quarreling demons in *Inf.* xxii was suggested to him by the Æsopic fable; but this is hardly consistent with the statement that the description bears only a superficial similarity to the fable. In the Latin fable quoted (pp. 138-9), Dr. Holbrook has misunderstood *opem*, which here means aid, rather than treasure. In the chapter on the mole he makes the surprising admission (for him) that "Dante seems usually to have kept pace with science." But it is to be noted that this alleged scientific discovery of Dante's depends on an interpretation of *Purg.*, xvii, 3, which is not certain. At times Dr. Holbrook is enthusiastic over Dante's power of describing what he has seen; but he berates him for "humanising" the bear by comparing him to a pope, and for believing the story of Elisha, which is of course not zoölogy but literature, whether it be believed or not. At the beginning he states that "Dante derived his knowledge of the animal kingdom largely from his own observation" (p. 6); but he hardly bears out this statement in the rest of the work. Indeed, it does not seem to us that he has consistently or correctly drawn the distinction between Dante's conventional treatment of nature and his observation; Professor Kuhns has drawn it better in his less pretentious book; and Dante's distinction

between fact and fiction in historical matters is clearly brought out by Professor Grandgent in his *Dante and St. Paul, in Romania*, xxxi.

Dr. Holbrook is at his best in the chapters on birds. On fowling and falconry in particular he gives much useful information and interesting comment; for instance, he points out that *rotto, Inf.* xxii, 132, which has usually been misunderstood, is used with the meaning "ruffled" in an old Italian bird-book. He believes that "if any phase of animal existence is portrayed by Dante in a masterly way, it is to be found in his pictures of hawks;" and this is no doubt the reason why he here treats Dante more sympathetically than elsewhere. Falconry was accounted the noblest of sports in the Middle Ages, and, like other kinds of hunting, had an important literature. Dr. Holbrook might have found additional information in the articles on hunting-books by Werth, *Zeitschrift f. R. P.*, vols. xii and xiii. His note (p. 237): "Lacroix fails to give the page," makes one wonder whether he had access to the Book of King Modus and Queen Racio, either in an old edition or in that of Blaze (1839). However, the quotations from this book, and from those of Frederick II and of Albertus Magnus (whom he refers to under a confusing variety of names), are interesting. After birds come reptiles and insects. On p. 340 Dr. Holbrook points out a parallel, which he promises to discuss elsewhere, between *Inf.* vi, 22-24 and one of the Penitential Psalms (Oxford *Dante*, p. 193). Finally comes a short chapter of general conclusions.

The reviewer hopes to have made evident by these criticisms, which could be largely extended, that the book cannot be unreservedly either praised or blamed. The aim "to set forth Dante's whole philosophy of the animal kingdom" is accomplished in so far as every pertinent passage in Dante's works is discussed; many of the general conclusions are sound, although some problems are left unsolved. But, after beginning bravely with the purpose of looking at the world from Dante's point of view, Dr. Holbrook proves unable to follow consistently this only rational method of treating the subject. He not only never forgets the present, but is entirely out of sympathy with the scientific and philosophical ideas of Dante's age, showing no interest in them for their own

sake. Furthermore, though it will be useful to students, the book leaves much to be desired in scholarly thoroughness and accuracy, and also, occasionally, in good taste. Having approached with the most favorable expectations the unsought task of judging it, the reviewer confesses that he has been in turn gratified, surprised, and irritated to a degree that makes the task complex and far from easy.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Der Traum, ein Leben, dramatisches Märchen in vier Aufzügen von FRANZ GRILLPARZER, edited by EDWARD STOCKTON MEYER, Western Reserve University; Boston, Heath & Co., 1902.

It would be interesting to trace out the distribution over the field of German literature of the multitude of annotated texts that have appeared in America since the study of the modern languages began to vie with that of the classics. Such an investigation would show a strange jumble of works, big and little, of apparently haphazard selection, aside from the inevitable group Lessing-Goethe-Schiller. To anyone who looked at the list from the systematic point of view, as a literary historian, it would appear equally puzzling for its strange sins of omission and for its astonishing sins of commission. Under the former head, the long neglect of Grillparzer would be one of the most surprising phenomena. But the day of Grillparzer as a school classic has come at last. In 1899, Professor Ferrell presented his edition of *Sappho*; now Professor Meyer gives us *Der Traum, ein Leben*; and there are rumors of more than one imminent edition of *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, which, perhaps, deserved the first place instead of the third.

The edition of *Der Traum, ein Leben* has many excellent qualities that are none too common, and the combination of which is quite rare. It shows an intimate acquaintance with the personality and the works of the author, and familiarity with the literature on the subject. It reveals literary sense, and warm sympathy with the work studied and with its author. It is intelligent, and quite free

from prolixity and overediting. The adverse criticisms that may be suggested are due largely to the fact that this edition has the defects of its qualities.

The brief Introduction, covering only 33 pages, gives a rapid review of Grillparzer's life, work, and character, and studies the play itself, mainly from the point of view of dynamic criticism, with particular reference to autobiographical and literary influences. The sources are given quite fully, with some new material—new, at least, to the reviewer; this part of the study is so detailed that it does not appear why a few minor sources are left unnoticed, for example, some of those that Professor R. M. Meyer mentions in his interesting article in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, v, 430 f.

The brevity of the Introduction is a virtue; but in some instances it involves a conciseness that, considering the readers for whom the book is intended, amounts to obscurity. The student will be puzzled to know why Grillparzer compared Schreyvogel to Lessing (p. viii), and what it means to write an autobiography "in accordance with the statutes of the Academy of Science" (p. xv). The comparison of *Sappho* with *Tasso*, and of *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* with *Iphigenie*, calls for explanation (p. xvii), and it should be stated where Sudermann's *Salome* is to be found. Here, too, some space could profitably be given to the history of plays of the Raimund type on the Viennese stage, and also of the opera, which is so important a source of certain elements in *Der Traum, ein Leben*. On p. xxi, the phrase "artist *par excellence*" should be carefully explained; as it stands, it is quite misleading, if it suggests anything at all definite to the student; so, too, with the "broad rhetoric" of Calderon and Schiller and the "exquisite art" of Lope and Goethe, and the "unique style" of Grillparzer (p. xxii). In this connection, a few details may be referred to that appear inexact or misleading. The antithesis of the "broad German farcical comedy" and the "fine French comedy" (p. xiv) is hardly fair. Corneille is certainly not a good example of the "predominance of the love element" (p. xvii), and if Schiller's "lines" were narrower than Grillparzer's (p. xviii—it should be explained how), the impression ought not to be given that Schiller did not care for "ideal eternal types and

the inner world." It is hardly correct to say that Goethe reached "the self-same solution" as Grillparzer (p. xx); their conceptions of "resignation" were of course vitally different. The characterization of the dramatis personæ (p. xxxi f.) is so brief that it does not differentiate clearly enough between the characters as they are primarily conceived by the poet and as they become in the fancy of the dreaming hero, and yet this transformation is one of the subtlest and most successful artistic effects of the play, to which the student should have his attention called quite explicitly. It might be noted here (p. xxxii) that old Caleb's name as well as his personality is reminiscential; it is the name of the hunter whom Mirza sees returning home in the first scene.

At the end of the Introduction, there is a somewhat confusing interblending of technical analysis and interpretation. This part has suffered most from the editor's self-limitation. It is hardly fair, perhaps, to demand a complete critical analysis in the introduction to a school edition, and such an analysis might even, in certain respects, be unpedagogical. But the question of style once being introduced, the subject should perhaps have been treated with some fulness—with reference, for example, to the diction, the lyric and descriptive elements, the comparative lack of dramatic shading, and the general qualities of style; an interesting detail—especially in comparison with Goethe's *Faust*—is the lack of humor. Then there are other technical questions about as important as that of the dramatic structure (in which connection *anti-climax* as a technical term is unfamiliar to the reviewer). The metrical and rhythmical quality of the work might well have been analyzed, for in this respect Grillparzer's art is peculiarly capricious and uncertain. The rhyme, with its curious distribution, often apparently accidental or negligent, is especially interesting; about forty per cent of all the lines are rhymed, and it would be interesting to compare the number and distribution of these lines with the rhymes of the *Ahnfrau*, and to contrast with them the dramas in pentameters. So far as the structure of the drama is concerned, a reference to the romantic device of the play within the play, particularly to Tieck's use of it, would be in order; the dream play is a specialized form of this device.

The sympathetic enthusiasm of the editor is another virtue that tends somewhat to excess, in a certain quality of exaggeration that pervades some of the critical judgments. Thus *Der arme Spielmann* is called "a remarkable story," and "one of the most pathetic in the world's literature," and again "one of the most perfect and pathetic tales in all literature." It is a good deal to say that "there is no more exquisite art in all dramatic literature" than that of *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, and at least it should be noted that the most exquisite art of this drama is rather lyric than dramatic. It would be pertinent, by the way, in connection with this love tragedy, to note the pallor of the love element in *Der Traum, ein Leben*. Again, the figure of the heroine in *Die Jüdin von Toledo* is called "perfect of its kind," *Libussa* "a wonderful play," with "superb symbolism," and Mirza is designated as "wonderful." So, in the note to l. 1857, the scene of the two wine-cups receives excessive praise as "a wonderful presentation of the awful delirium of a fearful dream." It may seem pedantic to touch upon this point at all, as it is largely a matter of temperament; but a pedagogical principle is involved, for quite apart from the bias of such expressions, they are usually so general that they tend to confuse rather than to clarify the student's critical perception.

The Notes also give evidence of the editor's self-restraint, limited as they are in general to the absolutely essential. Here again the lines are perhaps drawn a little too closely, but it is certainly far better to err on this side than to follow the convenient dictionary and interlinear method. The subtle art of the double action is well elucidated in succinct explanatory notes. The real difficulties of the text are cleared up quite sufficiently, in the main; but there remain a few constructions puzzling to the student that might be explained, as l. 310, 695 f., 1076 f., 1252 f., 1670, 2248 f., 2420 f. The following remarks and emendations suggest themselves: l. 93, *foreshadows* is preferable to *presages* as a technical term, and l. 242, *figure* better than *picture*.—l. 262 is a direct quotation from Psalms xxxvii, 3.—l. 275, *Heldenbrauch* would better be translated "the way of heroes."—l. 283 f. seems like a distinct reminiscence of Goethe's *Faust*.—l. 361, *da drin* might be interpreted.—l. 438, the elusive *eins* would be better

rendered by an interrogatory form, as "Who will explain?"—l. 1169, of rather than *from*.—l. 1447, the *halbverschossenen Knochen* certainly refer to Rustan's own bones, if he gained his preferment by honest promotion from the ranks and ended his life as a shattered *invalide*.—l. 1817*, whose conscience stings? Certainly not that of the murdered man whom the adder is biting.—l. 1842 f., reminiscence of Voss' familiar poem *Die Spinnerin: Bald schnurrt das Rädchen, Bald läuft das Fädchen*. Is not this a Volkslied motif?—l. 2263 f., cf. ll. 1265, 1268.—l. 2289, it should be said, perhaps, that the motif of a mute breaking into speech is very old, at least as old as Herodotus. Other details in this scene seem to point directly to *Titus Andronicus*. The student will not gather, from the title *Die Stumme von Portici*, that Auber was a French composer.—l. 2399 is proverbial.—l. 2721, worship of the sun is not Islamitic, but Zoroastrian.

The proof-reading of the volume is exceptionally good. Only one error was noted in the text itself:—l. 1884 should not be indented. Other misprints occur as follows: p. xxiii, *Commedia*; p. xxvi, *Melusina*, and l. 5 from below, *is told*; p. xxviii, *presentiment*, *Barmeciden*. In the Notes, to l. 31, *iezuo*; to l. 1169, should read 1168; to l. 2657, fill in page. The style is occasionally somewhat careless, and a book for students ought to be faultless in this matter; so p. xiii, *with whom he had no sympathy in Berlin*; also *to correspond* (and by the way, why should Goethe be called "the old seer?"); p. xix, *rise . . . to queen*; p. xxvii, *pawning to an Armenian the diamond*; p. xxviii, *trick to leave*; p. xxxii, *Old Kaleb is from the Derwisch*.

A good piece of work or an important drama has a right to be criticized closely; but let the last word of the critic be one of general appreciation of a piece of work that is well done.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

The Treatment of Nature in German Literature from Günther to the appearance of Goethe's Werther, by MAX BATT. Diss. Chicago, 1902.

The Treatment of Nature in the Works of Nikolaus Lenau, by CAMILLO VON KLENZE. Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1902. Vol. 7.

These two contributions to the rapidly growing literature on the treatment of nature by the poets and prose writers of different epochs evidently owe their inspiration to Alfred Biese's stimulating work: *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1888) in which he gives a continuation of his treatment of the same subject among the Greeks and Romans.¹ In spite of the evident mastery of the subject and the brilliancy of the style, one feels at times the sketchiness of the treatment in Biese's work due to the attempt to cover so tremendous a field in the compass of one volume. There is ample room for detailed studies of individual writers or epochs to fill out the outlines given by Biese. It is evidently with this idea in mind that the monographs of Batt and von Klenze were written.

Unfortunately in the case of the former, the epoch chosen was too long to admit of being satisfactorily treated within the limits of a dissertation, and although the author probably started with the idea of making good the deficiencies which are especially apparent in the sections of Biese's book dealing with the first half of the eighteenth century, he has given us a treatment which is on the whole scarcely more detailed than that of Biese. This is especially true of the earlier poets Brockes and Haller, but also of Gessner, Cramer and Klopstock. The writers of the Anacreontic school and the poets of the Hainbund on the other hand receive a longer treatment, although one misses among the former the name of Cronegk and among the latter Boie, both of whom Biese mentions.

As Batt carefully avoids repeating the examples and the opinions of Biese, his dissertation deserves the credit of being considered an independent study and will form a useful supplement to the corresponding chapter in Biese. It has the advantage of greater clearness of arrangement, since each poet is treated of under a separate rubric. The question may, however, be properly asked, whether Batt would not have done better if he had

¹ *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen und Römern*, Kiel, 1882.

confined himself to one school, say to the poets of the Hainbund, and had furnished us with a really detailed treatment of the subject. The histories of literature are full of generalities upon the attitude of the various poets towards nature. What we want is detailed work, the collection of statistics, as it were, upon which to base an accurate judgment.

When one compares Batt's treatment with that of Biese one can not say that he has thrown any new light upon the attitude of the poets in question to nature. In fact one is strongly tempted to apply to the author the same words with which he so severely criticized the study of A. B. Cooke: *On the Development of the Nature-Sense in the German Lyric*.² After such remarks which we can not quote here for lack of space, but to which we would refer the reader, it was, to say the least, very ungenerous on Batt's part to omit in his bibliography, which apparently tries to be exhaustive, any mention of Cooke's essay.

In dealing with Albrecht von Haller, Batt has hardly done justice to the poet's descriptions of nature. They are to be sure rather labored, but at the same time not devoid of considerable feeling and power. Scherer says of *Die Alpen*: 'Natur- und Menschenschilderung voll Wahrheit und Sprachgewalt,' and this well expresses the general opinion. Because of his religious struggles it was only natural that Haller should have been attracted by the more primitive, and as he thought, purer life of the Swiss peasants and that he should devote a large portion of his poem to them. At the same time nature is not quite so completely forgotten as Batt would have us think. The poem in question, which consists of four hundred and eighty lines, contains a passage of one hundred and thirty lines devoted entirely to the description of the scenery without any mention of the inhabitants. The phraseology is to be sure somewhat conventional and the introduction of mythological names distasteful to us, but this was a heritage of the seventeenth century, which poetry was only then beginning to throw off. Haller was fond of commencing his didactic poems with a description of nature and in some of his minor poems, such as *Doris*, he has succeeded very well in describing the gradual approach of evening.

² *Modern Language Notes*, Dec. 1901 (col. 487-490).

Ramler, although a poet better known for his correctness of form than for poetic inspiration, deserves more than the passing allusion to his praise of skating, which Batt gives. His poem *Sehnsucht nach dem Winter* breathes a genuine love of nature and shows real appreciation of the beauties of a wintry landscape.

In the treatment of Werther one looks in vain for any mention of the name of Klopstock, whose influence Goethe himself clearly indicates in the scene at the dance, where both Lotte and Werther are reminded of a "glorious ode" of Klopstock by the sight of a thunderstorm.

On page 44 the author expresses surprise that in the case of both Klopstock and Thomson "the earlier works, the Odes and the Seasons, show genuine love of nature; the later ones, the dramas, contain but few scattered and rather unimportant references to nature; while their letters of this later period still bear witness to a love of nature as real if not as active, as that of their youth." There is, however, little surprising in this and the observation would hold equally true of any other writers whose dramas and lyrics we might choose to compare. The reason lies in the nature of the case and is due to the fact that the rapid dialogue of a drama gives but little opportunity for description of nature. We can not, therefore, conclude from an absence of such descriptions as to the poet's attitude towards nature. In the case of Klopstock, the love of nature evinced by his letters is fully borne out by his dramas in which he eagerly seizes every opportunity, where lyric passages occur (for example, in the *Hermanns Schlacht*) to introduce such references.

In the title of one of Stolberg's poems mentioned on page 59 a misprint occurs. It should read: *An die Weende bei (not von) Göttingen*, the *Weende* being a little brook which runs through the village of the same name, where according to one theory the poets of the Hainbund held their moonlight revelries.

In the third chapter Batt treats of the love of nature as evinced by the letters of the eighteenth century. It is from the letters of a man that one obtains best an insight into his character and real feelings, as he is then off his guard and is not writing for publication. Such documents, therefore, form invaluable pieces of evidence, by which to judge of the sincerity of the love of nature ex-

pressed in his poems. On this very account it would have been better I think to have incorporated the results of the study of the letters of a given author into the section treating of his poetic works, especially as few are mentioned in the chapter on letters, who were not treated of before, so that it is to some extent a repetition of the foregoing.

This does not however apply to the fourth chapter, on the treatment of nature in contemporary books of travel, for very few names are here duplicated. This chapter is in my opinion the most valuable part of the dissertation, as it deals with a part of the subject never treated before. The results are however rather negative, the works on travel containing on the whole but few descriptions of natural scenery. This is undoubtedly due to the fact, which Biese has pointed out, that the fatigues and dangers of travel over the wretched roads often infested with highwaymen were such as to prevent the average traveller from seeing anything beautiful in the districts through which he passed.

The second monograph on the treatment of nature in Nikolaus Lenau, by Professor von Klenze is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of this interesting poet. The author has done, what Batt should have done, given us a detailed study of one man and by collecting instances has analyzed Lenau's treatment of nature, showing what features of it he most appreciated and what he was fondest of choosing in forming his images. The selection of Lenau was a happy one, as few poets have possessed such a genuine love of nature or felt the necessity of constant communion with her as did he. Lenau's rather eccentric and morbid nature would lead us to expect a predilection for the melancholy aspects of nature and this is fully borne out by von Klenze's investigation. Descriptions of bright, sunny landscapes, of the joys of early morning occur but seldom. He is fondest of describing the approach of evening and the subtle charm of moonlight. The dreary and monotonous stretches of heath with which he was so familiar, appeal to him strongly, and although he seems to appreciate the beauties of the spring, as many poems show, he likes best to depict the coming of autumn, the leaves falling one by one and the wind rustling through the withered foliage.

As von Klenze has pointed out, Lenau was a great admirer of the grandeur and majesty of mountain scenery. He became so enamored of the Alps that he determined to visit them at least once a year. Also in the case of the sea it was its vastness and sublimity in a storm which fascinated him. Too much stress however is, in my opinion, laid upon these aspects of nature. On page 29, Richard Meyer is severely scored for his bad *blunder* in saying that Lenau was no admirer of an imposing landscape. Undoubtedly Meyer has committed a blunder here, as von Klenze's examples clearly show, and yet he is not so entirely wrong. The impression that one carries away from the perusal of Lenau's poems is that he is fondest of describing some quiet, idyllic spot in the woods where the nightingales sing or where a murmuring brook flows between meadows, shaded by overhanging willow trees. In spite of his enthusiasm for the Alps he seems most at home in the gentler scenes of nature.

Von Klenze denies to Lenau an appreciation of valleys and yet he is forced to acknowledge the genuineness of the outburst, when the poet exclaims:

Du heimatliches Tal,
Mir wird so wohl und wehe,
Dass ich dich nun einmal,
Ersehntes! wiedersehe.

It is true that the word for valley does not occur as frequently as that of mountain, but that is because mountains are a much more striking feature of the landscape than valleys. When standing in the valley the imposing character of the mountains impresses us forcibly and we naturally mention them by name, but when describing the aspects of nature in a valley, it is the individual features of the landscape, which are spoken of by name and not the valley itself. Many passages might be cited which testify to Lenau's love for valleys. In *Glauben, Wissen, Handeln* the poet turns from the purple glow of the mountains and exclaims:

Sei willkommen
O Dunkelheit, im ersten Eichental!

Again, when in his exquisite poem, *Einst und Jetzt*, he longs for the spot where he was so happy as a boy, it is a valley that he so yearns to see:

Möchte wieder in die Gegend,
 Wo ich einst so selig war,
 Wo ich lebte, wo ich träumte
 Meiner Jugend schönstes Jahr!

 Endlich ward mir nun beschieden
 Wiederkehr in's traute Tal.

In *Frühling, Neid der Sehnsucht, Lenz* and a great number of other poems the landscape described is clearly that of a valley, although the fact is not always specifically mentioned.

The claim is also made that Lenau had no appreciation of trees. This is perhaps true of the tree as an individual. The word *Baum* occurs seldom and but few species of trees are mentioned.³ Many people however are more susceptible to the beauty of trees when united to a grove or a forest than when standing alone. Such is the case with Lenau. It would be strange indeed if the poet who as a boy passed whole days in the forests of his native land hunting for birds, should not have acquired a deep love for the manifold charms of the woods. This side of Lenau's nature von Klenze has scarcely touched upon and yet no words descriptive of nature occur more frequently than *Wald* and *Hain*, much more frequently, for example, than *Berg* or *Meer*. So numerous are the instances that it is difficult to tell which to select. In *Herbstgefühl* he exclaims:

Wo sind Wälder eure Wonnen?

In the *Indianerzug* he describes how the Indians fire their guns:

Zum Scheidegruss den trauten Waldesräumen.

In spite of his love for the sea, which von Klenze especially emphasizes, we see him consumed with longing for the woods when on the dreary waste of waters. Eagerly he inquires of the wind:

Wie geht es meinen Wäldern
 Am frischen Neckarfluss?

Again when at sea he thinks of his fatherland so far away and listening intently, he exclaims joyfully:

Da wird so heimisch mir zu Mut,
 Als hörte ich was von dir.
 Mir ist, ich hör' im Winde gehn
 Dein heilig Eichenlaub
 Wo die Gedanken still verwehn
 Den süßsen Stundenraub.

³To those given by v. Klenze, *Buchen* and *Linden* might be added.

In *Wiederschen* he claims to know every tree of his native valley and in another poem written in the *Stammbuch einer Künstlerin* the wood rustles its greeting and he turns from the lofty paths of life to the secret and the solitude of the forest. Most of all, however, his beautiful *Waldlieder* give evidence of his love of the woods and of the healing influence they exerted on his overwrought mind.

Apart from these minor points of difference, I fully agree with the conclusions at which von Klenze has arrived. The arrangement of the monograph is exceedingly good and the introductory chapter gives evidence of extensive and accurate knowledge of the poets of nature. Exception might be taken to the use of the word *vivification* as a translation of *Beseelung*, in which the author has followed Professor Morton of the Indiana University. The word *personification* has always been used in English to express the ascribing of life to inanimate objects, and in fact it is used by Biese twice as synonymous with *Beseelung*.

It is to be hoped that other studies of a similar nature will be added to this really excellent monograph on Lenau.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Fable LX of Warnke's edition of the fables of Marie de France¹ lines 17 and 18 are given as follows:

cnrrent après tuit li pastur;
 li chien li huënt tut en tur.

That is, *huënt* is made intransitive, the predicate of *chien*.

There are twenty manuscripts containing this fable, and nineteen use the word *chiens*, the twentieth having a different reading. Of these nineteen, not one gives the reading *chien*, in the nominative case; the oblique case, *chiens*, occurs in every one. As to the article, sixteen manuscripts have the oblique *les* (*lez*), one has *li*, one *lor*, and

¹*Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, hrsg. von Karl Warnke. Halle, 1898. See p. 199.

one *des*. It seems to me, then, that these lines should read as follows:

curent apres tuit li pastur,
les chiens li huënt tut en tur.

That is, I would make *chiens* the direct object of *huënt*, and *huënt* the predicate of *pastur*.

This reading is supported by line 48 of Fable XCIII,² which in Warnke's edition reads

de tutes parz les chiens huèrent,

the subject of the verb referring to *li pastur* in line 44.

Further, we have two examples from the *Roman de Renart*:

Et li a hué deus mastins (Méon, 4631).³
S'il me huoit ses trois gainnons (Martin, ix, 1921).⁴

Referring to the Latin versions of this fable, we find that of four versions given by Hervieux, (Phèdre, 2)⁵ only one (Fable I, *Fabulae ex Mariae Gallicae Romulo et aliis quoque Fontibus exortae*) mentions dogs. The reading of this is as follows:

Aderant forte pastores in campo, qui Vulpem profugam canibus et clamoribus insequabantur.

This reading, as well as the fact that the dogs are not mentioned in the other versions, would tend to support my interpretation; that is, that the subject of the action is the shepherds, not the dogs.

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NOTE ON *Bartholomew Fair*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Busy, in his farcical controversy with the puppets in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, charges the players with being *an abomination; for the male, among you, putteth on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male* [Act v, Sc. III; Gifford's text]. The first charge, that *the male putteth on the apparel of the female*, referred of course to the common practice of the day, and, as the puppet replied, was the Puritans' *old stale argument against the players*; but even that bold conjecturer, Fleay, has queried, When did the female put on the apparel of the male? That this

² *Ib.*, p. 302.

³ *Le Roman de Renart*, publ. par M. D. M. Méon, Paris, 1826. See p. 173.

⁴ *Le Roman de Renart*, publ. par Ernest Martin, Paris, 1882. See p. 333.

⁵ *Les Fabulistes Latins*, par Léopold Hervieux, Paris, 1884. Vol. II, p. 533.

could not have been usual, is certain from the fact that in all the Puritan attacks, nowhere is it mentioned. Finally, all perplexity is removed, it seems to me, by reference to *Deuteronomy*, xxii, 5: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God."

It was a part of Jonson's satire on the Puritans, and well in keeping with Busy's *inspired ignorance*, that most of the time he was not well informed of what he was zealously attacking; and having in mind a Biblical admonition, he had not sufficient wit to use only that part which might apply.

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GERMAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Doubtless many readers of *Modern Language Notes* will be interested in a new German organization that promises to do very valuable work in a field never yet cultivated systematically. I refer to the *Deutsche Bibliographische Gesellschaft*, formed last year, whose general purpose is sufficiently indicated by its title. The first task to be accomplished by this Society will be the exact location and indication of the vast amount of material, now so difficult of access, stowed away in journals, correspondence, collections of essays, etc., before the period covered by the *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. The first volume of the Publications, on the journals of the Romantic period, is now in press. There can hardly be any doubt of the success of an enterprise whose executive committee includes such names as those of Professors Sauer (Vice-President), Elster, Koch, Köster, Litzmann, R. M. Meyer, Minor, Muncker, Stern, von Waldberg, Walzel, R. M. Werner, and Dr. Houben. The annual membership fee is six marks, and gives the privilege of purchasing the publications of the Society at a considerably reduced price. The address of the Secretary is: Dr. H. H. HOUBEN, Ebersstr. 91, Berlin-Schöneberg; those who desire membership should remit the fee of six marks to S. HERZ, Dorotheenstr. 1, Berlin NW., with the note: "Für die Bibliographische Gesellschaft."

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JOTTINGS ON THE CÆDMONIAN

Christ and Satan.

In the following jottings respecting the text of the Cædmonian poems designated by Grein *Christ and Satan* (*Bibliothek* I, 129-148), the reference is to the Grein-Wülker edition of the *Bibliothek* (II, 521-562). There is also reference to Kühn (*Ueber die ags. Gedichte von Christ und Satan*. Halle, 1883), Groschopp (*Anglia* VI, 248-276), Graz (*Engl. Stud.* XXI, 13-27), Holthausen (*Indogerm. Forsch.* IV, 382-384, and *Angl. Beiblatt* V, 232-234), and Cosijn (*Beiträge* XXI, 21-25).

7. Cosijn asks, "Wer heilt v. 7?" I shall transcribe from my marginal notes (punctuating lines 4-9) a reading that may perhaps prove to be 'healing':

*Seolfa he gesette sunnan and monan,
etanas and eorðan; stream ut on sæ,
water and wolcen, ðurh his wundra miht,
deopne ymblyhte. Dene ymbhaldeð
Metod on mihtum and alne middangeard;
he selfa mæg sæ geondwitan, etc.*

It might be supposed that *ymblyt* of the ms. represents *ymblyht*, the contracted (West Saxon) form of the original (Anglian) *ymblyhteð*, and that a full stop follows *miht*; but the initial acts of the creation are to be recited, in non-biblical order, to be sure, yet in essential agreement with the account in which the dispelling of the darkness from the "face of the deep," upon which moved the "Spirit of God," and the dividing of "the waters from the waters" (cf. *water and wolcen*) are of importance coördinate with the establishment of 'the earth, the sun, and the moon.' The text therefore requires *ymblyhte*, to complete the predication begun in *gesette*; and *deopne* is to be construed not as 'abyssus,' but as qualifying *stream*, which, like *flod* in *Genesis* 150, represents the undivided waters, as shown by the apposition of *water and wolcen*. Heinze (*Zur altengl. Genesis*, Berlin, 1889) discusses the corresponding passages in the *Genesis*.

17. I suggest *and heanne holm*, and for the preceding line accept *eorðan dælas and upheofon*. The ms. has *holme*, which represents merely a phonetic spelling of *holm* (cf. *susel*, ll. 41, 64; and *sawle*, Grein-Wülker II, 93 l. 10). Graz would retain the "*richtige lesart der hs.*," but is thinking only of metre,—and such metre!

19-21. *Dreamas he gedelde duguðe and geogoðe:
Adam ærest and þæt æðele cyn
engla ordfruman þæt þe eft forwearð;*

This punctuation of these lines (a comma might also be admitted after *ærest*) is intended to suggest the omission of the copula *wæs*, the sense being *Adam wæs ærest*, etc.; this omission is curiously followed by the omission of *wesan* with *mihte* in the same connection (22). The predication *wæs ærest* is made of both subjects, *Adam* and *cyn*, and therefore Groschopp (pp. 252 n. 2, and 261) should not lay to the poet's charge the heresy of placing the creation of man before that of the angels (cf. 108).

41. Cosijn's preferred change in the order of words is altogether unnecessary.

57. *Scyppend seolfa: nu, sceaða, eartu*

In suggesting this reading, I am aware that the rejection of *earn* (cf. 73) has the appearance of violence; *nu eartu, sceaða earma* (voc.) might be better. It should be observed that paleographically a confusion of *eartu* and *earn* was possible; this would favor the former of the suggested readings.

80. Read *pā* (or *pās*) *word* (cf. *Dan.* 283; *Az.* 4). Holthausen's *word-gid* is altogether improbable, although *durior emendatio preferenda est* is often true.

176. Graz and Holthausen independently, and apparently without regard to Kühn (who classifies with this line 70, 335, 643, and *Jul.* 212), decide in favor of substituting *habban* for *agan*, chiefly upon the evidence of 643. But this still leaves obscure the grammatical connection of the line with the preceding half-line,—the apparent con-

nection between *wyrse* and *ponne*. I believe therefore that the suggestion of 643 has not been exhausted, and accordingly prefer to disconnect *me þær wyrse gēlamp* parenthetically from the context (cf. 125), and to read *pone þe ic to hichte*, allowing *pone þe* to refer back to *sunu meotodes*; the larger parenthesis is therefore *and agan me . . . wyrse gēlamp*. We thus gain a well-wrought stylistic period and the clear expression of a thought to which the poet, in his well-marked manner, returns for a second application.

A simpler manner of emending the line, after accepting *habban*, by reading *æhte* for *hichte* would, of course, not be satisfactory.

370-371. *oferhyda agan*. In this expression, as in many others, *agan*, for the alliteration, is a substitute for *habban*. The line does not, therefore, deserve Cosijn's query, and it is well translated by Toller (s. v. *oferhygd*). The next line should begin with *pā* (Graz suggests *pīer*, which is also possible), or *pæt*, or *se*, for the repetition of the line at 447 is against the addition of a syllable after *Satanus* (Sievers, *Beiträge* x, 514), and *scolf*, on the analogy of 692 (Holthausen), would be, for another obvious reason, altogether inappropriate here.

378. This line has, as I believe, been distorted by the transposition of *mosten*; its restoration is therefore a simple matter:

þæt hi in þone ecan andwlitan mosten.

The accentuation of the denominative verb *andwlitan* is correctly derivative, as in *andswarian* (e. g. *Gen.* 827).

497. Thorpe transposed *and*, Sievers (*Beiträge* x, 514) restores it to its original place, and Graz cancels it, accepting for the first half-line *tintregan fela* (apparently *tintregan* as gen. sg.; he would do better if he asked for the gen. pl. *tintrega* or *tintregena*). But Graz's asyndetic result is not a satisfactory substitute for either the usual coördination or the usual apposition. Holthausen, on the other hand, suggests a reading that must find approval: *tintregan micelne and teona fela*. By the side of this excellent reading one might place, for the mere exhibition of possibilities, *tintregan and teonan micelne*, comparing, for the rhythmical accent of *and*, *Höllenfahrt* 45*.

539. The cæsura is after *on*, and it is therefore the second half-line that requires most attention.

The whole line may be read (with the possible substitution of *laðan* for the suggested *laðe*) thus:

þa þec gelegdon on laðe benda.

563. Read *Up astah on heofonum*.

565. Read *hond godes wæs mid*.

571. Holthausen declares confidently that *twelf* is an error for *andleofan*. His entire note may be cited:

"*twelf* ist ein fehler für *andleofan*, was nicht nur aus der allit. (*āne*), sondern auch aus der bibel (Matth. 28, 16; Mark. 16, 14; Luk. 24, 33; [Joh. 20, 24 kann nicht dagegen sprechen, denn da ist offenbar an die frühere zahl gedacht]) hervorgeht."

The metrical quality of such a half-line as *andleofan apostolas* would be quite sufficient in itself to lead to a reconsideration of the matter, but the context has also been misapprehended, as shall be shown.

The passage surely relates to the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit (*gastes gife*) which, of course, took place ten days after the Ascension, the event spoken of in the immediately preceding lines as having occurred forty days (*feowertig daga*) after the Resurrection. Ælfric is specific in saying that the Pentecostal gift was given *on þam endleoſtan dæge Cristes upstiges* (*Hom.* i, 298), and the duration of the period of waiting for the fulfilment of the promise is expressed in *Christ* 542 by *tyn niht*. The context therefore would require the same specific designation of time measured from the foregoing limit of the 'forty days,' inasmuch as the poet is clearly following the record of the beginning of the *Acts*. He puts appropriate stress upon such details as the date of the gift of the Spirit (*Acts* ii, 1: "And when the day of Pentecost was now come"); the restored number of the disciples,—restored to *twelve* by the election of Matthias; the deflection of Judas, of which so much is said in the same connection (*Acts* i, 16 f.); and the great number of souls (*sawla unrim*) established in the new faith (vid. Ælfric, *Hom.* i, 316). Moreover, to confirm this interpretation in a striking manner, it will be noticed that the poet, according to his original, *Acts* i, 26, here names the disciples '*apostolas*' (cf. the only other occurrence of this name in the poetry, *Men.* 122: *Petrus and Paulus: hwæt, þa apostolas*). We must therefore conclude to read the line, according to sense, in this manner:—

pæt he þæs ymb tyn niht twelf apostolas.

There remains, of course, a defect in the rhythm of the first half-line. This might be corrected by the substitution for *tyn* of a dissyllabic form such as the Anglian *tena*; But I prefer to classify the line with 11, 23, 83, 148, 163, and 181 of the *Menologium* and to correct all in the same manner.

The formula for this correction is furnished in *Men.* 41, 131, 137, 144, 154, and 174. In these lines the rhythm is observed by transposing the adverbial *pæs* to the emphatic position so that it may receive an ictus; for example, 131, *emb twa niht pæs* ($\times \angle \times \angle$), with which should be compared 37, *Denne se halga pæs* ($\times \times \times \angle \times \angle$), and also the following two lines in which the cæsura occasions the special stress of *pæs*:

*Ne bið ænig pæs earfoðsælig.
pæt ænig eft pæs earm geweorðe.
Bi Monna Cræftum 8, 17.*

We thus gain the correct form of *Men.* 11 (and in like manner that of 23, 83, 148, 163, 181) by the transposition of *pæs*: *And embe fif niht pæs* ($\times \times \times \angle \times \angle$); and we have the further gain of a strong presumption in favor of reading our line, now according to both sense and rhythm, thus:

pæt he ymb tyn niht pæs twelf apostolas.

In connection with this induction attention may be directed to the rhythm of such lines as *Men.* 19, 30, 48, 54, 95, 133, 158, 194, 207, 210, 215, 221, 226. Here *pæs* is not required for ictus, and therefore, since the idiom permits it, there is a capricious variation between its retention and its omission.

639. The cæsura is after *edwit*, and *on* is accented as prepositional adverb. Two other readings would be possible: *hu hie on him edwit* (which I prefer), or *hu hie him edwit on* (cf. 539).

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

A PLEA FOR MORE STUDY OF FRENCH LITERATURE.

Not long ago a paper was read before the Modern Language Association of America entitled "Symbolism in France." The writer of this paper was congratulated on having presented "something

that was not scientific!" This may seem at first naïve, but I dare say, it reflects faithfully enough a general state of mind even in our university public. Had the Symbolists lived five hundred years ago and had nobody ever heard of them before, had the writing of the paper presupposed long journeys all over Europe from Rome to London, and from Paris to St. Petersburg, hunting for a text of which only one copy was in existence, had scholars of both worlds been consulted as to such or such term that might have been misspelt by a copyist—then the scientific character of a paper on Symbolism would not have been doubted for a moment. But since the Symbolists are guilty of living among us, of having been discussed in such a way that their influence, good or bad, on contemporary literature could not be denied, since no vexed discussion as to correct printing arose, since, in brief, only thought was required to write the paper, the latter was no longer worthy the epithet scientific.

This prejudice against literature as such—I mean, however, to speak here only of French literature—has prevailed for a good many years without anybody trying to resist it. And the present writer would most probably have kept silence for a long while yet before daring to raise his voice in protest, had he not heard lately that some of the most prominent educators in this country share his views and realize that a change of policy would be greatly to the interest of the students in many American Colleges and Universities.

It may be well to recall the origin of the present state of affairs, which at once explains and justifies to a certain extent the evil we are noting. There was a time when a course in literature consisted mainly in a string of appreciations of the works of the writers studied, appreciations which were either borrowed from critics of authority, or spontaneously worked out by the professor. The poet, the novelist, the dramatist themselves were hardly ever consulted directly. In fact there was no occasion for that; *jurare in verba magistri* being at that time a common academic axiom. In the meanwhile, however, natural sciences, supported by positivistic philosophy, had come to the fore and were very generally considered as models of accuracy and thoroughness. Their method was accepted as superior to that of others and was quickly

introduced into history, philosophy, psychology, literature, etc. It may be added that this was also the time when America had just entered the field of science, and thus, eager to show her willingness to offer the best quality of work only, there was a natural inclination sometimes to be more radical than was necessary. There was no tradition that would inspire a somewhat prudent conservatism. Owing to these circumstances, literature, as just said, was conceived on the same plan as a natural science in its period of construction. Under the belief that one must never express any idea or opinion that is not absolutely supported by facts, it was deemed wise to give up any expression of opinion whatever, to refrain from discussion, even from explanation; the purely external elements of literature alone remained in favor. The theory of the greatest amount of facts for the smallest amount of critical understanding had replaced the theory of the smallest amount of facts for the greatest amount of literary criticism. The one was as bad as the other. At its best a history of French literature was now a history of the documents, or of the sources of study, of French literature. Reduced to this condition, literature was bound to lose still more ground. In fact, this history of literary documents was only moderately tempting to scholars; most of them preferred to take another step and devote themselves to the more minute and more special researches of philology, which admit of a greater amount of "scientific" accuracy.

American institutions are now well provided as to instruction in the French language on the one hand, and in French Philology on the other, while a thorough instruction in French literature may well be called the exception—unless, however, as is actually done in several of our best universities and colleges, we choose to call by this name the mere translation in class, of text-books containing selections of such and such an author, or period. The reading of one or two tragedies of Corneille or Racine is called a course in the dramatic literature of the seventeenth century; a few passages from Voltaire constitute a course in the eighteenth century literature; ten or twenty poems of the nineteenth century will have to suffice for a course in contemporary poetry, and so forth.

In the writer's opinion this way of proceeding

cannot give very satisfactory results. If we look at the facts from a broad point of view, it was a more or less natural stage of evolution in the final organization of our Romance Departments, but it is certain that we must sooner or later pass beyond this stage. For, what is the ultimate purpose of the teaching of French in American colleges? For some, I know, it is to enable the student to read French business letters, or to understand the language of the country if he happens to go to France on a vacation tour. But this is not the academical point of view: no college but only a school is necessary to reach that end. In a college the French language is needed in order to put the student into contact with one of the great civilizing nations of the world, to broaden his mind by the reading of the works of the best representatives of that civilization; in other words, to enable him to understand French literature.

What is the use of the study of literary documents? of classifying them, dating them, comparing them? It is to prevent misrepresentation, to enable us to follow more closely the relations among the different elements of thought in France as expressed by its literary authors, to find out their origin, establish connections with social events, and so forth; in brief, the object of the study of literary documents, is to understand French literature.

What finally is the use of French philology? To get still closer to the foundations of our knowledge; to allow still more accuracy in the researches just mentioned. As language is the basis of literature, so philology is the final authority in discussions that may arise as to the meaning of literary documents, and therefore of literature itself. Moreover the philological problems deal more especially with the earlier stages of development of French, and, as it is generally very difficult to understand later periods unless we have comprehended thoroughly those which gave birth to them, the importance of these researches is, of course, of fundamental value. But, after all, it comes back again to this: Romance Philology renders more perfect, directly or indirectly, our understanding of French literature.

The result, then, is this:—we have numberless workers who are all preparing industriously for some final achievement, but hardly any one enjoys the benefits of these efforts. We are like people who

keep ourselves extremely busy bringing together building material, but never begin to construct the edifice. Or, to vary the metaphor, we are capitalists who are earning money all the time without reaping any interest from our accumulation.

Some may find that this is indeed a sign of great disinterestedness to work without ever thinking of a reward. There is some truth in this argument; but, after all, disinterestedness really deserves praise only when we give up our own profit for that of others; if nobody, neither the worker, nor any one else gets any advantage from the strenuous efforts, this is waste of energy and not disinterestedness. Now, the compilers of literary documents not only do not make use themselves of the accumulated material, but there is very little chance, under the present conditions, that others will be benefitted by them. I am afraid, furthermore, that occasionally the industrious compilers of data do not themselves realize what profit might be earned from their efforts, and this system of working has at times led them badly astray; as when they are wasting talent and time in counting how many times the rose in a novel occurs with the adjective purple, or yellow, or red, on the ground that the time may come when the information in question will be valuable in the discussion of some problem or other.

I am far from saying that such faults exist only among us. Bédier, in his *Fabliaux*, has protested against European scholars also, who assign to themselves the vain task of compiling endless catalogues of works where the same story, or some elements of the same story, appear, too often losing sight of the true purpose of such investigations, taking constantly the means for the end. But there is more danger of our falling into the snare, since the true end is so very seldom brought to the student's attention. Of course not everybody can be a Gaston Paris, but everybody can take him as a model scholar. No one else was so well informed as to philological and documentary researches on the French Middle-Ages. But what made the great man in him?—that he did not simply compile knowledge for the sake of compiling; he made good use of his documents as is exemplified in his recent book on Villon which revives for us a whole epoch, a result that is all the more beautiful

because it rests upon the fertile ground of wise erudition. See all his essays, for instance his "L'Ange et l'ermite," where he shows so admirably how the story of the twentieth chapter of Voltaire's *Zadig*, has been treated by Jews, Mahomedans, Fathers of the Church, Protestants, Rationalists, reflecting in each new transformation the spirit of the writer and of his time. This is literature. Moreover, in doing so, the author has always an insight that enables him to discern what questions have an inherent value that will repay one for the trouble of solving them, and what may safely be neglected; the chances are very slight that he will undertake futile researches or waste energy on utterly unimportant points.

It is, I am well aware, a very common belief that a university or college is only under obligation to furnish material for this literary enjoyment and need not go further. This might very well be if any one were *a priori* prepared to assimilate literature. But most certainly this is not the case. I call to witness any one who has at any time conducted a course in literature. It may be added that this is not the opinion in other countries which have had longer experience than that of American colleges. If you go, for example, to Paris, you will find at the Sorbonne that men like Faguet, Gebhart, Larroumet devote the best of their talents to courses on the history of French literature; those who attend their lectures feel how much they help toward the formation of clearer ideas, toward rendering conscious the vague impressions left by private reading. They constitute an excellent discipline, a real drill. And as to literary judgments, they allow of course individual opinions, but they grant, so to speak, officially, a great importance only to those which betray real superiority of mind. The belief in the moral equality of men in America, may have frequently led to a belief in a corresponding intellectual equality, and the result may have been in certain cases, a regrettable disregard for, or ignorance of, mental supremacy. The avoidance of this confusion, and, as far as we are here concerned, the custom of entrusting to a special class of highly talented men the dealing with literary matters, has placed France in the front rank of all nations in literary appreciation and criticism. There are drawbacks to the system, no doubt: a narrow-minded professor, or a dog-

matic personality, may do harm; but this is not a danger which is special to our domain; and then, there are always other influences that may counteract the one that is tainted with prejudice. The main thing remains, and the public has its choice among a number of select points of view; it need not rely upon its own judgment for appreciation of literary masterpieces.

There is another point to be emphasized: literature is not only an intellectual discipline; it deals at the same time with products of art; it develops taste. Now, the culture of our æsthetic faculties is part of a thorough education. American institutions of learning have recognized it by establishing special courses in Art. But literature has for students one great advantage over all the other arts; namely, that the artistic ideas in it are expressed in words, that is, in a language which is the primary one for most of the operations of the brain; while the language by which painting, sculpture, music express their ideas has to be first interpreted in words, and nothing ever guarantees the adequateness of the translation—in fact while individualism reigns supreme in these fields a final test is impossible. In literature alone, where words after all remain words, you have a solid ground for explanation and discussion.

French literature shares with all other literatures the pedagogical advantages, first, of combining, if properly taught, intellectual discipline and æsthetic training, and secondly of treating the different problems of life in a way that can easily be brought within reach of the average or untutored mind. The famous "clearness" of French literature rests after all only on a process of excessive simplification (—which, by the way, renders artistic effects much easier, one of the chief requisites of art being unity and simplicity). Take a play of Corneille, a fable of La Fontaine, a novel of Voltaire: the problem is reduced to a few factors, and the solution appears at once, and in fact is, according to the premises, very clear and very easy. Life, of course, is not so simple as there represented and the literature that has produced a Faust, because it is profounder and more true to reality, is also the more satisfactory to an adult. But the Frenchman, through fear of losing contact with concrete life, and in virtue of his irrepressible desire for plain logic, will always look for simple

and palpable causes; he is reluctant to adopt explanations that take him out of the immediate world of experience and carry him into the realm of metaphysical causes. Common sense is his criterion, and this method has indeed prevented French writers from getting lost in inaccessible spheres of thought; but at the same time it has prevented them frequently from going very deeply into a subject and from rising into regions of high ideals. The foregoing characterization is far from reflecting a mere individual appreciation; I have, on the contrary, simply interpreted a general tradition for my special purpose. What is true of French literature, is true of French thought in general. It will be noticed that all the great philosophers of France, even its theologians, belong to its literature,—which means that they are accessible to the average man. Nobody would dream of writing a history of French literature and omitting Montaigne, Rabelais, Calvin, Bossuet, Pascal, Diderot, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Joseph de Maistre, Taine, etc.

But now let us come back to our point: That which constitutes the inferiority of French literature from an absolute point of view, is a great advantage from the educational point of view which we are discussing here. College students ought to be taught to approach problems in the simplest form, to deal with known quantities as much as possible and not with metaphysical hypotheses; having known only the concrete life of facts, they have so far explained everything from that standpoint; they could not understand any other, at least at the beginning. And this is exactly what French literature can give to them and the reason why it is an invaluable subject of study in our Colleges and Universities.

After what has been said, it will be only fair to add that, if French literature is frequently either not taught at all, or else is badly taught, one reason for this is that no text-books are available for the purpose, I mean none that treat the subject from a sufficiently broad point of view. It has been pointed out repeatedly that the object of the teaching of a literature of another country is, beside the general training, to broaden the views of the student in bringing him in contact with ideas other than those most familiar to him. This work of comparison need not necessarily be made

for him, but most certainly it must be indirectly suggested by a comprehensive and intelligent treatment of the authors studied. French literature ought to be presented as a history of civilization and of the development of ideas in France such as are represented in the chief writers of that country; the literary masterpieces must be carefully treated in connection with social, political and religious events, otherwise their meaning will altogether escape the student. The instructor, or the text-book, ought to make it a central point to direct the attention, in the early part of the Middle Ages, to the close connection that exists between literature and catholicism and knighthood; then to the struggle of the latter with the bourgeois; next to the total change of ideas—not alone those in the language and prosody—brought about by the Renaissance and, followed by the gradual assimilation of these new ideals by the French mind, and their ultimate triumph in the classical literature of the seventeenth century; then to the intimate relations that exist between the autocratic procedures introduced by Richelieu and Louis XIV on the one hand and the theories upheld by men like Corneille and Bossuet on the other. He can then give examples which show how the corruption of French society in the last years of Louis XIV and under his successors, forced upon men's minds new ideas which, through Voltaire, Rousseau, the Encyclopedists, etc., inspired the great Revolution, and so forth.

Again, it is important to connect logically the literary schools and movements, so that these changes shall appear as clear to the student's mind, as the social or religious changes that gave birth to them. These political and social facts are the really important facts; namely, those which explain literature and belong to history;—more important than literary dates, names and titles now so pitilessly forced upon the overloaded memory of the pupil; not the facts memorized, but what he can do with them, is of some value and constitutes true culture of mind.

Of course there are most excellent text-books in France that may be used: Brunetière, Doumic, Lanson, Pellissier, Faguet, etc. But here another difficulty arises: these text-books are intended for a French public and French schools. Now, there are many facts in connection with the subject that

can be taken for granted in France and constantly alluded to without further explanation; the reader knows fairly well the history and geography of his own country, also the general social characteristics of a given epoch are familiar to him.

In a foreign country one cannot rely upon such preparation, and therefore the use of French text-books presents very serious drawbacks. Unless an instructor is fully prepared to supply the necessary information, the pupil is at sea. This is so true that I venture to say that a good history of French literature for American schools; namely, one taking into account the conditions and the preparation of the student, ought to develop most fully precisely those points which French text-books pass over most lightly. These thoughts, prejudices, aspirations which are innate to a Frenchman, are very strange to foreigners and must be very clearly indicated and explained to the latter so as to allow them to grasp fully what is specifically French in a writer's book. You may rely upon students' understanding products that have features in common with those of other countries whose literatures they have studied; the classical drama, for instance, or essayists like Montaigne, philosophers like Descartes, the Encyclopedists, and many poets. But it will always be safe to take precautions when you deal with subjects that presuppose the understanding of a society based upon monarchical or catholic ideas. To an American, the famous *précieuses* will always be *a priori* the "*Précieuses ridicules*;" he will at first see nothing except Molière's attacks on them, refusing to consider the historical meaning of the salons of the seventeenth century; here is an opportunity for an excellent introductory lesson that will at the same time broaden views and dispel prejudices. In the same way, the treatment of Calvin, and Bossuet or Pascal, will call for a careful and suggestive explanation of the religious theories prevailing in their epochs. Again a passionate nature like J. J. Rousseau needs to be thoroughly analyzed and his views explained by the social conditions of the time. I mean to say that one ought not merely to mention that those conditions have to be taken into account; full details should be given of what they actually were.

Such a history of French literature remains to

be written; but we shall not get it until the instructors in our Romance Departments are encouraged to turn their efforts toward literature, until there is a demand for it.

To create this demand really lies with the authorities of our Colleges and Universities.

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TIRSO DE MOLINA'S *El Condenado por desconfiado*.

Among the almost countless plays produced by the Spanish dramatists of the seventeenth century, there are naturally not a few the authorship of which is doubtful. Concerning two of these—both long attributed to Tirso de Molina—the criticism of our day seems to have come to a pretty definite conclusion. These are *El Condenado por desconfiado*, one of the greatest religious dramas which Spain has produced, and *El Infanzón de Illescas*.

The most distinguished of Spanish critics—Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo—has definitely assigned the former to Tirso de Molina, while denying to him the authorship of the latter, which he attributes to Lope de Vega, and which he has included in the Spanish Academy's edition of Lope, now being edited by him.

It is only the first of these plays which interests us here, as it is the one that has been chosen by Sr. Menéndez Pidal, the foremost of the younger Spanish scholars, for his *discurso*¹ on the occasion of his reception into the Spanish Academy. Sr. Menéndez Pidal never once questions the authorship of this famous play, accepting for definitive the judgment of his former teacher; and this will doubtless be the judgment of posterity. But the question was not finally decided without long discussion, for the evidence was wholly internal, as to whether the conception, the style, the manner and phraseology were Tirso's, or of some other of the great dramatists of the period. And a few words concerning this discussion may not be super-

fluous. Over half a century ago, D. Augustin Duran seems to have had no doubt as to the authorship of *El Condenado*, and ascribed the play to Tirso de Molina. His admirable *exámen* of the drama will be found in the Appendix to the volume of Tirso's plays which Hartzzenbusch edited for the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (p. 720); and as early as 1842 Hartzzenbusch had also included *El Condenado* in his *Teatro escogido de Fr. Gabriel Tellez, conocido con el nombre de Maestro Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1839–1842; but, as if somewhat doubtful of its authenticity, only printed it as the last play in the eleventh volume of the collection, which also contains the *exámen* of Duran.

In 1893, Sr. Cotarelo y Morí, in his excellent little work: *Tirso de Molina: Investigaciones bibliográficas*, resumed the discussion of the celebrated drama, characterizing it as: "*el drama más notable de toda la colección [de Tirso], y aun de los mejores del teatro español*" (p. 102). He shows that the authorship of *El Condenado* is involved in doubt from the very beginning. The play was first published at Madrid, in 1635, in the *Segunda Parte* of Tirso's *Comedias*. In the dedication of this volume Tirso says: . . . "of these twelve comedias I dedicate four, which are mine, in my name, and in that of the owners of the other eight (I do not know by what misfortune of theirs, being children of such illustrious fathers, they were cast at my door), those which remain." Hartzzenbusch had long since decided that three of the four plays of Tirso in this volume are: *Amor y Celos hacen Discretos*, *Por el Sótano y el Torno* and *Esto sí que es negociar*. The question was as to the fourth,—was it *El Condenado*? Sr. Cotarelo again calls attention to the absolute similarity of a passage in *El Condenado* (Act. II., Sc. III), and one in Lope's *El Remedio en la Desdicha*, (Act. I., Sc. IX). Here, irrespective of the printed dates of the plays,—which favor Lope—there will hardly be any doubt that the latter was not the plagiarist, for such verses were easier for Lope to compose than to copy. Sr. Cotarelo concludes his examination by saying that at least the plan and many of the scenes of *El Condenado* are by Tirso de Molina, but that in all probability the play passed through the hands of that poor scapegoat, who has had so many literary crimes laid to his door,—Andrés

¹ *Discursos leídos ante La Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal el 19 de Octubre de 1902*. The *contestación* is by Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo.

de Claramonte,—who introduced the verses of Lope, etc.

Twenty years ago, in his *Calderon y su Teatro*, Madrid, 1881, Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo apparently had no doubt that *El Condenado* was the work of Tirso, although he there says (p. 37) that if Tirso was not the author and the play had to be attributed to Mira de Mescua or some other, it would suffice to place him among the foremost dramatists, etc. In his *Estudios de Crítica literaria, Segunda Serie*, Madrid, 1895, p. 131, which is a discussion of Sr. Cotarelo's book, the same critic again takes up the subject. He begins by saying that Tirso's *Segunda Parte* is *un rompecabezas bibliográfico*. Why should an author who had up to that time written more than three hundred comedias publish under the title of *Comedias de Tirso de Molina* eight plays by other authors without even mentioning their names, is a question asked in vain. The only explanation that Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo hazards is that probably the other eight plays in the volume were written by Tirso in collaboration with others. Lope did not write it, surely, he tells us, "for Lope did not know theology enough to write *El Condenado*. With Lope out of the way there was scarcely anyone left capable of writing it save Tirso."

Schack calls *El Condenado* "ein Werk dem in flammenden Zügen der abenteuerliche, uns kaum noch verständliche Geist der damaligen Religiosität aufgeprägt ist. Es führt die Gegensätze des Kleinmuths und des Glaubens vor." A brief analysis of this *portentoso drama* may not be out of place.

Paulo, a young hermit, has been living for ten years in a cave, in solitude, given up entirely to prayer. In a dream, however, he sees himself condemned to "*los reynos del espanto*," so that he begins to doubt his salvation, and he calls upon God to tell him what his end shall be:

He de ir á vuestro cielo, ó al infierno?

The devil now appears to him in the guise of an angel and tells him that, to relieve him of his doubt, he shall go to Naples, where in the person of a certain Enrico he may recognize his own fate, since God had decreed that their fates should be the same. Paulo hastens to Naples, hoping to find in Enrico a penitent, holy man. He finds Enrico,

however, in the most abandoned company; he is the worst criminal in Naples, who has committed the most revolting crimes, in the long catalogue of which he mentions:

*"Seis doncellas he forzado;
¡ Dichoso llamarme puedo,
Pues seis he podido hallar
En este felice tiempo."*

As his fate is to be the same as this murderer's, he is sure of eternal damnation, and determines, in his despair, to plunge into every excess and crime. He returns to the mountains and becomes the chief of a band of robbers.

The second act reveals, in the beginning, the good side of Enrico's character, who visits his disabled old father, whom he supports

*"De lo que Celia me da
O yo por fuerza le quito,
Traigo lo que puedo acá
Y su vida solicito,
Que acabando el curso va."*

He conceals his crimes from his father, the thought of whose white hairs, moreover, prevents him from murdering one Albano, whom he had agreed to kill for money, and whose life he spares, saying:

*"Que pensara que á mi padre
Matara, si le matara."*

The next moment, however, he kills Octavio, and is obliged to flee from Naples. By chance, he falls into the hands of Paulo's bandits. Paulo is still convinced that he is to share the same fate as Enrico, when a voice is heard, saying:

*"No desconfie ninguno,
Aunque gran pecador,
De aquella misericordia
De que mas se precia Dios."*

And now a shepherd appears, weaving a garland of flowers. He is seeking *la oveja perdida*, and exhorts Paulo to repentance, citing many examples for his benefit:

*"Decid: ¿ no fué pecador
Pedro, y mereció despues
Ser de las almas pastor ?
.
.
.
¿ La publica pecadora
Palestina no llamó
A Magdalena, y fué santa
Por su santa conversion ?" . . .*

Again the doubt arises in Paulo's mind, "for God may even pardon Enrico," but the next moment he adds: "how can he pardon the worst criminal in all the world," and concludes:

*"Alma, ya no hay mas remedio
Que el condenarnos á dos."*

We now find Enrico in the hands of Paulo's bandits. He is tied to a tree and is about to be killed, when Paulo appears as a hermit with a cross and a rosary and entreats Enrico to confess his sins, but the latter refuses, saying:

*"Padre, lo que nunca he hecho
Tampoco he de hacer ahora."*

Whereupon, after other vain efforts, Paulo accepts Enrico and his friend Galvan, as members of his band. Enrico, however, desires to revisit Naples, where he is apprehended and cast into prison.

The third act opens with the scene in prison, where Enrico kills one of his keepers with his chains, and is condemned to death on the following day. The devil now appears to Enrico, and at a sign from the former a small opening appears in the wall. The devil bids him escape, but a voice is heard, saying:

*Deten el paso violento,
Mira que te está mejor
Que de la prision librarte
El estarte en la prision.*

Enrico refuses to escape, and the alcalde appears with the death sentence. Two Franciscan friars enter to confess the condemned culprit, but he refuses. Finally he is visited in prison by his aged father, whose tears induce him to make his confession and he calls upon God for forgiveness. Then Enrico is executed, and his soul is borne to Heaven by two angels. To Paulo the Shepherd once more appears, still seeking the lost sheep. But his efforts are vain and he plucks to pieces the garland of flowers. This scene is one of surpassing beauty:

*Pastor. ¡Ay perdida oveja!
¡De qué gloria huyes,
Y á qué mal te allegas!
Paulo. ¡No es esa guirnalda
La que en las florestas
Entonces tejías
Con gran diligencia?
Pastor. Esta misma es;*

*Mas la oveja necia
No quiere volver
Al bien que le espera,
Y así la deshago.*

*Paulo. Si acaso volviera,
Zagalejo amigo,
¿No la recibirías?*

*Pastor. Enojado estoy,
Mas la gran clemencia
De mi mayoral
Dice que aunque vuelvan,
Si ántes fueron blancas,
Al rebaño negras,
Que las dé mis brazos,
Y sin extrañeza
Requiebros las diga
Y palabras tiernas.*

Paulo hears celestial music and sees the body of Enrico borne aloft by the angels; but all the warnings of Heaven are in vain. The now hopelessly lost Paulo is pursued by peasants and killed, and in the end we see how his soul, in the midst of flames, descends into the earth.

This doctrine, strange as it must seem to the Protestant mind, is examined and justified by Duran. Of him Sr. Menéndez Pidal says:

"He, for the first time, had the serenity of judgment to examine the drama from the point of view from which it was written, and sounded all its theological depths, confining himself to the beliefs which the common people and the learned of that epoch professed and which every good Catholic still professes. To do this he analyzes the theological and moral ideas which inspired in Tirso this conception, as terrible and sublime as it is sweet and consoling; and he explains why God withdrew the *gracia eficaz* (y perdonen los teólogos á Duran este adjetivo impropio) á Paulo que de ella desconfía y que intenta arrancarle sus secretos; por esta orgullosa curiosidad el ermitaño se ve sumergido en un piélago de dudas que le hacen titubear en la fé, perder la esperanza y abominar de la caridad, mientras Enrico, símbolo de la pobreza humana, que confía en su criador y alimenta un poco de virtud sobre la que podrán caer algun día los tesoros de la gracia, logra arrepentido obtener misericordia."

Our author then gives the views expressed by George Sand upon this drama, which he says is capable of various interpretations, like Shakspeare's *Hamlet*.

"*El Condenado* no es, como alguien ha dicho, un sencillo *auto*, una parábola evangélica; mas bien.

que la soñolienta canturía sagrada, nos parece oír en él la complicada armonía del órgano que eleva el alma á vagos arrobamientos. En *El Condenado* la mirada del genio se dirige sobre la religiosidad, sobre la vieja duda de la justicia divina que nubla el alma cuando más enamorada está del bien, y nos ofrece una visión profunda de la voluntad humana, encarnada en dos tipos opuestos, con toda la complejidad con que se manifiesta la vida, misterio eterno entregado por Dios á las cavilaciones de los hombres."

Sr. Menéndez Pidal says that the theological explanation given by Duran is doubtless correct, but he believes that the dogmatic aspect is not the only one from which it is to be viewed, and that the drama contains within it a general human significance, independent of Catholicism.

"Los grandes dramas no son de la exclusiva invención de sus autores, y *El Condenado* se funda en una leyenda antiquísima, nacida en Oriente, que hunde sus raíces por tierras y siglos muy apartados hasta llegar al extremo Occidente, donde brotó su mas espléndido retoño en el teatro español."

He then traces this legend from the *Māhabhārata* and the *Çukasaptati* through Arabic and Hebrew literature, to the *Vitæ Patrum* and the *Cuento de Pañucio* (372 A. D.), a version "que nos lleva ya de lleno al drama de Tirso," . . . and finally to the well known tale in the *Conde Lucanor* (Enx. 3, ed. Knust, p. 306).

The *discurso* concludes with a *Nota Bibliográfica* in which the various sources are given. The whole is written with the minute care and scholarship which we should expect from Sr. Menéndez Pidal.

No less interesting is the *contestación* of Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, in which is displayed the deep and varied learning for which he is so well known. In it, among other things, he reviews the many and solid contributions that have been made to the cause of Spanish letters by the distinguished new Academician, all of which shows very clearly that the Spanish Academy is rather tardy in admitting to its number one of the most thorough and conscientious scholars of which it can boast.

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NOTES ON A PASSAGE IN GOETHE'S *Egmont*.

I beg leave to venture an explanation of a passage in Goethe's *Egmont*, which commentators seem not able to explain to their own satisfaction. I have reference to Alba's words: "So war denn diesmal wider Vermuten der Kluge klug genug, nicht klug zu sein" (*Egmont* iv, 2). Klaucke and Buchheim preserve silence on the passage. Winkler, in his edition of *Egmont*, adopts the interpretation of Frick and Gaudig, but finds the passage a strained paradox. I quote from Frick and Gaudig, *Wegweiser durch die klassischen Schuldramen* (*Aus deutschen Lesebüchern*, Bd. 5, 1) p. 318: "Das 'wider Vermuten' verbietet, diese Worte mit Düntzer, *Erläuterungen*, etc., S. 89, auf Alba selbst zu beziehen und darin die Selbstverhöhnung seiner eigenen überklugen Kurzsichtigkeit zu sehen. Somit ist Oranien gemeint; aber man erwartet eine andere Fassung, etwa: 'auch klug zu sein.' Wie die etwas dunklen Worte jetzt lauten, werden sie verständlicher durch eine Pause hinter 'klug genug,' und geben dann die Meinung des über den Schritt Oraniens mit Überlegenheit urteilenden Alba wieder, der den klugen Schritt des Fürsten gleichwohl als einen unklugen bezeichnet, weil er die offene Widersetzlichkeit Oraniens dem König gegenüber bedeute."

I should like to call attention to Egmont's characterization of himself in his conversation with Klärchen, end of Act III. "Jener Egmont (*i. e.* Egmont in official positions) ist ein verdriesslicher, steifer, kalter Egmont, der an sich halten, bald dieses, bald jenes Gesicht machen muss, etc." That is: politics, public life demands diplomacy. A little earlier in the same scene he says of his relation to the regent: "Ich mache ihr viel zu schaffen, weil sie hinter meinem Betragen immer Geheimnisse sucht und ich keine habe." But then of Orange: "Oranien ist doch noch eine *bessere Unterhaltung* für sie und eine immer neue Aufgabe. Er hat sich in den Kredit gesetzt, dass er immer etwas Geheimes vorhabe; und nun sieht sie immer nach seiner Stirne, was er wohl denken, auf seine Schritte, wohin er sie wohl richten möchte." In the fourth act, second scene, Silva reports to Alba on the conduct of the princes since the arrival of

the Spanish troops: "Ihnen graut's; politisch geben sie uns einen ängstlichen Dank, fühlen, das Rätlichste sei, zu entfliehen. Keiner wagt einen Schritt, sie zaudern, können sich nicht vereinigen; und einzeln etwas Kühnes zu tun, hält sie der Gemeingeist ab. Sie möchten gern sich jedem Verdacht entziehen und machen sich immer verdächtiger. Schon sehe ich mit Freuden deinen ganzen Plan ausgeführt." A presupposition for this plan was, that the princes would be political, would diplomatically try to avoid every suspicion, and so Silva thinks he has a right to rejoice.—And then a little later Orange announces by letter his determination not to come, and Alba exclaims: 'Er wagt es, *nicht* zu kommen! So war denn diesmal wider Vermuten der Kluge klug genug, nicht klug zu sein!'—In connection with the passages cited, it seems hardly necessary to give any explanation of the words: they are self-explanatory. In English I should render them: So for this time, unexpectedly, the diplomatist was shrewd enough not to be diplomatic.—In comparison with Egmont, Orange was considered at court *der Klügere, der Kluge par excellence*. His *Klugheit* consisted in eluding his antagonists; he was *politisch* like the other princes, who thanked, where they should have preferred to strike. Of Orange before all others Alba had expected this sort of diplomacy; hence Orange is now *nicht klug*, not diplomatic, because he is *klug genug*, shrewd enough, not to be so. Diplomatic or wise it was in the judgment of the other princes to yield, to be conciliatory. Orange was shrewd (*klug*) enough to recognize that this diplomacy (*Klugheit*) was not wise (*klug*). The interpretation of Frick and those adopting it assumes that Alba really thought it would have been wiser for Orange to come, as Egmont did; which, in view of Alba's well-defined purpose with regard to both princes, seems to me quite untenable.

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THE 'GIPOUN' OF CHAUCER'S KNIGHT.

Chaucer describes the Knight in the *Prolog* as wearing

'a gipoun
Al bismotered with his habergeoun.'

Skeat defines *gipoun* vaguely as 'a short cassock or doublet.' The *Century Dictionary* and Murray differ in details but agree that it was a garment worn sometimes above the armor and sometimes beneath. But Planché in his *Dictionary of Costume* declares that the only vestment known in England as a jupon, or *gipoun*, was the short surcoat seen on all the effigies of the latter half of the fourteenth century, and was therefore always worn *over* the armor. He quotes the lines in the *Prolog*, but says there is no other evidence that the *gipoun* was worn beneath. The illustration in the Ellesmere ms. represents a long, loose surcoat with wide sleeves, but this does not help us as it is manifestly a civil garment of the fifteenth century, probably the 'jupe' of the artist's own day, and quite another garment from the *gipoun* of Chaucer's.

With Planché I have been unable to find any evidence, save these two lines from Chaucer, to show that the *gipoun* was ever worn beneath the armor, and all the evidence from the effigies and from stray passages in literature seem to show it was always worn above.

For example, Lydgate says:

'and Tidens
Aboue his habergeoun
A gipoun hadde.'

Meyrick in his *Antient Armour* says: 'Almost all the authorities seem to show that this (the *gipoun*) was an exterior garment, yet we read in a French letter remissory, dated 1380, of a *buckram jupon*', and he quotes the two lines from Chaucer, which also seem to indicate that the *gipoun* or 'jupon' was sometimes worn beneath. But it does not necessarily follow from the fact that a jupon was made of buckram, that it was worn beneath the armor; for Planché describes the emblazoned *gipoun* of Edward, the Black Prince, which the effigy shows was worn outside, as made of 'fine buckram.'

Either Chaucer used the word in an unusual sense for 'hacketon,' or 'pourpoint,' or 'gambeson,' which were garments worn under the armor, or we must account for the 'bismotering' in another way. The first supposition seems unlikely, for in the arming of Sir Thopas Chaucer shows that he knew all the terms of dress and armor. A different explanation seems not impossible. The habergeon was strictly a shirt of mail, though often the term

was confused with any kind of armor that served as a body-piece. Over this the gipoun fitted snugly. The latter was generally white, and might well have shown rust stains from the iron beneath, after a long campaign; and, as it was sleeveless, it was exposed, especially on the sides, to contact with the sleeves of the habergeon, which might also effect a 'bismotering.'

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ON THE RELATION OF *Old Fortunatus* TO THE *Volksbuch*.

It must be regarded as reasonably certain that Dekker's *Fortunatus* is a recast and enlargement of *The First Part of Fortunatus* mentioned by Henslowe in 1596, and further that both Dekker and his unknown predecessor derived their raw material largely from the same source,—the German *Volksbuch*.¹

But which version did they follow: that represented by the Augsburg (A) texts, or that represented by the Frankfort (F) editions?² Or were both versions used? And how direct is the connection?

"The Augsburg texts," says Herford, "written in a Bavarian dialect, are in many places ampler in detail and circumstance: they use Romance forms more readily; the woodcuts also are wholly different, and on the whole superior, though less elaborate."³

To be more specific, the main textual differences are as follows:—

Chap. xi. A: "ich byn die iunckfraw des glücks;" F: "ich bin Fortuna."

Chap. xiii. According to A, *Fortunatus* goes to "Nantis;" F has "Andegauis."

Chap. xxx. F omits the warning put by A into the mouth of *Fortunatus* on bequeathing purse and hat to his sons:

¹ Herford,—*Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 204 ff.; *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, ed. Dr. Hans Scherer, Erlangen u. Leipzig, 1901, p. 1 ff.

² Dates of the earliest extant editions of A: 1509, 1530, 1533, 1534, 1544, 1548; of F: 1547, 1551. I quote from A 1509 and from F 1551.

³ P. 205.

"wenn es dann also gar auss käme so satzte man euch nacht unnd tag zu, so lang und so vil byss man euch darumb brächte. Unnd wissen das ich den seckel sechtzig iar gehebt hab, und hon es kainem menschen nye gesagt, . . . Hierumb so seiend fürsichtig, wañ wa ir darumb kämen so wurd er euch nit wider. Also thet es gar wee von grossem reychtumb in armüt zu koñen."

Chap. xxxii. With reference to the reception accorded to Andolosia by the English, A has:

"Doch so sagten sy es wår ymmer schad das er nit ain Englisch man ware, wann sy vermainen das kain besser volck auf erttrich sey dann sy." F has merely: "Sie lobten ihn wievol er nicht ein Englisch Mann war."

Chap. xxxiii. In F the account of the dinner prepared with fuel consisting of costly spices is less detailed than in A. Omitted entirely is the king's comment on the source of Andolosia's wealth: "Wisst ich ainen brunnen da gelt auss zu schöpfen wäre, ich wolt selber auch schöpfen."

Chap. xxxvi. F omits Andolosia's exclamation:

"O almächtiger got, wie seind deine wunderwerck so gross, wie vermag das die natur das so under ainem schönen weiblichñ weibschild so ain falsch ungetrewes hertz getragñ werden mag, hett ich dir künden in das falsch hertz sehen, als ich dir under dein schönes wolgestaltes Angesicht sach, so wår ich in dise angst uñ not nit koñen."

Chap. xxxviii. F omits the passage telling how Agrippina's maids tie a rope to her horns and then pull her and the maids hanging to her feet upward over a beam.

Chap. xxxix. F in describing Andolosia's disguise omits: "unnd etlich farb angestrichen."

Chap. xlvi. F omits the moralizing reflection on Ampedo's death: "Half yn weder schön pallast noch daz bar gelt."

Chap. xlvii. F leaves out Andolosia's reason for his request to be let out of prison: "daz ich doch nit also ellendklichen on beicht unnd on das würdig sacrament hye ersterbe."

Chap. xlviii. F omits the concluding reflections:

"By diser hystoria ist tzu vermercken, hette der iung *Fortunatus* im walde betrechtlichen Weissheit, für den seckel der reichtüb, von der iunckfrawen des glücks erwölt unnd begert, sy wäre ym auch mitt hauffen gegeben worden, denselben schatz ym nyemandt hett mügen enpfieren, durch welliche weissheit unnd vernunft, er auch tzeitlich

güt, erliche narung und grosse hab, het mügen erlangen. So aber er ym dotzumal in seiner iugent, umb freüd unnd wollust willen, der welt reichumb und güt am maysten liebet und geuiele (als ungezweifelt noch von manigem ain solcher seckel für alle vernunft begert wurd) schüff er im selbs und seinen sünen mye und bitterkait der gallen, und wiewol ynen etliche wenig tzeit süß und lieblich was, nam es doch ain sollich ennd, wie ir hyerñ vernoñen habt. Demnach ain ygklicher dem solliche wal gegeben wurde bedencke sich nit lang, volge der vernunft und nit seinem frechen toerechten gemüt, und erkyess Weisshait für reichumb. Als auch gethan hat Salomon, dardurch er der reichest künig der erden wordenn ist. Aber wol ist zu besorgen, die iungfraw des gelücks, die solliche wal aussgibt, und Fortunato den seckel gegeben hat, sey auss unseren landen veriaget, und in diser welt nit mer tzu finden."

As is well known, there are two English prose versions of the Frankfort text. The earliest known copy of one of these bears the date 1676; an extant copy of the other is undated, but belongs approximately to the middle of the seventeenth century (Brit. Museum date "1650?"). As neither version shows any connection with the Dutch translation, the probability is that the English translations were based directly on the German original.⁴ Now, in view of the possibility that the play as we have it had for its direct source an early, *i. e.*, a sixteenth century edition,⁵ of one or the other of these translations, it appears desirable to compare them with F before turning to the play. The 1676 version, it soon becomes evident, is too faithful a rendering to be of service. Not so the "1650?" version (E). That this likewise follows F appears clearly enough. In agreement with F the goddess of chance introduces herself with the words: "my name is Fortune." Where

⁴See Herford, *op. cit.*, Appendix. Not having access to the Brit. Mus. at present, I must rely on Herford's examination of the Dutch translation (8th. ed., Amsterdam, 1631).

⁵For references, before 1600, to the Fortunatus story, see Halliwell, — *Descriptive Notices of Popular English Histories*, Percy Society, vol. 23. On June 22, 1615, a copy of *The Historie of Fortunatus* was entered on the Stationers' Register (vol. III, p. 568, Arber), to Mr. Field. This seems to be the first definite mention of an English version. J. P. Collier's identification (*Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. I, pp. 2-3) of the initials T. C. on the title-page of the 1676 copy, with Thomas Churchyard, is not supported by any evidence.

F has the name *Andegavis*, E gives the French equivalent *Angiers*. Both agree as to omissions and condensations. But there are marked differences between the two. Some of these are due solely to the fact that E is a free literary rendering. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this point. In F—and A as well—the gifts offered by Fortune are enumerated in this order: "Weysshait, Reichumb, Stercke, Gesundheit, Schöne, und langs Leben." In E the order is: "wisdom, health, long life, beauty, strength, and riches." Again, according to the German versions Fortunatus sees in Fortuna only "ein schön Weibsbild" and praises God for meeting a human being once more. E has: "but looking stedfastly upon her he began to ponder whether she might not be a Fary, or bodily shape composed by Delusion." A more important difference consists in an additional adventure in chapter IX, and in the expansion of chapter XXV, which tells of the visit of Fortunatus to the court of Prester John. The English account of this visit is not only more detailed, especially with reference to the feasting and reveling in honor of Fortunatus, but also introduces absolutely new matter, namely an account of the attempts made by Prester John's necromancers to deprive Fortunatus of his purse. Moreover, fear that they may succeed in the end is given as the motive for his departure, instead of longing for his wife Cassandra.

The special features of E would seem to be wholly due to the English translator's avowedly free handling of his copy. "I thought it most convenient," he says in the preface, "by rejecting what was unseemly, rather to collect an abstract of the substance thereof in a plain and English phrase, than to have respect to the literal translation."⁶ Such an attitude must have made it easy for a man of letters not only to curtail and to paraphrase but also to add and to expand, in order to enhance the interest in the story for English readers. The same consideration for his public would account for the translator's silence concerning additions and expansions. It seems to me, therefore, highly probable that he is responsible for all of the departures from the Frankfort text.⁷

⁶Cf. Herford's Appendix.

⁷It should be kept in mind, however, that I have been able to examine with care only the two English translations mentioned, and A 1509, and F 1551.

Now, what is the relation of *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* (D) to E? Apart from the adventure preceding the action of the play, D agrees with E in the departures from F. That both place riches last in the enumeration of Fortune's gifts may be an accidental coincidence of emphasis. A closer connection is strongly suggested by the parallel passages describing the feelings of Fortunatus when Fortune stands suddenly before him. In E he ponders 'whether she may not be a fairy or an illusion; D makes him exclaim :

Oh, how am I transported? Is this earth?
Or blest Elizium?^s

He then addresses her as "goddess," while her first words to him contain an allusion to a retinue of "fairy troops," although fairies do not form a part of the dramatic conception at all. More significant still are the references in D to Prester John. As stated above, neither A nor F mentions any exceptional enjoyment of the senses. E and D give special prominence to the revels at the court of the Emperor of the East, and both agree in making Fortunatus leave "through fear, for safeguard of his life."⁹ Allowance must be made, of course, for the essential identity of the translator's and the playwright's public, perhaps also for reasons inherent in the dramatist's conception of the character of Fortunatus, but the balance of probability is distinctly in favor of the inference that the playwright was familiar with and made use of a sixteenth century edition of E.

But this conclusion applies only to the unknown author of the older portion of the play, *i. e.*, the part in which Fortunatus, the father, is the central figure. If Dekker drew on the Frankfort version, directly or indirectly, there is nothing in what must be regarded as his share alone to disclose the fact. What does become fairly evident is that he followed the Augsburg version:—

1. As pointed out above, A alone makes the English King say: "If I knew of a well from which money might be drawn, I, too, would draw." Dekker represents him as thinking that Andelocia (= Andolosia) has made a covenant

³ *Old Fortunatus*, I, 1, p. 298, Thomas Dekker, Mermaid Series, 1894.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 2, p. 311, l. 19; II, p. 314, ll. 8-9.

with the Devil—"always to swim up to the chin in gold;"¹⁰ and the King's daughter Agripyne (= Agrippina) is made to exclaim: "I have found the sacred spring that never ebbs."¹¹

2. On discovering Agrippina's treachery Andolusia marvels that nature should make women fair of form and false of heart. No trouble would have befallen him if his eyes had not been deceived by Agrippina's beautiful face (xxxvi). Dekker's Andelocia says:—

O fingers, were you upright justices,
 You would tear out mine eyes ! had they not gazed
 On the frail colour of a painted cheek,
 None had betrayed me ;
 O women, wherefore are you born men's woe,
 Why are your faces framed angelical ? ¹²

3. According to A (XLVI) Andolosia is not only cast into a dungeon; his hands and feet are put into a pair of stocks besides. Dekker makes Montrose say :

Drag him to yonder tower, there shackle him,
And in a pair of stocks lock up his heels,
And bid your wishing cap deliver you.¹⁸

4. A reminiscence from A (xxx) in the Fortunatus thread of the play consists of the hero's warning:

These jewels

To both I do bequeath; divide them not,
But use them equally : never bewray
What virtues are in them; for if you do,
Much shame, much grief, much danger follows you.¹⁶

But this warning constitutes a necessary connecting link between the adventures of the father and those of the sons, while it was not needed in the original play, which must have ended with the death of Fortunatus. This addition is therefore clearly Dekker's, and hence adds to the evidence of his indebtedness to the Augsburg text.

5. The main difference in attitude between the two German versions is obviously this, that while F aims at an objective recital of incidents, A is subjective and didactically interpretative. Hence A possessed advantages over F for purposes of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 1, p. 347, l. 3, from below.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 2, p. 348, l. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 2, p. 351, l. 27 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, v, 2, p. 376, ll. 18-20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 2, p. 331, the last five lines. See also III, 2, p. 351, ll. 23-25.

dramatization. It furnished hints F did not contain for the dramatist's fundamental conception. That Dekker availed himself of such hints in creating a larger whole out of the existing play is thus exceedingly probable *à priori*; and this probability gives significance to resemblances that taken by themselves might seem accidental. Andolosa's request in A to be set free long enough for confession and holy communion, his real desire being a chance to escape (XLVII), would accordingly seem to account for the scene in the play where Virtue shrives Andelocia, whose only motive in promising allegiance to her is the desire to get rid of his horns. In a similar manner Dekker appears to have utilized the whole last page of reflections, quoted above. According to these if Fortunatus had asked Fortuna for wisdom, she would have given it abundantly, and no one could have robbed him of his treasure. Through wisdom, moreover, he might have achieved temporal success also. In the play it is Fortune herself who utters this thought, suitably adapted, to be sure:—

"England shall ne'er be poor, if England strive
Rather by virtue than by wealth to thrive."¹⁵

Again, Dekker's *Fortunatus* chooses riches chiefly for the sake of sensual pleasures; but this conception is just that of the moralist of A, who expressly states that the motive of *Fortunatus* was "freud unnd wollust." Lastly, the period of enjoyment, concludes the moralist, in retrospect, was soon cut short by care and the bitterness of gall and death. Here is doubtless the germ of Fortune's menacing prophecy:

But now go dwell with cares and quickly die.¹⁶

To sum up:—

1. *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* is based on both versions of the *Volksbuch*. This fact confirms Herford's conclusion (a) that Dekker recast and enlarged an older play, and (b) that the older play ended with the death of *Fortunatus*.

2. Dekker's predecessor followed the Frankfort text; Dekker himself made liberal use of the Augsburg version.

3. It is probable that an early edition of one of the extant translations of F—namely E=

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, v, 2, p. 382, ll. 6-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 1, p. 303, the last line.

"1650?"—constituted the direct source of the original play.

4. Dekker's share in *Old Fortunatus* rests neither on the Dutch translation, nor on an earlier edition of the English translation by T. C., 1676, both of which follow F. J. P. Collier's conjecture that T. C. stands for Thomas Churchyard is perhaps not an impossible one, but his additional surmise that T. C.'s translation supplied the foundation of the play receives no support from a comparison of the two. Whether Dekker had the German original before him or a translation in Dutch or English cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge concerning Dekker and the translations¹⁷ of the *Volksbuch*.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF "*Les Châtiments*."

In the collection of poems entitled *Les Châtiments* chronology is sacrificed to an attempt at logical arrangement which seems anything but successful. For example, Book iv is entitled "La Religion est glorifiée." The first poem of the Book, headed "Sacer esto," is an arraignment of the Emperor for cruelty, and says not a word of religion. The second is a soliloquy of the poet's, who announces to himself, without allusion to matters other than secular, that his rôle is to watch and warn. The third is an attack on the judiciary,—and so it goes. Of the thirteen poems which form this Book, but one,—the poem namely, entitled "Un autre,"—deals directly with the theme announced by the title of the Book; while scattered all through the other Books are numbers of fragments which might easily come under the head we are considering.

It is difficult to see the purpose of the precise arrangement given us; but a reading of the poems in the order of their production brings us to some extremely interesting conclusions, which might not otherwise appear. The earliest poem was written

¹⁷ Unless my notes are very much at fault, all of the later English reprints and chap-book condensations—as far as they are represented in the British Museum—are in substantial agreement with the 1676 copy.

in Paris on a December midnight in 1844, and the latest was penned at Brussels on the last day of August, 1870. These two are separated from the others by considerable gaps of time, and their relevance is a little hard to determine; for in 1844 Napoleon had not yet risen to prominence, and in August of 1870 his power was gone. In 1844 Hugo announces that life is a struggle, and that rather than exist without principles and ideals he would take root and bear leaves in the forest; in 1870, on the eve of his return to his crushed and bleeding country, he announces that though he avoided her in her insolent prosperity, he is coming back to help her in the hour of her need. Between these two proud utterances what an age of happenings and feelings had rolled past! Besides the verses written in 1844, five of the poems were composed before the *coup d'état*. Of these three are fierce personal attacks upon certain of the powers that then were, one a eulogy of four political prisoners, amounting to a back-handed slap at the authorities, and one a noble expression of his confidence in the people. Then, between January, 1852, and December, 1853, come the fragments that make the great body of the work. There is a long series of biting epigrams, each a few lines and the product of the impulse of a moment; then an elaborate production filling a dozen pages, then another series of flashes and another broad sheet of flame; and so it goes. At intervals of weeks or months, the poet's wrath and enthusiasm, only partially relieved by the little spurts of inspiration which fill the space between, boils over in long poems like "Nox" and "Lux."

But the most interesting result of a chronological examination is the discovery that as we progress the wrath is growing less violent and the enthusiasm stronger. It is significant that the first long poem of the series is called "Nox" and the last "Lux." Just as the bitter anger of *Les Châtiments* melted into the sea-born serenity of *Les Contemplations*, so in *Les Châtiments* itself, the disgusted politician of 1851 becomes the glad prophet of 1853. Of course there are frequent relapses, but the tendency is plain to any one who reads the poems in the order in which they were written, and in a sufficiently short time to get an impression of the whole. The first bit of pure pathos without a tinge of bitterness is number

twenty-nine on the chronological list, and was penned in August, 1852. After that such bits are frequent. The first genuinely hopeful utterance saw the light in the latter part of October, 1852. After that hope shows herself with increasing confidence till she bursts out at the end in a glorious prophecy of the future. *Les Châtiments* is not a mass of incoherent invective. It is the familiar story of the soul's rebound from temporary defeat.

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THE NEW VERSION OF THE *Theophilus*.

In the introduction to the very interesting version of the Theophilus legend from ms. Rawlinson Poet. 225, which he prints in *Engl. Stud.*, xxxii, 1, W. Heuser states that the version of ms. Harl. 1703, by William Forrest, "ist noch ungedruckt." In this he is mistaken. The text has been carefully printed with an introduction, by Ludorff, "William Forrest's Theophiluslegende," *Anglia* vii, p. 60 ff. This is, as Dr. Heuser conjectures, the latest of the versions in English, being of the sixteenth century; but it possesses considerably greater interest and value than he intimates.

The statement with regard to the version of the *North-English Legendary* is also somewhat misleading. The editor says (p. 1):

"Ferner die version in kurzen reimpaaren, erhalten im Vernon-ms. (ed. *Engl. Stud.* i), und dem nord-englischen legendar, von welchem Kölbing seinerzeit nur die lückenhafte Hs. Cott. Tib. E. vii zur Verfügung stand, während die vollständige fassung des ms. Harl. 4196 erst in dem i. bande der *Engl. Stud.* veröffentlicht wurde."

The versions of the Vernon ms. on the one hand, and of ms. Cott. Tib. E. vii and ms. Harl. 4196 on the other, are both from the *North-English Legendary* which, in its original form is contained in eight different mss. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Horstmann, *Altenglische Leg.*, N. F., pp. lx ff. and Gerould, *North-English Hom. Collection*, pp. 5 ff. As I have already indicated in the study just mentioned (p. 79), it was unfortunate that Kölbing in "Die engl. Fassungen," *Beit.*

zur vergl. Geschichte der rom. Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters, should have been forced to use the later and more corrupt forms of the North-English version. The relation of these to that of the unexpanded collection as found, for example, in MS. Ash. 42, fol. 164 (b) should, however, be emphasized.

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NEUF MOIS SUR VINGT ANS: A DATE IN THE CAREER OF J. A. DE BAÏF.

In a sonnet addressed to Muret, J. A. de Baïf states that he wrote the *Amours de Méline*

sur les rives de Seine,
Lorsque neuf mois ie contoy sur vingt ans.¹

This expression "*neuf mois sur vingt ans*" has led both his editors into a curious error.

M. Becq de Fouquières writes in the introduction to his *Poésies choisies de J. A. de Baïf* (Paris, 1874), p. xiii:

"Du doux nom de Méline il décora l'amante imaginaire qui lui inspira d'amoureux sonnets et de lascives chansons; et il prit soin de dater exactement cette première heure d'éclosion poétique: (He quotes here the lines given above).

C'est ainsi, dans le courant de l'automne de l'année 1552, qu'il laissait un peu négligement tomber ses premiers vers de sa plume facile."

The same introduction states that Baïf was born in 1532. It is evident that M. Becq de Fouquières interprets "*neuf mois sur vingt ans*" "twenty years and nine months."

M. Marty-Laveaux² falls into the same error. He states directly that Baïf wrote the *Amours de Méline* at the age of twenty years and nine months:

"revenant un peu plus loin, dans un sonnet à Muret, à son exactitude ordinaire, il nous apprend qu'il avait vingt ans et neuf mois:

Lorsque neuf mois ie contoy sur vingt ans."

Baïf was born the nineteenth of February, 1532. He was twenty years and nine months old in November, 1552. But the privilege for the first edition is dated December tenth, 1552. M. Becq

¹ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, p. 26.

² Baïf, *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, p. ix.

de Fouquières realizes that this is indeed rushing into print.³ He says:

"Pressé de jouir de la gloire poétique et de ceindre son front d'un *chapeau de laurier*, il ne se donna guère le temps de revoir et de polir ses jeunes chansons, dont quelques-unes, même parmi les plus gracieuses, auraient gagné à quelques suppressions. Les *Amours de Méline* parurent sans retard: l'impression était achevée le 10 décembre, 1552."

But does *neuf mois sur vingt ans* mean "twenty years and nine months," as both editors have so readily assumed? Littré gives *plus de, de plus que* as meanings for *sur*, but he gives no expressions of time among the examples cited. Godefroy, however, apparently settles the matter when under the caption *sour* he says:—"Fig. il indique un *acheminement vers*," and cites the following examples:—

si revenrons au roi Phelipe qui estoit
sor l'aage de vint ans.⁴

Les chiens
Sur les deux ans, que l'age les renforce,
Il pourront bien prendre le cerf à force.⁵

The use of *sur* with the idea of "toward" temporal is not infrequent in modern French; *sur les quatre heures, il était sur son départ, sur la fin du jour*.

The meaning of *neuf mois sur vingt ans* is, then, "nineteen years and nine months." It is only justice to Baïf's reputation to date the sonnets to Méline as early as possible in his career. Moreover, this interpretation removes the difficulty with regard to the date of publication.

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FRENCH PRONUNCIATION.

Précis de prononciation française, L'ABBÉ ROUSSELOT et FAUSTE LACLOTTE. Paris, Welter, 1903.

The appearance of this manual is of great importance, since it is the first application of the principles of experimental phonetics to practical problems of pronunciation. And coming as it

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. xiv.

⁴ Menestrel de Reims, § 22, Wailly.

⁵ Passerat, *Oeuvres*, p. 17, éd. 1606.

does from the man who has played the principal part in the development of this science, it must be considered as possessing especial value.

It is clear that in teaching the pronunciation of a foreign language, a definite objective knowledge of the requisite action of the organs that work together to form the articulations of that language will be worth much more than a subjective auditory impression which must be counterfeited. In the one case we must have a more intelligent and closer imitation of the sound than in the other—and, what is most important, the student has a way of self-correction and of controlling his sounds under adverse conditions.

In the introduction, the authors discuss the question as to where the typical French pronunciation is found, and for various reasons decide in favor of Paris. This, however, with the reservation that it shall be the speech of an educated person, and not the colloquialisms of a careless, hurried or poorly educated Parisian. And this is very proper. In the last few years, one class of phoneticians have largely devoted themselves to the study of colloquial short-cuts (especially in French) and to the advocacy of teaching such a pronunciation, even to a stranger. It is as though in teaching our own language a student should be instructed to render the printed form—'well I do not know' by *lidno*. I have an idea that no English teacher would allow this for a moment in the class room, and yet we constantly exact it for French. Examples of this are: *kek* for 'quelque' and *tsü* for 'dessus.' It is well to have a serious protest against making colloquial carelessness a standard for language teaching. As the authors say:—

"il y a des négligences qui passent inaperçues dans une conversation rapide, mais qui choqueraient dans une lecture lente ou une prononciation bien soignée. . . . Si l'étranger parle vite, et s'il les reproduit à son insu par suite du seul mouvement organique, il se trouve dans les mêmes conditions que les Français, et personne ne les remarquera. Mais si au contraire, et c'est le cas le plus habituel, la prononciation est lente et quelque peu embarrassée, l'étranger qui en émaille son discours est tout à fait ridicule."

It is to be hoped that this eminently sane view may prevail.

The rest of the introduction is devoted to a well

illustrated description of the organs of speech, and the methods used for determining their action. Here are briefly noticed many of the instruments described more at length elsewhere.¹

In chapter I, the vowels are treated, and the three varieties of each vowel are explained—the closed, the open and the medium. This latter variety has never been properly distinguished,² and this has been the cause of much uncertainty in the location of certain sounds. Hence the discussions as to the quality of the atonic vowels in 'jeudi,' 'aimable,' 'rôti' and the like. If it is understood that the medium variety is principally found in the atonic syllables, and that an atonic syllable generally demands a medium vowel, many of these doubtful points become clear. One has only to pronounce the word 'descendre,' with the first vowel closed, then open and lastly in a natural manner, to distinguish clearly the medium variety. Or it can be heard in the first *e* of 'bébé.'

The nomenclature for the *a* is open to objection. Starting from the neutral vowel, which is *a* medium, as the tongue is gradually raised toward the front of the mouth, we have the series (as given by the authors) *a*, *à*, *è*, *e*, *é*, *i*, *î*. Thus in both *e* and *i*, the more the tongue is raised, the more the vowel becomes closed. Why this is not true of *a* is not clear, but, contrary to expectation, the variety of *a* for which the tongue is more raised than for the medium variety is called *a* open, instead of *a* closed. If it be said that the latter name is needed for the third variety, which belongs to the back series, one may answer that to avoid misunderstanding (and possibly mis-statement) such a vowel may more justly be called back *a*, as compared with the *a* in the front series. We should then have the *a*'s as follows—back *a* 'âme,' medium *a* 'papa' and front *a* 'part.' Such division is exact and clear, avoiding all misunderstanding.

The vowels are divided into four series, and each variety is illustrated by a photograph showing the position of the lips (a feature of prime importance), as well as the tongue elevation shown by palato-

¹ Rouselet, *Principes de phonétique expérimentale*. Paris, 1897.

² It has often been explained as a difference in length, cf. Viëtor, *Elemente*, p. 136, 3d. ed. That there is a qualitative difference is clearly shown by the experiments.

grams and tracings of the pressure on exploratory bulbs.

The 'front' series is (as given above) α , $\hat{\alpha}$, \hat{e} , e , \acute{e} , \acute{i} , \acute{i} . In this series the progressive elevation of the tongue in the front of the mouth is clear, while the labial action is unimportant.

The second series given is the 'front labialized.' This is formed by the raising of the tongue as in the 'front' series, and the progressive rounding out of the lips as in the 'back' series. This comprises the varieties $\hat{\alpha}$, α , \hat{e} , u , \acute{u} . Thus we have two varieties of the medium vowel, which may be considered as coming in an atonic syllable—'déjeuner' and 'musique.' An extremely interesting point here is the identification of e mute (when pronounced, of course) with α (medium); "cette voyelle est ordinairement désignée sous le nom d' e muet, quand elle est écrite par e ." For clearness this series may be explained by some such table as the following:

| Vowel | | Position of tongue | | Position of lips |
|----------------|---|--------------------|---|------------------|
| $\hat{\alpha}$ | = | $\hat{\alpha}$ | + | $\hat{\alpha}$ |
| α | = | \hat{e} | + | α |
| \hat{e} | = | e | + | \hat{o} |
| u | = | \hat{e} | + | ou |
| \acute{u} | = | \acute{i} | + | ou |

The third series is the "back labial." This ranges from \acute{a} to ou , the point of the tongue being drawn back as the lips are progressively rounded. This series comprises: \acute{a} , $\hat{\alpha}$, α , \hat{o} , ou , ou . Of the \acute{a} I have already spoken, it is that of 'pâte' and 'chocolat' (the latter raising an interesting point). The medium vowels are again atonic, 'votre,' 'chocolat,' 'bouton,' 'couleur,' while the others are the well-known varieties.

The fourth series is the 'nasal,' containing the four varieties $\hat{\alpha}$, \hat{e} , \hat{e} and \hat{o} . The actual varieties of the oral vowels which are nasalized are shown not to be exactly correct as usually given. The α is between \acute{a} and $\hat{\alpha}$ ($\hat{\alpha}$), the e is between $\hat{\alpha}$ (?) and \hat{e} ($\hat{\alpha}$), the α is practically \hat{e} with $\hat{\alpha}$ at the lips and the α is $\hat{\alpha}$. The positions of the organs for this series are approximately:

| Nasal vowel | | Position of tongue | | Position of lips |
|----------------|---|--------------------|--|------------------|
| $\hat{\alpha}$ | = | $\hat{\alpha}$ | | $\hat{\alpha}$ |
| \hat{e} | = | $\hat{\alpha}$ | | \hat{o} |
| \hat{e} | = | \hat{e} | | \hat{o} |
| \hat{o} | = | \hat{o} | | \hat{o} |

The position of the lips and tongue are influenced by two facts, (a) the root of the tongue is raised to meet the uvula, and (b) the jaws are sensibly closer together than for the oral vowels.

From the *tonomètre* of Koenig, which is now the property of the 'Institut de Laryngologie et d'Orthophonie de Paris,' the 'résonances' or number of vibrations for each position of the oral cavity have been determined. I give those of the front and back vowels as being of the greatest interest (the subject is from Haut-Augoumois).

| | | | | |
|----------------|------|------|-------------|------|
| \acute{a} | 228 | v.d. | \acute{a} | 342 |
| $\hat{\alpha}$ | 456 | | α | 684 |
| $\hat{\alpha}$ | 912 | | α | 1026 |
| \hat{e} | 1368 | | e | 1596 |
| \acute{i} | 2736 | | \acute{i} | 3648 |

In order to see the constant relations in the series, let $x=114$. We then obtain the following: $\acute{a}=2x$, $u=3x$, $\hat{\alpha}=4x$, $\alpha=6x$, $\hat{\alpha}=7x$, $\hat{\alpha}=8x$, $\alpha=9x$, $\hat{\alpha}=10x$, $\hat{e}=12x$, $e=14x$, $\hat{e}=16x$, $\acute{i}=24x$, $\acute{i}=32x$.

The consonants are thoroughly treated, three prime points being insisted upon—the amount of voiced quality ('sonorité'), of the strength of the articulation and of the expiration. Generally speaking, the voiced consonants are longer (and more intensely) voiced than in the Germanic languages. The strength of the articulation is in inverse ratio to the strength of the expiration. In French, the articulation is strong and the expiration is weak. The contrary is true of the voiceless consonants in the Germanic languages, while in the voiced, the articulation is stronger than in French. This excess is the reason that they have less of the voiced quality.

The various consonants are studied at length, I shall cite a few of the more important points. In the 'half-vowels' (consonantal vowels) the articulation of the vowel is relaxed a bit, and the sound made as short as possible. I may add that this may be helped by making as much of the articulation as possible during the preceding sound—this is especially applicable to the labial varieties. The notable difference between a French and English voiced fricative is that the former is held longer and the voiced air passed through the articulation, while in the latter the voiced air may not become audible much before it is heard in the vowel. This

is especially true of the nasals, cf. 'Eng. 'my' and Fr. 'mon.'

The difference between the French and Germanic (English) explosives is also very marked and clearly shown. These consonants comprise two movements, the closure (which is held) and the explosion. For the French voiced explosive ('occlusive') the vibration of the vocal cords begins during the closure ('occlusion') and considerably before the explosion, which gives them their full voiced quality. For the French voiceless explosive, the vibrations begin at the precise moment of explosion, which is practically completely voiced in French. For the Germanic (English) voiced consonant, the vibrations begin at or during the explosion, which, as far as the temporal relation of the vibrations is concerned, identifies it with the French voiceless consonant. The difference is in the strength and position of the articulation. In the Germanic voiceless consonant, the vibrations do not begin until after the explosion. The *n mouillé* is also very clearly explained.

The third chapter is on 'groups of articulations. The first section treats of the manner in which the articulations are combined, the second of their relative qualities. Under this latter head comes the question of quantity. Here it is stated that the short consonants (the 'medium' varieties) last on an average a third less time than the others (the 'open' and 'closed' varieties)—the former $\frac{3}{10}$ of a second, the latter $\frac{4}{10}$. As to the various classes of consonants, they have about the same length, the continuants a bit longer than the explosives, and the voiceless than the voiced. As single sounds are united they lose some of their length, and a vowel with a consonant is shorter than when pronounced alone. An articulation also decreases in length proportionately as the group with which it is pronounced increases—'a,' 'ab,' 'habit,' 'habituellement,' or 'â,' 'hâte,' 'hâter,' 'hâtivement.' I pass over the paragraphs on 'intensity,' 'pitch' and 'accent' (the latter carefully worked out).

The third section (all too short) treats in the first place of the 'modification of the quality of vowels under the influence of accent.' By becoming atonic, the 'open' or 'closed' (except *è* and *ê*) weaken to the 'medium' variety.

â becomes *a* (*bâ* 'bas' and *bâ d swà* 'bas de soie').

é " *e* (*la bôté*, but *la bôte d kâr* 'la bonté de cœur').

ò, ô become *o* (*kôr* 'corps,' *korsè* 'corset'; *kôt* 'côte,' *kôllet* 'côtelette').

œ, œ " *æ* (*pær* 'peur,' *pæræ* 'peureux'; *fæ* 'feu,' *fæ d jwa* 'feu de joie').

i becomes *i* (*midî* but *midî sonè* 'midi sonnait').

ou " *ou* (*boû* 'boue' but *bouê* 'boueux').

û " *u* (*il a pû* but *il a pu vnr* 'il a pu venir').

But *è* becomes *é* (*têt, têtû* 'têtu'; *mè, mé wi* 'mais oui').

And *ê* " *æ* (*plær, plæré* 'pleurer').

When they receive the accent and are lengthened the 'medium' vowels become 'open,' except *i, u, ou* which become 'closed' (there are no 'open' varieties of these vowels in French).

a (*kavæ* 'cave'; *ô la bèl kævæ* 'oh! la belle cave!')

e (*loe solèy é bô* 'le soleil est beau'; *ô k il é bô, l solèyæ* 'oh! qu'il est beau, le soleil').

o (*el é bon* 'elle est bonne').

æ (*joe vyêdre* 'je viendrai' et en insistant: *vi jâ vyêdre* 'oui! je viendrai').

i (*il a movèz min* 'il a mauvaise mine' et lentement *kel minæ* 'quelle mine!').

Section four, devoted to *e* 'mute' seems rather summary, but we are referred to the second part of the work for more developed treatment. The observations, however, are interesting. The vowel *æ* (the so-called *e* 'mute') is fully pronounced in isolated monosyllables. But in certain groups it is disappearing, while in others is appearing. After voiceless final consonants it generally disappears, while after voiced it generally subsists, although considerably weakened. However, after an emphatic tonic syllable, whatever be the consonant, it retains its full value, or is even strengthened. Finally, it is stated, the most important factor for the retention of the *æ* is the slowness of the phrase delivery.

The second part is devoted to the study of the orthography of the language, and the determination of the spoken sounds from the written symbols. In this part are treated successively, the vowels, the consonants and linking. A most useful hint is that given on page 106, where attention is called to the possible variation of a sound brought about by the phrase accent.

The vowels are first considered, (a) in their general orthography, (b) as accented and (c) as

unaccented. After the general principles are mentioned (*ai*, *ei*, *oe* = *e*; *au*, *eau* = *o*; *eu*, *oeu* = *oe*), the accented vowels are studied. In this connection it seems unfortunate not to give a clear statement of French syllabication and its bearing on the pronunciation—a most important point for the foreigner.

The rules for the pronunciation of the vowels may be reduced to ten (leaving out the minor differences), of which I give an abstract:

1. accented vowels followed by two pronounced consonants (the second being neither *l* nor *r*) are medium, the combinations being:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>a</i> + <i>kt</i> , <i>ks</i> (<i>x</i>), <i>gm</i> , <i>ps</i> , <i>pt</i> , | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>e</i> + <i>kt</i> , <i>ks</i> (<i>x</i>), <i>gm</i> , <i>ps</i> , ¹ | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>i</i> + <i>kt</i> , <i>ks</i> (<i>x</i>), <i>gm</i> , <i>ps</i> , <i>pt</i> , <i>tm</i> , | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>oe</i> + | <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>u</i> + <i>ks</i> (<i>x</i>) | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>o</i> + <i>kt</i> , <i>ks</i> (<i>x</i>) <i>gm</i> , <i>pt</i> , | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |
| <i>ou</i> + | <i>s</i> + cons., <i>l</i> + cons., <i>r</i> + cons. |

2. accented vowels followed by a surd explosive, whether alone or followed by *l* or *r*, are medium, except that *á*, *ó*, *au* are closed, and *ê*, *ai* are open.

3. accented vowels followed by a surd fricative are medium, except that *é*, *ai*, *chê* are open, and *au* and some *a*'s and *o*'s are closed.

4. accented vowels followed by a sonant consonant (*l*, *g*, *d*, *b*, *ŋ*, *n*, *m*) are medium, but tend to lengthen, when *a*, *e*, *o* become more open, and *i*, *u*, *ou* more closed. This is especially true of the vowels affected by the phrase accent.

5. of accented vowels followed by final pronounced *v* or *j*, *o* is medium, *a*, *e*, *oe* slightly open, and *i*, *u*, *ou* medium or slightly closed.

6. before final pronounced *r*, *a*, *e*, *oe*, *o* are open; *i*, *u*, *ou* are closed.

7. before final *s* in foreign or words spelled in an old-fashioned manner, or final pronounced *z*, *e*, *oi*, are open, all the others are closed.

8. before mute *s*, *x*, *z*, whether in the stem or plural ending, the pronunciation varies considerably.

9. accented vowels before final *y* (*l mouillée*) are medium, except *a*, which is either medium or closed.

10. accented vowels followed by final *e muet* are generally closed and somewhat lengthened;—*aie* = *è*.

For the unaccented vowels, the law as mentioned above is repeated, that is: all unaccented vowels are

¹ Why not *pt*? e. g. *inepte*.

medium. When *e muet* medial falls between two consonants and in noun endings *-etier*, it is elided. When it follows two consonants, as in the noun endings *-enier*, *-erier*, *-elier*, and in the conditional verb endings *-erions*, *-eriez* it is pronounced.

From the above *résumé* of the pronunciation of the vowels, it will be seen that the rules are a combination of the time-honored ones of the open and closed syllables, expressed differently, applied to the rather novel medium vowels, and a large number of new and original observations. I have said "novel medium" vowels since that is a variety which is here clearly and fully distinguished for the first time, although to those who have studied with the Abbé Rousselot this distinction has been recognized as one that must be made. And after slight exercise, the ear distinguishes them perfectly, and the much discussed variety of *eu* in 'jeudi' or 'déjeuner,' or *o* in 'rôti,' is easily settled once for all.

The consonants are fully treated, especially the *mouillés*. But the arrangement does not seem to favor a clear and concise statement for the nasals, it being necessary to look in no less than four places to find the required statements, and then they are not clearly correlated, nor do we find the needed information as to the pronunciation of such words as 'ennui,' 'enivrer' and 'enhardir.' And yet the whole question is one that admits of extremely precise treatment, if it be studied from the point of view of syllabication.

Lastly, the subject of linking is considered, the cases being clearly indicated where (a) it must be done, (b) it must not be done, and (c) it may be done. The book is well indexed, an apparently full word-index adding much to its usefulness.

Altogether, the book is a distinct advance in the study of French phonetics, putting it upon a decidedly more scientific basis. The varieties and the rules given satisfy the ear (of course I may only speak for myself) much more than those hitherto accepted. And the authors are conservative men who do not follow too closely the current negligent pronunciation; and who, on the other hand, in speaking of such a word as 'chrestomathie' say,—“De jeunes professeurs disent *krestomati*.”

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PHONETICS.

Elements of Phonetics, English, French, and German, translated by WALTER RIPPMMANN from Professor Viëtor's *Kleine Phonetik*, published by J. M. Dent & Co., London, 1899.

This handbook of Phonetics has been in use long enough for one to have tested it carefully in class. The present notice is meant to draw attention to some of its excellences and faults, and to make a few suggestions for those who may desire to employ the work. Most of the points which we shall criticize are matters of detail; some, more important, are simply the inheritance of past scholarship; almost without exception these latter points are here presented in a less objectional form than elsewhere. Our quarrel, then, in these cases is not with the translator or author, but with their predecessors.

The Elements of Phonetics, be it said at once, seems to us the best handbook in English treating the three languages mentioned above. That there could be an improvement in the typography of the work, in the succession of paragraphs, in the English, and in the punctuation, is clear from a cursory examination. Still, these are minor faults, as compared with the real excellences of the book, which presents the least complicated, the most easily understandable development of the subject to be found in the English tongue.

The text is preceded by a cut of the organs of speech, drawn from Luschka's *Der Schlundkopf des Menschen*, a cut somewhat ghastly in appearance, but superior decidedly to that in the original of Viëtor. The same cut has already been utilized by Michaelis and Passy in their *Dictionnaire Phonétique*.

The first twenty sections of the work were prepared by Mr. Rippmann himself, save a few passages, such as section 3, which is taken from paragraph 4 of the *Kleine Phonetik*.

We shall now mention in order of presentation a number of points in this valuable little volume.

Section 3. The author states that exhalation is better adapted to speech than inhalation, because it is the result of the diaphragm returning to its natural position. It may be doubted whether this is a sound explanation. It is likely that, other

things being equal, that phase of breathing which was most under control of the muscles would be best adapted to speech. That phase, as the author says, would be inhalation. We might better say that the expiratory stream of air is best adapted to speech because speech is meant to carry sound to a distance from us. We avail ourselves of the stream that is moving in the desired direction. To carry well, the sounds (especially the consonants) must be made from within out.

Section 15, second paragraph. This statement, strictly speaking, is not true, since the organs might be in the position indicated in simple breathing. The words: "in the production of a sound," inserted after the word "If", would make the statement more accurate.

Section 16. We find here the familiar statement that the passage through the nose is invariable. While this is true of the nose proper, it is not true of the nasal passage, if this be taken, as it should, to include the space above the soft palate. This space is decidedly variable, and should be taken into consideration. We shall observe throughout this book, as in all phonetic works for that matter, a great lack of knowledge of the functions and movements of the soft palate. For instance, sections 13 and 14, give in reality a wrong idea of the action of the soft palate. We quote: "In breathing, the velum hangs down as a rule, leaving a free passage for the air on its way through nose, pharynx, larynx, windpipe, bronchial tubes and lungs. In speaking, on the other hand, the velum in most cases closes the nasal passage completely by pressing against the back surface of the pharynx; the breath can then pass through the mouth only. In some sounds, however, the velum is lowered." From reading these sentences no one could obtain a true conception of the rapidity and frequency of the movements of the soft palate in speech. The words "In speaking, on the other hand, the velum in most cases closes the nasal passage completely," are the most objectionable part of the statement. A beginner might suppose that the soft palate in speech receded and remained glued to the wall of the pharynx. Or, he might even suppose that in the case of some speakers this was done, and not in the case of others. To be sure, this erroneous impression is somewhat corrected later, but the general effect of this passage

is disastrous. Where the mistake is made is in contrasting speech, which is most variable and active, with sleep, in which the organs are at rest. The passage could easily be amended by changing "in most cases" into "in most sounds."¹

In this same section, occur the familiar terms "blade" and "front", applied to the tongue. These terms are objectionable, if for no other reason, because they might be interchanged: that is, they have not the distinctiveness which should characterize scientific terms.

Section 32. It is stated in this section that when the glottal click is energetic, we have what is known as clearing the throat and coughing. This language needs some modification, for the glottal click is always unvoiced, whereas the two acts mentioned are nearly always accompanied by voice. Again, in the glottal click, as we have found by scores of tracings, there is always recession of the soft palate. One may, however, clear the throat with the mouth closed, in which case there is no recession of the soft palate.

The diagram preceding page 28 presents the familiar vowel triangle in all its glory. A glance is supposed to tell one the elevation of the tongue in a given vowel, the lip opening, the position in the front, middle, or back of the mouth. A person looking at this diagram for the first time might suppose that Phonetics was an exact science, yet this is not true. To this extent, the presentation of such a diagram in all of its fixedness and definiteness, is unfair and unscholarly. It may be doubted whether a scientific man who had spent a full year investigating Phonetics, could look on this diagram save with pity or contempt. To illustrate what we object to in this frequently printed diagram, we read with regard to it, in section 50 as follows: "We regard that a as 'pure' or 'neutral' in which the tongue position coincides with the intersection of the u-a line and the i-a line." This language has the true mathematical ring. It is apparently as scientifically accurate as one of the familiar theorems: "If from the middle points of two opposite sides of a

parallelogram lines be drawn to the vertices of the angles opposite, these lines will trisect the diagonal that joins the other two vertices." As a matter of fact, Phonetics is not an exact science, and probably never will be. These assumptions of scientific accuracy are the heritage of the English school of Phonetics. They are much attenuated in the volume before us, but they are still objectionable. As for the diagram in question, it contains undoubtedly some truth, considerable even, but it is not a sidereal chart nor a chemical formula.

Section 36. We are told here that the resonance of the mouth depends (a) on the position of the tongue; (b) on that of the lips. It would be well to add: (c) on that of the soft palate.

Section 43, second paragraph. It is stated here that towards the close of the long English u the lips are brought so closely together that consonantal w results: *too* is to be written *tu:w* or *tuw*. The editors of the hand-book deserved no censure for writing in the traditional way the transcription of the long u. What strikes us, however, is the insufficiency of the transcription. We doubt if a scholar living a thousand years hence could obtain even the approximate truth from this notation. In the first place, we are told that the lips approach so near that a consonantal w is produced. To produce w, the lips must certainly withdraw suddenly, yet we know that this does not happen. A speaker makes the first half of a consonantal w, but the second half, the part that, so to speak, gives birth to the consonant, is lacking. The result is at best a half-consonant. Again, are the editors sure of their own minds in regard to this sound? We read the concluding sentence of the paragraph and are in doubt: "It is therefore not a single sound, but a diphthong." Let it be said that no alphabet that men could design could ever represent scientifically the pronunciation of English. It is the part of wisdom, then, to offer with due qualifications any attempt to write phonetically this language. What, for instance would a foreigner make of one of the notations for *useful* on page 35: *juwsful*?

Section 73. It is here said of French nasal vowels: "The nasal character of these sounds is so evident because the velum is lowered considerably." This sentence would be more accurate if the last word were omitted. As a matter of fact,

¹Section 16 is to be compared with the next to the last paragraph of section 19, and with the second paragraph of 22. In the latter passage, the words "articulations of mouth and nose" seem to imply that there are articulations of the nose, or at least some one articulation.

experiments have shown that the velum, although varying slightly from one to another of these four vowels, is very low in all of them, and may occupy in one of them a position lower than that of rest.

Section 75. The statement made here concerning *h* is the one so frequently repeated since Whitney, that *h* is in reality the breathed form of the succeeding vowel. If this is true, the phoneticians should have the courage of their convictions, and should write *ha* as *ga*, just as they write the French *prisme* with the sign of voicelessness under the *m*. This theory of *h* seems to us unacceptable. The matter would be easy to examine with instruments, but no one as yet, we believe, has carried out such an experiment.

Sections 80 and 82. The uvular *r* is here described and is said to be the regular sound in French. This last is perhaps going rather far, although the sound meant is dominant at Paris. As to whether the Parisian *r* is in fact the uvular *r*, one may be pardoned for having doubts. It has appeared in tracings taken of this *r* that the soft palate and the back of the tongue draw towards each other for an instant. These organs do not seem to remain in semi-contact long enough to produce a rolled consonant according to the description given in paragraph 80. On the contrary, the consonantal effect seems to be brought about by the sudden drawing asunder of the two organs.

Section 173. The ordinary pronunciation of *enivrer* is here given and also: *anivre*. We cannot remember ever to have heard this pronunciation.

Section 148. This section is superior in the original, since it is there clearer. In the second and third paragraphs, the semicolons should be replaced by commas. The punctuation of the succeeding paragraph is slovenly.

Section 158. The last sentence is interesting as indicating the authors' views concerning Experimental Phonetics: "Accurate results can obviously be obtained only by mechanical methods." The original bears the words: "Genauere Resultate," p. 88. The utility made, however, of Experimental Phonetics in this volume is not a peculiarly happy one. That is, the diagram on p. 117 (p. 91 of the *Kleine Phonetik*), means very little to the uninitiated, and perhaps less to the initiated. It

would have been much better to have omitted this diagram, as also that on p. 125. We read on p. 117: "The accent of a long vowel in an 'open' syllable (e. g. *du*) has been ascertained by means of the cymagraph." In the first place, it seems preferable to spell the last word *kymograph*. In the second place, to say that these tracings have been taken with a kymograph is like saying that a piece of cloth has been measured with a ruler, when what we desire to know is the texture of the cloth. The kymograph is simply the revolving cylinder covered with blackened paper on which tracings have been made in some way, just how we must be told for us to derive any real knowledge from the diagram, or even to understand it. What was the instrument with which the tracings were made?

The authors employ the alphabet of the Association Phonétique Internationale, which is the best phonetic alphabet that we possess. There are, however, three important points in this alphabet that seem to us inaccurate to a surprising degree. It is the use of one sign for the vowels of the English words *lord*, *law*, *not*, and for the French vowels in *robe*, *dot*, *or*; that of one sign for the English and German vowels in: *boot*, *book*, *du* and *und*; and finally the use of one sign for the English and German vowels of: *beet*, *bit*, and *mir*, *mit*. To be sure, some careful writers place at least occasionally a diacritical mark over the vowels in *but*, *und*, *bit*, and *mit*. An Englishman who is taught that he is to use the vowels of *law* and *not* in the French words *or* and *dot*, can never learn a proper pronunciation, no matter if he is being taught by a phonetician. Similarly, a Frenchman who is given to understand that whether he uses the so-called open or close vowel in *but*, *und*, *bit*, and *mit*, should be forgiven if he speaks English and German with a heavy accent. The difference between the vowels of *beet* and *bit* is so great that there should be two separate signs, and the same is true of those of *boot* and *book*.

It will be noticed that in general our criticisms of the book before us have borne upon points where it follows the traditional teachings. In conclusion, we desire to repeat what we said at the beginning, that the *Elements of Phonetics* is the best handbook in English treating of the three great modern languages. The value of a careful

course with this book as the basis of study is incalculable for any one who intends to become a teacher of spoken languages.

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OLD FRENCH LITERATURE.

The Three Days' Tournament, a study in romance and folk-lore, by JESSIE L. WESTON. London: David Nutt, 1902.

Miss Weston, favorably known to students of mediæval literature from her two studies¹ on the legends of Gawain and Lancelot, has added a third to her series which equals, if it does not surpass, the others in ingenuity and interest. Like all works, however, which draw on modern folk-lore for an explanation of bygone romance, the present study has a ring of strained plausibility to it which should warn those in any way inclined to take Miss Weston's suggestions as established facts. To justify that step, we should first need 'das gesammte beweisende Material,' as the author would doubtless herself admit.

The Three Days' Tournament is an episode common to several romances of the close of the twelfth century. The first work in which it is found is the *Cligés*² of Crestien de Troyes, though here Miss Weston affirms the original three days have for some unaccountable reason been extended to four. The episode occurs next in the *Ipomedon*³ of Hue de Rotelande, then in the German *Lanzelet*⁴

¹ Numbers VII and XII, respectively, of the *Grimm Library*.

² Vv. 4575-4985. Cligés fights successively Segramor, Lancelot, Perceval and Gawain. Crestien's intention was evidently to let his hero measure arms with the doughtiest knights of Arthur's court, hence the tournament is extended beyond the usual time. The Champagne poet brings all of his heroes at some time of their career into relation with Gawain; in *Erec* (vv. 4060 ff.), for instance, an illustration is given of Gawain's insight into human nature (his *san*), and here in *Cligés* his skill with the sword (cf. *Chevalier à l'épée*) and his courtesy are shown.

³ Cf. Kölbing: *Ipomedon in drei englischen Bearbeitungen*, Breslau, 1889.

⁴ Cf. Hahn: *Lanzelet, Eine Erzählung von Ulrich von Zatzikhoven*, Frankfurt a/M, 1845.

and finally in the large French compilation, the *Prose Lancelot*.⁵ Professor Foerster in his usual dogmatic way asserted⁶ that Crestien invented the story and that the other versions are mere borrowings from the original, as found in *Cligés*. To this summary treatment of the question Miss Weston objects, and it seems for good reasons.

In the first place the versions differ too markedly among themselves to be inter-related in so simple a way. Secondly, the *Cligés* form has all the appearance of being a very late version⁷ instead of the parent of the other versions. And, thirdly, it is probable that the original hero of the tale was not Cligés but Lancelot.⁸ The author, therefore, proposes a genealogy with an unknown version akin to the *Lanzelet* as the source, and the other forms of the story, including the *Cligés*, as the derivatives. Thus Crestien, instead of being the originator of this story, was but a poor imitator of it; in the words of Miss Weston, he "muddled" it.

So far, so good—Crestien we admit had no regard for the sanctity of his sources; in more cases than one we know he tampered with them, sometimes he did so successfully, as in the *Perceval* where he produced a notable literary effect, more often unsuccessfully, as in *Erec* where his "muddling" is apparent. Nevertheless, if Crestien was not—unlike Miss Weston and, as she affirms, Walter Map⁹—interested in folk-lore, he was to a considerable extent interested in what is higher; namely, the problems of life.

We come now to the more speculative side of Miss Weston's study. Hue de Rotelande concludes his version of the episode in question with the verses 29-30:

"Sul ne sai pas de mentir lart
Walter Map reset ben sa part."

Miss Weston's active mind at once associates these words of Hue with the fact that a version of the

⁵ Cf. P. Paris: *Romans de la Table Ronde*, Vol. III, p. 233 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Karrenritter*, Halle, 1899, p. xliii.

⁷ Cf. *Three Days' Tournament*, pp. 37 and 38.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.

⁹ Miss Weston's words (p. 44) are: "Had he (Map) lived in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, instead of the twelfth-thirteenth, Map would undoubtedly have been a prominent member of the Folk-Lore Society."

Lancelot is the romance most persistently attributed to Map. Thus Map may have been the author of the version postulated above, and Crestien as well as Hue and Ulrich may have been his literary debtors. The likelihood of this suggestion Miss Weston sees in the predilection shown in Map's extant works for popular legend and tradition. Hence Map might well have been the author of our story, in its present form.

But this is by no means the end of Miss Weston's ingenious hypothesis. The hero of the story, in the one case *Lancelot*, in the other *Cligés*, as circumstances may demand, appears on the three successive days in green (or black), red and white armor—in this way maintaining his disguise. These colors at once suggest to the author that, if Map did write the story, his model was some fairy tale resembling the modern 'Sea Maiden'¹⁰ or 'Le Petit Berger'¹¹ in which the hero wins the hand of the princess by a three day's battle, in three different suits of armor and mounted on three different steeds, a white, a red and a green one, successively.

Now, all this is within the realm of the possible and sounds very plausible in the enthusiastic words of Miss Weston, but the actual utility of such reasoning is somewhat doubtful. Green knights, red knights and black knights abound in Old French and Middle English romances, and what is more simple than to suppose that some author, Map if you will, brought them together in one story in order to provide his hero with a 'likely' disguise. That it was a common thing for a knight in those days to go about incognito is evident, among other things, from the simple verses which the French poets put into the mouth of the courteous Gawain:

"Onques mes noms ne fu celes
En liu ou il me fust requis
N'onques encore ne li dis
S'ançois demandes ne fu."¹²

¹⁰ Cf. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. I, p. 96.

¹¹ Cf. Vol. II, No. XLIII of the *Contes Lorrains*, edited by M. Cosquin. The colors here are steel, silver and gold, but in a Tyrolean variant of the story the original black, red and white occur.

¹² *Perceval*, vv. 7000 and 12073. Gaston Paris records this trait of Gawain in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XXX,

In this connection, it should also be noted that Miss Weston makes no mention of a version¹³ of the Three Days' Tournament in which Arthur's nephew himself plays the chief role. True, in this version the disguise is kept up on only two of the three days, Gawain appearing on the second day of the contest 'in face opyn.'¹⁴ But this change is in accord with the literary use to which the story is there put. Gawain, in consequence of a vow, is enjoined to act the part of a coward, and on the occasion chosen for the ordeal he is forced to appear in his own unmistakable armor so that the public may enjoy his discomfiture.¹⁵ Thus, further search might bring to light still other versions of the episode no less interesting than those now known.

In conclusion, Miss Weston brings the results of her work into relation with her general theory of

pp. 1-270. Cf. *ibid.* for the frequent occurrence of green, red and black as armorial colors.

¹³ Cf. Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, Vol. I, 1866, p. 235 ff. This is the romance now generally known as *Perlesvaus*. Sir F. Madden pointed out the beauty of this version in his *Syr Gawayne*, I, London, 1839, p. xix.

¹⁴ The tournament lasts three days. On the first day Gawain wears red armor, on the second day armor which everyone knows to be his own, and on the third day gold armor. His chief opponent is Nabiganz de la roche, who contests with Gawain the possession of a *cercle d'or*. Cf. note below, and the list of opponents in Crestien's *Charrette*, vv. 5795 ff.

¹⁵ It is at once evident that this is in substance the very adventure that *Lancelot* undergoes during his captivity by Meleagant in the *Charrette*, vv. 5515 ff. Guenevere there puts *Lancelot's* fidelity to the test by requiring him to 'faire au noauz' (i. e. to play the coward). As in the Gawain story, he is, of course, permitted to retrieve his honor on the second day of the tournament. The fact that the tournament lasts only two days and that *Lancelot* appears on both occasions in *armes vermeilles* (he is disguised as a Red Knight) probably prevented Miss Weston from connecting the adventure with the episode she was treating. However, I think it must be admitted that there is such a connection.

The lack of evidence on this point made it impossible to treat the episode in my study of the *Perlesvaus* (Baltimore, 1902). But I do not think that the author of this romance borrowed the cowardice 'motif' from Crestien. It seems to me more likely that some unknown writer introduced this 'motif' into the *Three Days' Tournament*, and that Crestien and the writer of the *Perlesvaus* adapted the story to their respective narratives.

the origin of the Lancelot legend. The supposition that the Sea Maiden 'motif'—as she says—was the link between the *Lancelot* and the Three Days' Tournament, in the absence of further evidence must also be taken *cum grano salis*. Finally, the author would do well to omit from her second edition the bantering remarks (pp. 15, 43 and 47) passed on the work of so eminent a scholar as Professor Foerster.

In general, however, Miss Weston's little work is executed with extraordinary zeal and skill, and deserves all the attention which it is sure to receive.

WM. A. NITZE.

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NORWEGIAN GRAMMAR.

Lehrbuch der norwegischen Sprache. Nach den neuesten und besten Quellen bearbeitet, von J. C. POESTION. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage. A. Hartleben's Verlag. Wien, Pest, Leipzig. [1901]. 8vo., XII + 178 pages.

The hearty reception that has been accorded Poestion's excellent little Grammar not only in Germany but also in the Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden in particular, has induced the author to offer a second, enlarged edition which embodies the chief results of recent studies in the literary as well as in the spoken language of Norway. The phonology of the new edition is based in part on the works of Brekke,¹ Western² and Joh. Storm,³ but especially on Jespersen's *Fonetik*, *En systematisk fremstilling af læren om sproglyd*, Copenhagen, 1897-1899. The Accidence is based on the last edition (1900) of the indispensable *Norsk grammatik* of Hofgaard, while Falk and Torp's *Dansk-Norskens Syntax* has been used in the syntactical notes under the forms. The difficult subject of good literary and cultured spoken Norwegian of to-day is clearly and intelligently presented in a form that is both popular and at the

same time thoroughly scholarly. The peculiar language conditions in Norway make the grammarian's task a very difficult one, difficult to the native Norwegian as well as to the foreigner. The wide divergence between the language of Denmark and the language of Norway (excluding the rural dialects) cannot be too strongly stressed. The present composite "Landsmaal," which has grown out of the movement of the "language strivers," which began with Aasen, originated in a time when linguistic conditions were very different from what they now are. Then the cry of the ultra-nationalists was justified; the language of literature, the language of the church and the state, the language of the theatre, the language of the cultured classes was Danish. This together with the fact of a Danish theatre in the Capital was, in the eyes of the radicals, a badge of intellectual dependence upon Denmark. In 1848 appeared Aasen's *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik*, and in 1850 followed his *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (*Norsk Ordbog*, 1873). It needed only his *Prøver paa Landsmaalet*, and the "new-Norse" language existed ready-made, a language that certainly was not Danish and that was sufficient. But the radicals failed to recognize that it just as certainly was not present spoken Norwegian. It was a composite, based for the most part on West Norwegian dialects. Later, it attempted to assimilate the chief characteristics of Central and East Norwegian. It was an unnatural outgrowth of very peculiar conditions, as a language of course wholly impracticable and from the very nature of the case doomed to failure. But that it has had a marked influence on the more rational language movement in Norway which began with Wergeland and in which Björnson and Ibsen stand to-day must be admitted. Now this more conservative movement, which has been in progress for sixty years or more is of the greatest importance. It has been slow but sure and far-reaching. We have it represented in the most conservative aspect in literature in the novelists and dramatists. Then we have it in the cultured spoken Norwegian of Christiania and the cities, which under the general Norwegianizing process, by influence of the dialects, especially the East Norwegian dialects, has become widely different from cultured spoken Danish. Poestion has rightly recognized this fact and emphasized it in his intro-

¹ K. Brekke, *Bidrag til dansk-norskens lydlære* (in *Aars og Voss's skoles indbydelsesskrift* for 1881), Kristiania, 1881.

² Aug. Western, *Kurze Darstellung des norwegischen Lautsystems* in Viëtor's *Phonetische Studien*, II, pp. 259-282.

³ Joh. Storm, *Norsk Lydskrift med Omrids af Fonetiken* in *Norvegia* I, Kristiania, 1884, pp. 1-132.

duction, p. 3, as well as in the title of the book. He appreciates the importance of the colloquial language and the city dialects and has produced a book that is thoroughly reliable. Parallel with the facts of the present literary language is given the varying usage of the "Omgangssprog," together with which occasional attention is also given to the city dialects where these illustrate any general tendency of the language. Perhaps a little too much attention has been paid to the "Vulgärsprog" of Christiania, the reading selection at the end might have been omitted. Ibsen's prose should have been represented in the selections offered. The contents of the book is divided as follows: an introductory chapter on the Norwegian language pp. 1-4; Phonology 5-78, Accidence 79-163, Reading selections 164-178. Pages VII-IX give a list of the most important books and articles on present Norwegian.

The author calls attention to the fact that the similarity between Norwegian and Danish is largely an orthographic one. The prominent difference in intonation as between West Norwegian and East Norwegian is noted, as also that between East Norwegian and South Norwegian. When the latter is characterized as possessing a "danisierende Aussprache" the author is incorrect, for the soft consonants *g*, *b*, *d*, in South Norwegian of Stavanger, Lofoten and the neighboring region are certainly not due to Danish influence, but are a native development.⁴

In the phonology a few mistakes have been noted. The author defines correctly the peculiar Norwegian closed *o*: "Es wird mit besondersstarker Rundung der Lippen gesprochen, und klingt auffallend an *u* an." For all practical purposes it may be defined as the same sound as *oo* in English *poor*. The parenthetic remark, however, that it resembles the European *u* somewhat more than the Swedish *o* is not correct. To a foreigner the Norwegian *o* seems nearer to European *u* than to *o*, but a Norwegian hears a very distinct difference between his *o* and this *u*, while to him the Swedish closed *o* produces the effect of a *u*-sound as compared with his own *o*. The Swedish *o* is one step

nearer European *u* than the Norwegian *o* is, just as Swedish *u* is one step nearer *ü* than the Norwegian *u* is. Likewise Swedish *y* (*ü*) is nearer *i* than is Norwegian *y*, the latter being approximately halfway between Swedish *y* and Danish *y*. The author's statements on *u* and *y* § 20, 1 and § 21 are therefore correct, though not that on *o* § 19, 1. Under "*hold* (gewöhnlich noch *huld* geschrieben)" § 19, 2^b it might properly have been stated that *hold*, which is the more correct form (cf. O.N. *holdr*), is the peculiarly Norwegian form and preferred in Norway. *Huld* is the Danish form. We furthermore have the *o*-vowel in *behold*, *i god behold* = *i god hold* (*i god huld*). The last part of the definition of the diphthong *au* that it is like *ou* in Engl. *house* needs to be modified for American users of the Grammar. The sound is approximately *əu* or *öu*. The regular and best pronunciation of *spodsk* is *spotsk* not *spossk* (page 31, iv). There is considerable variation with regard to the pronunciation of *ds* after a short vowel. In case of the word *pludselig*, I doubt that we can as yet pronounce in favor of the pronunciation *plusseli* as opposed to *plutseli* (p. 31, iv, 1). The word *jente* is hardly now to be regarded as "vulgär" (§ 49).

In the discussion of the gender of substantives, under rule 1, § 88, nouns which are common gender by meaning, the exceptions *et Bud*, *et Afskum*, *et Fattiglem* and *et Vidne* should have been added. *Lyng* should have been included under Rule 2 instead of being given under the exceptions, for *en Lyng* is the usual, *et Lyng* rarer. In Norwegian *Byg* is also com. gen., which might have been indicated under 2. Among the exceptions to rule 2 *Kornet* should not have been omitted. *Regn* (Rule 4) is both com. and neut. gen. So also *Minut* and *Sekund* are often com. gen. There is undoubtedly a tendency on the part of these words to assume the gender of other names of divisions of time as *en måned*, *en Uge*, *en Time* (cf. also *Tiden*). In Norwegian *Bor* (in 10) is often com. gen. The paragraph of exceptions in *-n* given under Rule 3 of nouns whose gender is determined by ending seems to have gotten out of its proper place, for there certainly is no connection between substantivized infinitives in *-en* and derivatives in *-n*. These latter are in Norwegian regularly neuter if concrete and should

⁴Amund B. Larsen in his *Oversigt over de norske Bygdemaal*, Kristiania, 1898, pp. 63-64, also seems to attribute the voiced stops in the Stavanger dialects to Danish influence.

have been so given under neuters according to form § 89, b. Rule 4 (p. 86) that nouns in *sel* are com. gend. with the exception of names of utensils which are neuter is incomplete. The rule is that concrete nouns in *sel* or nouns that can be or are apt to be thought of as concrete are neuter, and are mainly formed from verbal stems. The list includes: *et Aadsel, et Bidsel, et Bindsel, et Brændsel, et Dæksel, et Hængsel* (and dial. *et Op-hængsel*), *et Barsel, et Fængsel, et Stængsel, et Skræmsel, et Syssel, et Æsel*. Cf., however, the concrete nouns not formed from verbs, *en Tidsel, en Bossel, en Kapsel, en Pensel*. Abstract nouns in *-sel* are, however, com. gend.; so *Glæmsel, Hørsel, Blygsel, Trængsel, Færdsel, Rædsel, Skjøtsel*, etc., etc. Cf. also *en Advarsel*, a warning, an admonition, and *et Varsel*, a warning = a notice, an omen (and an evil omen). *Sand*, p. 87. 1, is in Norwegian also com. gend. Under exceptions to Rule 1 of nouns that are neuter by meaning should have been added, *Maden, Stenen, Graniten, Luften* and *Silken*. P. 88, 2, the statement: "*et led* (in d. volkl. Sprache auch *en led*) ein Gelenk, ein Glied" is misleading. The word is regularly *en Led* in popular speech when it means 'a joint,' and always *et Led* in the meaning 'a wicket, a gate.' The noun *Rus* is used both in the neuter and the com. gend. in Norwegian, though preferably the former. Compound nouns (§ 91) in Norwegian take the gender of the last element of the compound, e. g. *et Armbånd, en Spiseske*, etc. Under the exceptions I would have stated that if the last element of the compound is an abstract of the com. gend. but the compound itself is concrete, or may be thought of as such, it becomes neuter, e. g., *et Måltid* but *Tid-en*; *et Folkefærd, et Gjenfærd*, but *Færden*; *et Vidnesbyrd*, etc. *Ben* is neut. by the rule that mass names and names of material are of that gender, but the compound *Gråben*, 'wolf' (lit. 'grayleg') becomes com. gend. by the rule that names of animals are so. Evidently a misprint is *Mårenbla'*, p. 27, for *Mårnbla'*, the colloquial pronunciation of *Morgenbladet*, and on p. 85 *et Flod* for *en Flod*.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE UNDERSTANDING AND THE MISUNDERSTANDING OF DANTE'S ANIMAL LORE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I should like to point out very briefly a few of the mistakes made by Dr. Kenneth McKenzie who has recently reviewed in *Modern Language Notes* my book on Dante and the Animal Kingdom. Though the task of judging this work was, as Dr. McKenzie says, unsought, one cannot help feeling from his tone that it was not unwelcome. There is a tone of suppressed emotion, and ever and anon one is scorched, as it were, by flames of indignation. In a final glow after his thoughts are all in type, Dr. McKenzie adds a footnote in which he triumphantly declares that his views are substantially the same as those of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* and of *The Athenaeum*, but he owns that "somewhat more favorable reviews" have appeared in *The Nation* and elsewhere. "Somewhat" seems a reluctant word; it might not have been used at all if Dr. McKenzie had been supplied by an obliging publisher and a "clipping bureau." *The Athenaeum* does agree substantially with Dr. McKenzie. Both are unwilling and both are rather fierce; but, of the two, Dr. McKenzie is perhaps the fiercer. But it interests me to learn that Dr. McKenzie finds himself even substantially in agreement with the review in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, for here are the words with which each begins: "Era questo argomento da libro? sinceramente non ci pare." "A study of Dante's references to the animal world is important, not merely for the understanding of Dante, but for the light it throws on the scientific ideas of the Middle Ages." A critic who calls this substantial agreement needs analysis; but I pass on to an accusation of flippancy as to the Bible. My flippancy, thinks Dr. McKenzie, is very noticeable. To prove this he quotes two phrases: "lions stricken with lock-jaw for the benefit of Daniel" is one of them; the other is "the nightmare of the Apocalypse." He declares, also, that I am not familiar enough with the Bible "to avoid the blunder of saying 'straight and narrow path.'" Are we, then, for-

bidden to use a phrase simply because it resembles something biblical? My words are not quoted, as Dr. McKenzie would have his readers believe, but they came to me quite naturally. They were these (p. 85): It is evident, then, that the monkey never led our poet from the straight and narrow path of orthodoxy.

If we consider what havoc the monkey has caused in the thinking world since Dante's time: how he led a Matthew Arnold to speak of "our arboreal ancestors," and how even many clergymen are gradually becoming suspicious of their origin; in a word, how almost every zoologist since Darwin believes that men were not always what they are now, I think my phrase is a fair one. What amuses me, though, is Dr. McKenzie's statement that the story of Elisha is "not zoology but literature." As zoology is the truth about animals, "literature," to Dr. McKenzie, obviously means fiction. But Dante did believe the story of the "two she-bears" that "tare forty and two children of them" to be literally true, and therefore to be "zoology," as we say now.

Again, Dr. McKenzie declares that I "cannot make Dante responsible for the use of bestial to characterize a wrong or unnatural (abnormal?) condition in man;" but I can and I do, very distinctly, on page 81. Dr. McKenzie then goes on in this strain: "We can imagine saying to him, innocently: 'That man looks like a ghost,' and being met with: 'You poor deluded fool, do you believe in ghosts?'" This supposition is infelicitous. I should probably say "Yes, he is pretty thin."

Next we read: "This is the treatment to which he [Dr. H.] constantly subjects Dante, who was after all not writing a text-book of natural science, but was treating his conception of the universe under the form of a poetical allegory." Obviously Dr. McKenzie is referring to the *Commedia*; my book deals with all Dante's works, and Dr. McKenzie seems unable to rid his mind of the common notion that the *Commedia* constitutes Dante's works. As a matter of fact, in the Oxford Dante the *Commedia* occupies 153 pages; the *Convito* 101 pages; the *De Monarchia* 36 pages; the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* 22 pages; the *Epistolae* 18 pages; and the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* (which is probably authentic) 9 pages. In other

words, Dante's treatment "of his conception of the universe under the form of a poetical allegory" is in bulk as 153 to 186; but it must be remembered that the *Convito* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* are far from being as long as they would have been had Dante lived to complete them.

Not only did Dante include in his *Commedia* many kinds of "scientific" considerations, such as theories of cosmology, creation, generation (a description, even, of the growth of a foetus and its getting the breath of life), language, anthropology, demonology, etc., but that he meant to tell the truth about them all, though often poetically. Furthermore, the *Convito*, poetic in parts, was meant as a scientific treatise on more themes than I have room to enumerate. Again, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is also a scientific treatise. *De Monarchia* is what we might call a scientific treatise, also; for Dante intended to demonstrate scholastically his theories as to government. All this has escaped the mind of Dr. McKenzie, who thus falls into an error as to Dante, and who also shows what may be the effects of prejudice on criticism.

Vedi la bestia, per cui io mi volsi:
Aiutami da lei, famoso saggio. . . .

RICHARD HOLBROOK.

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To the Editors Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I have just discovered a serious mistake in my edition of Chateaubriand's *Le Dernier Abencerage*, published by the American Book Co. Either the copyist or the printer has omitted the following block of words from the vocabulary (p. 69):

dessein, m., design, purpose.
dessiner, to draw, trace, cast.
destin, m., destiny, fate.
destinée, f., destiny, fate.
destiner, to destine, intend.
détacher, to detach, loosen, untie.
détail, m., detail, particular.
détourner, to turn aside, avert, keep off.
détruire, to destroy.
deux, two; *tous*—, both.

Other *errata*, which together with the above are being corrected in the plates, are: p. 9, footnote to l. 6 *merveilles* for *vermeilles*; p. 42, l. 29 *l'Abencerage* for *l'Abencerrage*; p. 49, l. 21, ; for ?; p. 67 *crut*, see *croire* should come after *cruauté*; p. 68 *déjà* should come after *dehors*; p. 76 U.S.A. should be omitted after Georgia; and *mantilla* on p. 80 should be written *mantille* for the French.

Certain omissions from the vocabulary should be noted: p. 61 *atteinte* see *atteindre*; p. 65 *ciseau*, m., chisel; *pl. —x*, scissors, instead of *ciseaux*, m. pl. scissors; *comment*, how, what; p. 67 *couvert* see *couvrir*; p. 71 *empreintes* see *empreindre*; p. 88 *reconnue* see *reconnaître*; *rentrer dans*, to re-enter (into); p. 89 *reparut* see *reparaître*; under *surprendre* (p. 93) put p. p. m. *surpris*; p. 94 *traiter*, to treat.

In the second edition, which is well under way, will be given such idiomatic constructions as *convenir à*, to suit, *convenir de*, to agree, *couvrir de*, to cover with, *demandeur à*, to ask of, *s'empêcher de*, to help, *étonné de*, astonished at, *penser à*, to think of, *profiter de*, to profit by, *servir de*, to serve as, etc.

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(1). THE BEWCASTLE CROSS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Students of English antiquity will be glad to know that there is an interesting picture of the Bewcastle Cross in Alice Morse Earle's *Sundials and Roses of Yesterday* (Macmillan, 1902), facing p. 32. The account of it, on pp. 72–3, must be taken with allowance, but two statements, at least, are worth reproducing: 'I think it the loveliest scene that I ever beheld. . . . On the south-face is the sun-dial surrounded by carved bands and leaves, in such a manner that the dial is proved part of the original design, not a later addition.'

(2). *Beowulf* 704.

The following passage from Mrs. Tweedie's *Through Finland in Carts* (Macmillan, 1898), seems to me worth considering with reference to *hornreced*, *Beow.* 704, *horngēap*, *Beow.* 82, etc.:

'There is seldom a house which is not decorated somewhere or other with elk horns. The elk, like deer, shed their horns every year, and as Finland is crowded with these Arctic beasts, the horns are picked up in large quantities. They are handsome, but heavy, for the ordinary elk horn is far more ponderous in shape and weight and equal in width to a Scotch Royal. The ingenuity of the Finlander is great in . . . interlacing them in such a manner as to form a frieze round the top of the entrance hall in their homes' (p. 241).

(3). EUPHUISTIC NATURAL HISTORY IN PLUTARCH.

Plutarch's contributions to 'unnatural Natural History' do not seem to be dwelt upon in the works treating of Euphuism and kindred subjects. From one essay in the *Morals*, that on 'How a Young Man Should Study Poetry,' I cull the following (the references are to Padelford's translation, *Yale Studies in English* xv).

"In the head of the polypus dwell both good and ill;" the plant is very good to eat, but, they say, disturbs one's sleep with confused and unnatural dreams. Likewise in poetry,' etc. (p. 50).

'For as when the mandrake grows beside the vineyard it imparts its influence to the wine, and makes the sleep of those who drink it more refreshing, so when poetry,' etc. (p. 51).

One sees how they are related to credible and even authenticated Natural History, by a comparison with a few other quotations:

'As on a vine the leaves and branches frequently cover up and conceal the ripe fruit, so the diction of poetry and its profusion of fictitious narrative conceal many useful and helpful things from the attention of a young man' (p. 80).

'As in pastures the bee seeks the flower, the goat seeks the bud, the hog the root, and other creatures the fruit and seed, so in reading poetry one man culls the flowers of history, another dwells upon the beauty and the arrangement of words' (p. 83).

'As the bee instinctively gathers the smoothest and sweetest honey from the most bitter blossoms and the sharpest thistles, so, if rightly trained in the poets, boys will,' etc. (p. 87).

Akin to the foregoing is this, which indeed, like the first one above cited, is perhaps intermediate in character: 'If you find it worth at least as much as the so-called amethyst-plant, which some men wear in their drinking-bouts as a charm

against drunkenness, then hand it to Cleandrus, and thus charm him betimes' (p. 50).

No doubt a search through the *Morals* would disclose many more instances of both sorts. It is to be hoped the classics will be thoroughly explored for this purpose, and the collections rendered accessible.

ALBERT S. COOK.

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To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Bartlett's invaluable work, *Familiar Quotations*, (9th ed.) page 208, the expression, "The Great Secretary of Nature,—Sir Francis Bacon," is quoted from Izaak Walton. A footnote quotes a similar phrase from James Howell. The credit really belongs, however, to an earlier writer than either. In Donne's first Satire, written not later than 1593, we find the phrase, "Nature's secretary, the philosopher." As Walton was an ardent admirer of Donne, it seems probable that the angler's application of this phrase to Bacon was a reminiscence.

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CORRECTIONS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I wish to rectify some statements made in my review of Dr. Lessing's thesis (*M. L. N.*, March, 1903): p. 92, line 30; unfortunately I have misquoted the author; the line should read 'Stimmungen' instead of 'Vorstellungen.' This correction does not affect my argument which is chiefly concerned with the word *unklaren*.

My remark about the influence of *die Räuber* upon *Spartacus* can no longer stand as a criticism of the thesis, since the author tells me that he did not know the German edition of Ehrhardt, when publishing his paper.

P. 92, second line from bottom: change 'one' to 'me,' in order to make it more plain that I consider Schiller's influence upon *die Ahnfrau* stronger than is admitted even by Wypel.

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BRIEF MENTION.

A Thesaurus Dictionary of the English Language.

Designed to suggest immediately any desired word needed to express exactly a given idea. A Dictionary, Synonyms, Antonyms, Idioms, Foreign Phrases, Pronunciations, A Copious Correlation of Words. Prepared under the supervision of FRANCIS A. MARCH, LL. D., L. H. D., D. C. L., Litt. D., and FRANCIS A. MARCH, JR., A. M., Ph. D. Historical Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1903. 4to., pp. xvi, 1192.

For half a century the English-writing world has steadfastly relied upon the help of Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, with its one thousand categories, beginning with "existence" (apparently an appropriate beginning), and ending with "temple" (equally appropriate, perhaps, if it be allowed to connote "funeral"). As every one knows, Roget's book is at once so good and so bad as to be notable for just this clash of qualities; but it has become antiquated, the language having grown away from it, and therefore it is doomed to less praise for its merits and less patience with its faults.

Professor March's remarkable book is worthy in all respects to succeed to Roget's in public favor, and to hold that favor in undisputed right for a good half-century to come.

The *Thesaurus Dictionary* makes complete amends for the shortcomings of the older book in being at once both a complete dictionary, with all the words in alphabetic order and briefly defined, and a book of synonyms and antonyms by means of a system—a very ingenious and a very admirable system—of grouping the words under significant heads. Thus, the editor illustrates, the word *anger* in its alphabetic place, duly defined, supplies a reference to the groups, EXCITABILITY—INEXCITABILITY, and FAVORITE—ANGER. Turning to the first group, in its alphabetical place, one finds "two parallel columns, the left hand for EXCITABILITY, the right for INEXCITABILITY, each running on for a couple of pages and bringing together some one hundred and fifty words and phrases. These are divided into nouns, verbs, verbal phrases, adjectives, etc., arranged in alphabetic order. The first column contains all words and phrases naturally

associated according to the law of similarity, contiguity and comprehension,—synonyms and the like; the second column contains a similar group related to the first column according to the law of contrast,—antonyms, polar opposites, and the like. By means of cross-references, other groups of associated meaning are brought to the attention."

This simple key unlocks the treasure-house and enables one in the shortest time to find whatever of value one may be looking for.

This book is a monument to the patient labor of a great scholar preëminently φιλόλογος, 'fond of words.' Professor March's name is known everywhere, and his *Thesaurus Dictionary* will be welcomed by everybody.

A work of such vast proportions (the book conforms to the national unit of measure, having attained the size of the 'Unabridged Webster' and the 'Family Bible') and of such prodigality of details will, of course, contain some marks of incompetency or of carelessness on the part of clerks and assistants. For example, the infelicity of literalness is made painfully apparent in defining *pourboire* and *Trink-geld* as 'drink-money,' in a list which wrongly lacks the noun 'tip' (p. 451). And definitions that are inadequate, misleading, muddling, obfuscating, are sometimes found in connection with most familiar expressions: *compte rendu*, 'a returned account' (p. 6); *cul du sac*, 'a maze, a snare' (p. 281); *tabula rasa*, 'a smooth tablet' (p. 281); and 'emptiness; want of intellect' (p. 577). Professor March has himself (p. iii) committed a harmless slip in estimating "*Patience on a monument*, defined as 'smiling at grief'" (p. 372) as an illustration of a "Shakespearean grace."

De Hugo à Mistral, par MICHEL JOUFFRET, Professeur au Lycée de Marseille; Vol. I. of Sammlung Neuphilologischer Vorträge und Abhandlungen, herausg. von W. Viëtor; Leipzig, Teubner, 1902; pp. 103.

In his preface Professor Viëtor states that the object in printing these courses of lectures given before various Summer Schools in Germany, is that they may reach the great number of students that were unable to hear them delivered. Certainly to judge by the present example they are well worth preserving. Professor Viëtor continues:

"Der Leser wird von Vorträgen dieser Art nicht sowohl wissenschaftlich erschöpfende Behandlung des Themas als ein starkes Hervortreten des dem Uebermittler des Stoffes gerade Bedeutsamen erwarten."

In this pamphlet, which is the first of the series, we find Professor Jouffret strictly adhering to the foregoing rule in his discussion of the poetry of Victor Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Sully-Prudhomme, François Coppée, José-Maria de Hérédia, and François Mistral. Without advancing original theories as to the why and wherefore of these poets, he gives a most interesting and instructive description of their genius, work, and place in literature. To this he frequently adds estimates of their work by the leading modern critics. In fact, Professor Jouffret gives just what the average student needs to know about the prevailing conditions and fashions in French poetry of the nineteenth century, that general information and comprehensive view of the field which must accompany intelligent reading of the poets' works and precede any special study of the epoch.

The pamphlet is clearly printed on good paper, its only fault lies in the unusually large number of misprints, by no means completely listed in the *errata*.

Creation, Re-Creation. ERNST EDUARD LEMCKE. Orange, New Jersey, 1901. (Privately Printed.)

Under this title the author has collected a number of poems of his in English, French and German. The German verses are in the majority, German being the poet's native tongue. But it is truly remarkable how completely he is master of the technique and literary expression in all three languages.

Only part of the volume is taken up by original poems—'Creation.' They are mostly *Gelegenheitsgedichte* in the sense which the word has had since Goethe's days, and cover a whole life. The others are translations, chiefly into English and German—'Re-Creation' as the author calls them very fitly. Among the latter those of Musset occupy a very prominent place, and it must be said that many of them, for example, his *Mainacht*, *Augustnacht*, and *Oktobernacht*, read in Lemcke's translation as if they were German originals.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MERLIN AND GANIEDA.

Sundry examinations of the twelfth-century Latin poem, the *Vita Merlini*,¹ now generally attributed by scholars to Geoffrey of Monmouth,² have shown that it is composed of material drawn from a great variety of sources blended with unusual freedom, and that a student should approach the separate incidents, hitherto undiscussed, somewhat sceptical of finding in them undistorted early tradition.³ This is particularly true of three episodes, or rather parts, of the poem, that at first do not appear to be closely related, but in which there are to be detected traces of a fairy-mistress theme told of Merlin and Ganieda long before the time of the French prose romances, our earliest extant sources for the familiar story of Merlin's love for the fay Niniane.

The most direct indication of the fairy-mistress theme is found in an episode altogether disconnected with the rest of the poem.

Merlin is dwelling in retirement in the Caledonian forest, and has been enjoying a discourse on the wonders of the universe from the lips of the bard Telgesinus. A diversion is created by the appearance of a madman, whom Merlin recognizes as a companion of earlier days. He accordingly relates to Telgesinus the story of a love of his youth, a maiden with whom he had passed many years of happiness, but whose favors he had finally spurned. She sought revenge by placing beneath a tree beside a fountain that she knew he would pass, certain poisoned apples, the taste of which would arouse frenzy. Merlin came to the fountain with some companions, but before he tasted the fruit his comrades chanced to partake of it. Instantly they were cast into a state of brute-like madness; like dogs they began to bite and tear their own flesh, and dashed howling into the woods. One of the

sufferers was Maeldinus, the madman whom the two prophets have met. Merlin bids him drink of the water of the fountain by the tree, and the draught immediately restores his reason.⁴

Transforming apples that are administered in revenge for spurned love have a place in folk-tales that are parallel in their main theme to this story. For example, in the modern Celtic tale, *The Three Soldiers*,⁵ a soldier, John, by standing on a wishing towel is transported with a princess whom he loves to a fairy island, where while he is asleep, his love deserts him. He finds on the island two kinds of apples, "and when he would eat one sort of them they would put a deer's head on him; and when he would eat another sort of them, they would put it off him." He takes a supply of these apples with him from the island, in disguise seeks the princess, and gives her the dangerous variety of fruit. Her hand is promised by her father to him who shall remove the deer's head. John at once administers the apples that serve as an antidote, and then gives himself the satisfaction of refusing to marry the princess. In a parallel Celtic tale, *The Son of the Knight of the Green Vesture*,⁶ one variety of apples is beautiful, the other ugly. The former makes the feet of the eater shake and his flesh melt from off his bones; the latter puts an end to these unhappy effects, and also has the power of healing. In still another version of the same theme, one kind of apples makes a wood of thatch grow about the eater's head; the other kind makes the wood vanish. Again the disastrous apples make the eater's nose grow through a forest and fifty miles beyond it.⁷

These modern Highland stories, then, which obviously could not have been influenced by the

¹ Ed. Michel and Wright, Paris and London, 1837.

² For a discussion of the authorship and date of this poem (ca. 1148), see *Vita Merlini*, pp. xcv ff; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1883-1893, I, 278 ff., 288; Mead, *Introduction to Merlin*, ed. Wheatley, London, 1875-1899, p. xciii; Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv (1899-1900), 332-336.

³ See Ward, *Romania*, xxii (1893), 509; Lot, as above, 535; Brown, *Revue Celtique*, xxii (1901), 339 ff.

⁴ Vv. 1386-1457.

⁵ See Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, London, 1890, I, 181 ff.

⁶ See MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 227 ff., and note.

⁷ See MacDougall, as above, note; Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, 195-198; Grimm, *Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*, Göttingen, 1856, III, 201 ff.; cf. MacInnes and Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1890, pp. 87, 91.

Vita Merlini, contain a theme that is substantially at least as old as the twelfth century; moreover, they are so much the more coherent that they evidently show a purer form of the narrative than that in the Latin poem, which, unlike the Celtic stories fails to satisfy dramatic justice. We should certainly feel that we were nearer original material in the *Vita Merlini*, if the maiden's apples had taken effect upon Merlin, and not upon the innocent Maeldinus.⁸ An episode occurring in a much later source, an early thirteenth-century version of the Middle High German poem, *Wolfdietrich*,⁹ shows us more plainly what the outline of the real conclusion doubtless was. Here Else, an uncouth maiden gifted with magic power, comes one night in a repulsive form to the hero Wolfdietrich, and begs for his love. In revenge for his scornful refusal, she drives him mad by means of a spell, and he henceforth lives like a beast in the woods. It is only by bathing in a certain enchanted fountain that he is restored to his former condition. Then he is prepared to love Else, who by a timely plunge into the same fountain has been transformed into the most beautiful maiden in the world.

These parallels naturally suggest, in the first place, that the apples of Merlin's revengeful love were originally not poisonous, but magic fruit; and in the next place that, since other-world fruit, as is well known,¹⁰ if tasted by a mortal puts him

⁸ For a similar Irish story cf. *Acallamh na Senorach, The Colloquy of the Ancients* (see *Silva Gadelica*, ed. and trans. O'Grady, London and Edinburgh, 1892, II, 220, 221), which was probably composed in the thirteenth century, and embodies earlier material. One day as Finn and his warriors are assembled near a certain ford, a beautiful maiden draws near them, and tells Finn that she is of fairy birth and has come hither to seek his love. Finn promptly rejects her offer; whereupon she hands him a vessel of silver full of delicious mead, the taste of which casts him into a frenzy, and inspires him to taunt his comrades bitterly with all their mishaps in war. It is long before "the venom died out of Finn's tongue so that his sense and memory returned to him."

⁹ *Ortnit u. die Wolfdietriche*, ed. Amelung and Jänicke, Berlin, 1871-1873, I, *Wolfdietrich B*, II, st. 308-343. For the date see Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Phil.*, Strassburg, 1901, II, i, 251. For a discussion of this episode see Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, ch. ix; cf. p. 212.

¹⁰ An early example of the magic power of Celtic other-world fruit is found in the *Echtra Conalla*, which contains

at once under the fairy control, they were used, as the other-world maiden, Else, used her spell, by a fairy mistress who wished to compel her truant lover to yield her the love that she desired. The poet's justification for allowing the fickle Merlin to go unpunished is that, as we shall see, he has already been represented in the poem as in a state of frenzy from another cause; therefore if Geoffrey were using a source in which the faithless lover was the victim, it behooved him, rather than to

material very much earlier than the twelfth century; see Zimmer, *Zs. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii (1889), 262 ff. See also *ib.*, 155, 156; Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1884-1900, III, i, 203; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, p. 425; O'Looney, *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, IV (1856), 249; G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 50; Schofield, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1892-, V, 224; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 176, 177; Bugge, *Iduns Aebler*, in *Arkiv f. nordisk Filologi*, V, 1 ff.

Brandl has pointed out that the same kernel is contained in the incident from the *Vita Merlini* and in one that is told of the thirteenth-century Scottish prophet and bard, Thomas of Erceadoun, or Thomas Rhymer, in whose legend there are not a few parallels to that of Merlin, and whose name is associated with Merlin's in many collections of prophecies (see *Thomas of Erceadoun*, ed. Brandl, Berlin, 1880, pp. 23, 24; cf. further *ib.*, pp. 21-26; *Thomas of Erceadoun*, ed. Murray, London, 1875, pp. xxx ff.; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 328-337; Mead, Introduction to Wheatley's *Merlin*, p. lxxiv). "On a mery mornynge of Maye" Thomas, lying in the shade of a tree, was visited by the Elf Queen, to whom he lost no time in plighting his faith, and whom he gladly followed to her other-world abode. She led him to a fair garden, but as he put out his hand to pluck some of the fruit growing there in rich abundance, she forbade him, and warned him that if he should gather it his soul would go to the fire of hell (see vv. 187-192). For similar examples of other-world fruit see *Livre d'Artus*, P., summarized by Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sprache u. Lit.*, xvii (1895), §§ 147, 211, 230, 235-242; Chrétien de Troies, *Erec*, ed. Foerster, Halle, 1890, vv. 5748 ff.; Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie 2, xli, 445; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston and New York, 1882-1898, I, 319. In *La Mort Artus* (summarized by P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1868-1877, V, 341; cf. Malory, Bk. xviii, ch. 3; *Li Chantari di Lancelotto*, ed. Birch, London, 1874, pp. 14 ff.) we read of a poisoned apple destined for Gawain by a knight, Avalon, who wishes to take vengeance for a former wrong,—a story that, owing to the knight's other-world name, looks suspiciously like an account of an other-world apple, rationalized as the episode in the *Vita Merlini* has been.

complicate Merlin's condition by twofold madness, to draw into his account another personage who should endure the effects of the magic fruit. Moreover Merlin has previously been restored to reason by a draught from a wonderful fountain. (On parallelism in incident as a characteristic of Geoffrey's method, see Fletcher, *Publ. of Modern Language Association*, xvi (1901), 472, n. 1.)

Ferdinand Lot in his recent study of the *Vita Merlini* calls attention to the fact that the name given to the madman, Maeldinus, brings to mind that of Maelduin, the hero of the other-world adventures related in the *Voyage of Maelduin*, an eighth or ninth century specimen of the Celtic *imrama* literature. "Que vient faire là ce nom," adds Lot, "on ne sait."¹¹ Maelduin in his famous voyage to the other world again and again comes across marvellous apples,¹² none of which, it is true, have the same quality as those of which Maeldinus partook to his sorrow. Once, however, when he tastes other-world fruit, he falls the principal victim to its power. On the twenty-ninth island that he visits, he and his comrades draw lots as to which one of their number shall test the qualities of some fruit that they find growing there; the lot falls on Maelduin, who after drinking of the juice of the fruit is cast into an enchanted slumber, and lies for some time in a druidic trance.¹³ Quite possibly with this story in mind, Geoffrey, when induced by the exigencies of his narrative to give a new conclusion to the incident, named the special sufferer in his episode, Maeldinus. The introduction of the name gives some additional ground for assuming that Geoffrey did not have before him a simple tale of poisoned apples. In that case there would have been no special reason why the name of a famous hero of other-world adventure should have occurred to his mind; whereas, if his original were a story of fairy fruit, he might appropriately have thought of using Maelduin's name.

When we examine the story of Merlin's madness, to which I have referred above, we find that the details support, rather than controvert, the hypothetical fairy-mistress theme.

Merlin is represented as a prophet and king of the

South Welsh, who at the time that the poem opens is fighting with allies against Guennolous, king of Scotland. The forces of Guennolous are routed, but in the contest many on the side of the allies fall, among others three brethren of the leader (*tresque ducis fratres*). Merlin bursts into violent lamentations at the sight. He buries the three brethren, then abandons himself to grief; he tears his hair, refuses food, and fills the air with his cries.

Et fugit ad silvas, nec vult fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ornis;
Miraturque feras pascentes gramina saltus.
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu praeterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus; utitur herbis;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.
Fit silvester homo, quasi silvis editus esset,
Inde per aestatem totam; nullique repertus,
Oblitusque sui, cognatorumque suorum,
Delituit, silvis obductus more ferino.¹⁴

Merlin's madness and his life in the woods bring vividly to mind a very common situation in the romances and in much earlier material, that represents a hero, who is deprived of his reason subsequent to his loss of a fairy loved-one through some fault of his own, as fleeing to the forest, where he lives the life of a madman. The Celtic hero Cuchulinn, for example, is forced to renounce his fairy mistress, Fand, but when he has seen her depart from him, he becomes the victim of frenzy; he wanders in the mountains without food or drink, and is restored to reason only when the great enchanter, Manannan mac Lir, has shaken his cloak of forgetfulness between him and Fand.¹⁵ After Partonopeus has been, as he thinks, finally separated from the fay Melior owing to his disregard of her will, he gives himself up to despair; he neither eats nor drinks, he wastes away from grief, and turning a deaf ear to the consolations of his friends, resolves to flee with the greatest secrecy to the Ardennes, and yield himself a prey to the monsters of the forest. Here he lives until he is found by Melior's sister and led back to his lady.¹⁶ The young hero Florimont, too, when he has been separated from his loved-one, the fay of the Ile Celée, passes through a period of *folie* in the woods,

¹⁴ Vv. 74-83.

¹⁵ For the story of Cuchulinn and Fand, see the German translation of the *Serglige Conchulaind* (*Cuchulinn's Sick Bed*), by Zimmer, *Zs.f. vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xxviii (1887), 595 ff.; the French by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, i, 174-216.

¹⁶ *Partonopeus*, ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834, vv. 5319 ff., especially vv. 5367 ff.

¹¹ *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 533.

¹² See *Zs.f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii, 155, 156, 169.

¹³ *Ib.*, 168.

whence he emerges to enter upon a life of adventure in war.¹⁷ After Yvain remembers that he has not kept faith with Laudine and realizes that he has lost her love, he falls a prey to a similar madness. He secretly escapes from his friends, eludes their pursuit, and flees far from them into the woods, *com hom forsenez et sauvage*. Here he lives, until he is cured by a magic balm applied by some kindly ladies who find him in his sorry plight.¹⁸

These examples show us that the despair and the experiences in the woods attributed to Merlin by Geoffrey may be features derived from the same type of narrative as they; such a madness, in fact, may well have had a place in the original fairy episode that we have just seen possibly lies behind Geoffrey's version of the poisoned apples. We should have reason to doubt such a theory, if Geoffrey assigned a more satisfactory cause to Merlin's madness. Lot¹⁹ believes it probable that in several details and in two episodes of the *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey was using traditions concerning a mad prophet, Lailoken,²⁰ who had been guilty of stirring up strife among his countrymen, and in consequence by a decree from Heaven had been banished to the Caledonian forest, where he passed a solitary life. Lot points out that, while Lailoken's madness and banishment have been visited upon him as a punishment for his own misdeeds, and hence have a consistent place in his history, Merlin's madness is forced into the story of the *Vita Merlini*. Melancholy though the occasioning circumstances are, in an age of warfare and after a struggle that has ended successfully for his side, Merlin's frenzy and per-

sistent refusal to resume the ways of men form an extravagance of narration that does not, like the madness of Cuchulinn, belong to an accepted type of story. There is no evidence that Merlin and Lailoken had been identified in any way previous to the *Vita Merlini*,²¹ and if we accept Lot's view that the story of Lailoken probably influenced Geoffrey, we may with him regard the association as the product of the poet's own imagination. Common prophetic power might, of course, have given sufficient reason for Geoffrey to transfer to Merlin, king and prophet, events from the life of Lailoken, the frenzied inhabitant of the Caledonian forest; but if the Merlin tradition at the time when the *Vita Merlini* was being written already contained some tale of Merlin's madness in the woods, Geoffrey would surely have had a more natural point of departure for an association of the prophet with the mad Lailoken.

For further traces of a fairy-mistress theme we should turn to Ganiada.

Merlin's sister, Ganiada, wife of Rodarchus, king of the Cambrians, tries to induce her brother to give up his solitary existence in the Caledonian forest, but her words are all in vain, and except for two brief visits at court,²² he spends his life in the woods. Ganiada shows great solicitude for his welfare; at his bidding she herself builds a house in the forest for him, and comes frequently

²¹ See Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 340, 343-347.

²² On one of these occasions (vv. 198 ff.) after Merlin has come to court, he is so eager to return to the forest, that Rodarchus orders him to be put into chains. There upon Merlin sinks into the deepest gloom and refuses to speak a word or to smile, until he sees the king remove with a jest a leaf caught in the hair of Ganiada, who has entered the hall. At this Merlin smiles, and when he is begged by Rodarchus to give the reason, he explains that he smiled because the king is more faithful to Ganiada than she is to him; for the leaf had fallen on her hair, while she listened to the words of a lover whom she had met in a grove. The queen protests that the charge is false, and at once arranges a series of tests with the object of convicting her brother of untruthfulness.

An examination of this episode, will be more appropriate in my projected study of Merlin. For the present purpose, however, it should be noted that the story is incomplete so far as Ganiada is concerned, for, although her tests serve to show the infallibility of Merlin's words, nothing further is said about his charge against her, nor does she harbor resentment against him, apparently, because of it. In short we can derive little, if any, information as to Ganiada herself from the incident.

¹⁷ Aimon de Varennes, *Florimont*, summarized by P. Paris, *MSS. franç. du Bibl. du Roi*, Paris, 1836-1848, III, 26 ff.

¹⁸ Chrétien de Troies, *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, Halle, 1887, vv. 2774 ff. Cf. the madness of Fergus, Guillaume le Clerc, *Fergus*, ed. Martin, Halle, 1872, vv. 3636 ff. See also Löseth, *Le Roman de Tristan*, Paris, 1890, §§ 80, 101-104; Paris, *R. T. R.*, iv, 65 ff., 347, 348; *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Zielke, Breslau, 1880, vv. 329 ff.; Kittredge, *Am. Journal Phil.*, vii, (1886), 188.

¹⁹ *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 336 ff.

²⁰ Lailoken's life is known to us through two fragments from a Cottonian manuscript in the British Museum (*Titus A. XIX*, fol. 74-75), that have been published by Ward, *Romania*, xxii, 504 ff.

with supplies of food to visit him. Later she takes up her abode with him in the woods. On one occasion she is represented as becoming inspired, and bursting into prophetic utterances. The poem closes leaving Ganiada and Merlin in their woodland retreat.

The same criticism that is true of the place occupied by Merlin's madness in the scheme of the poem may justly be made of Ganiada's part. She offers to leave her husband and the court, and to follow Merlin to the woods and dwell there with him—a state of affairs that is not given a sufficient motive anywhere in the story. At Merlin's suggestion Ganiada goes back to court, only to discover the truth of his prophecy that she will find her husband dead. Accordingly she decides to return to Merlin, and we cannot be blind to the fact that Rodarchus dies at a suspiciously felicitous time for the poet to bring Ganiada back gracefully to the forest.²³ Furthermore, Ganiada displays extraordinary architectural proclivities. Merlin bids her build for him a house in the Caledonian forest:—

Tu quoque saepe veni, soror o dilecte, meamque
Tunc poteris relevare famem potuque ciboque.

Paruit ergo soror, nam iussam condidit aulam
Atque domos alias, et quicquid iusserat illi.²⁴

Moreover, the prophecy that is put into Ganiada's lips²⁵ is so political in its contents that she herself appears to be serving simply as a mouthpiece for utterances that the poet desired to make.²⁶ Her part in the story, resolved into its simplest elements, is that of a woman gifted with prophetic power, who builds a house in the forest for Merlin, supplies him with food and drink, and lives there happily with him.²⁷ This agrees exactly with the part of the fay in a very ordinary type of fairy-mistress story in Celtic and romantic material. A gallant young hero meets a beguiling maiden from the other world, who wins control over him and then builds for him a magic dwelling, where he finds mysterious supplies of food in accordance with his taste, and where his love remains ever

with him, gratifying all his wishes and supplying all his needs.²⁸

It may at first seem strange that if Geoffrey had before him a fairy-mistress story, he should have rationalized and distorted it in the manner indicated by the scattered passages from the *Vita Merlini* that I have noted. But one of the facts with which the student of fairy lore early becomes familiar is that the tendency of other-world material is regularly toward rationalization, and that a fay easily became in narrative a mortal woman gifted with certain unusual powers. Added to this, the *Vita Merlini* is, as I have said above, a heterogeneous poem, and an observation of the author's habitual methods shows that he adopts an independent treatment of popular material, which forbids us to look for a close adherence on his part to the versions that he had before him. In fact we know that Geoffrey in writing his *Historia Regum Britanniae* had cultivated the habit of combining material in a highly original fashion,²⁹ and therefore in a work that there is reason to believe came from his pen, we should expect just such combinations as we find in the *Vita Merlini*.³⁰ The author was in a receptive mood for tradition when he was writing his hexameters, but though he travelled far and wide for much of his material, at times he made some of it go a long way, and thriftily split up the doings of one original among several representatives. We are probably harboring no unjust suspicions, moreover, if we surmise that Geoffrey was governed on this occasion by a deeper reason than the mere pleasure of handling tradition boldly. He wrote the *Vita Merlini* with an eye to the ecclesiastical loaves and fishes at the disposal of Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln,³¹ and it was

²³ See *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Potvin, Mons, 1866-1871, vv. 22,645-22,781, an episode in which Philipot (*Romania*, xxv, 1896, 286 ff.) finds a parallel to the Merlin and Niniane story; see also *Raddiffe College Monographs*, No. 13, pp. 208 ff.

For fays as builders of castles in romance, cf. also *Perceval le Gallois*, vv. 26,902 ff., 30,369 ff.

²⁹ See Schofield, *Publ. of Modern Language Association*, xvi (1901), 412 ff., 420.

³⁰ For further examples of Geoffrey's treatment of his material in the *Vita Merlini*, see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 338-347; Brown, *Revue Celtique*, xxii, 339 ff.; *Raddiffe College Monographs*, No. 13, pp. 38 ff.

³¹ See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i, 279-286.

²³ See vv. 533-731. ²⁴ Vv. 562 ff. ²⁵ Vv. 1474-1517.

²⁶ See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i, 282; cf. *Romania*, xxii, 510.

²⁷ For an Anglesey tale to the effect that Merlin lived in a wild spot in the woods, where his sister kept house for him, see Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, London and Edinburgh, 1888, 159.

doubtless more discreet for him in composing a poem intended to attract a prelate's approval, to slip the fairy-mistress story out of sight under cover of prophetic frenzy, a solicitous sister, and a beautiful but dangerous love abandoned with the follies of youth.

In our only remaining source for early Merlin material beside Geoffrey's writings, namely the Welsh poems dealing with the bard Myrddin, we find nothing against the supposition that Geoffrey was responsible for the transformation of the fairy-mistress theme, and for making Ganiada Merlin's sister. These Welsh poems are of little assistance in an examination of the story with which we are concerned. Only the *Avallenau*³² refers to a love of Myrddin's youth.

"Sweet apple-tree that luxuriantly grows!
Food I used to take at its base to please a fair maid,
When, with my shield on my shoulder, and my sword on
my thigh,
I slept all alone in the woods of Celyddon.

"Sweet apple-tree, which grows by the river-side!
With respect to it, the keeper will not thrive on its
splendid fruit.

While my reason was not aberrant, I used to be around
its stem

With a fair sportive maid, a paragon of slender form.
Ten years and forty, as the toy of lawless ories,
Have I been wandering in gloom and among sprites.³³

In an interpolated text of the *Avallenau*³⁴ mention is made of a maiden with fair hair and pearly teeth, Gloywedd, to whose care the apple-garden is entrusted. These verses certainly give us meagre information, but they imply that with the bard Myrddin there was connected a love theme; furthermore, since we know that the shadow of an apple-tree is a favorite spot for other-world damsels to visit the mortal heroes of their choice, they also suggest that the maiden whom the bard met at the foot of an apple-tree was a fay.³⁵

³² Published with translation by Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868, I, 370 ff., II, 18 ff. The poem is contained in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, which is dated by Skene (I, 3), probably in the reign of Henry II (cf. Mead, Introduction to *Merlin*, p. cvi); Lot (*Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 506, 507) dates the poem after 1150.

³³ Stanzas IV, VII.

³⁴ Published and translated by San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, pp. 62-78; see stanza I.

³⁵ Lancelot is found sleeping in the shade of an apple-tree by three fays, who carry him away to a fairy castle,

Neither are the Welsh sources liberal in their remarks about Myrddin's sister, Gwendydd, as they call her. From the *Avallenau* and the *Hoianau*³⁶ we gather that she is the wife of Rydderch, king of the Cambrians, and that her anger has been roused against Myrddin by the death of her son at his hands.³⁷

Gwendydd loves me not, greets me not;
I am hated by the firmest minister of Rydderch;³⁸
I have ruined his son and his daughter.

I am not soothed with diversion, I am not visited by the
fair.

Yet in the battle of Ardderyd golden was my torques,
Though I am now despised by her who is of the color of
swans,³⁹

In the *Kyvoesi*,⁴⁰ or *Dialogue between Myrddin and*

where they unsuccessfully invite him to select one of them for his *amie*; see Paris, *R. T. R.*, v, 303; *Lancelot*, ed. of 1513, summarized by Sommer, Malory, *Morte Darthur*, London, 1889-1891, III, 179; Malory, Bk. VI, ch. 3, 4; *Roman van Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1846-1849, I, vv. 13,635 ff. Tam Lin is found asleep under an apple-tree by the Elfin Queen, who takes him to her abode; see Child, *Ballads*, I, 350; cf. 340; IV, 456. See further Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 326; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 359; San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 89; Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, II, 336, note on st. iv; Kittredge, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, VII, 190.

³⁶ Published and translated by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 482 ff.; II, 21 ff. Skene regards the poem as a spurious production, written in imitation of the *Avallenau*; see *Four Ancient Books*, I, 223; cf. Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 508; De la Borderie, *L'Historien et le Prophète des Bretons*, Paris, 1884, p. 116.

³⁷ See Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 372, st. vi; 487, st. xv.

³⁸ Lot (*Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 521, note 1) explains these words as referring to Gwendydd.

³⁹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 371, st. v.

⁴⁰ Published and translated by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 462 ff.; II, 218 ff. The poem is divided by Skene into three parts, composed respectively in the seventh, tenth, and twelfth centuries; it is dated by Stephens ca. 1077, by De la Borderie in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and by San Marte at an earlier date than the *Hoianau*, even if not than the *Avallenau*; see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 512, 513, for citations of the above authorities, and a statement of their views; *ib.*, 518-520 for arguments in favor of assigning a date later than 1148.

A passing allusion is made to Gwendydd (*Servile is thy cry, thou Gwendydd*) in the *Gwasgardgerdd*, or *Fugitive Poem of Myrddin in his Grave* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 481, xxvii), a poem of uncertain date, but regarded probably as belonging no earlier than the last third of the twelfth century; see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 509 ff.

his *Sister Gwendydd*, Gwendydd addresses Myrddin in flattering terms as her brother, and proceeds to examine him minutely in the history of North Wales.

None of these Welsh poems may with any assurance be said to antedate the *Vita Merlini*, and Lot has called attention to the fact that the influence of the *Vita Merlini* may be recognized in them. "Est-ce à dire que tout dans ces poèmes dérive de Gaufrei de Monmouth? Nous ne le pensons pas. Nous croyons au contraire que celui-ci a utilisé d'antiques traditions galloises, écrites ou orales, mais elles ne nous sont pas directement parvenues."⁴¹ The suggestions that I have offered above in regard to Ganiada are altogether in harmony with such a view as this. Although with our present scanty knowledge of the true relation between the historic bard Myrddin and the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth, we are treading here on debatable land, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in so far as the Welsh sources represent Gwendydd, wife of Rydderch, king of the Cambrians, as Myrddin's sister, they are using tradition which was started by Geoffrey's pen,⁴² but that the maiden of the apple-tree doubtless belongs to the same early tradition which we have seen Geoffrey may have altered at his own discretion.

Whether Geoffrey found his story in a *bon lai Breton de Merlin*, such as we hear of in *Renart le Nouvel*,⁴³ we do not know; but of the contents of his original we may form a fairly clear idea. It doubtless told of Merlin's stay with an other-world maiden in a beautiful dwelling that she had herself built for him, of her anger against him because he had deserted her, forgotten her command, or disobeyed her will, of his frenzy at the knowledge that he was under the ban of her displeasure, and, probably, of his restoration by fairy agency to reason and to his loved-one's presence. Every striking alteration that Geoffrey makes in this material may be accounted for by the rationalizing tendency, by the introduction of popular story, by a moulding of the theme to fit the general structure of the poem, by his customary methods and personal aim. The early fairy-mistress story dies out of the extant Merlin ma-

terial, and is succeeded by that of Niniane. Ganiada had been made Merlin's sister by Geoffrey's hand, and thus spoiled for romantic purposes. Under these conditions another fairy-mistress story, belonging to a popular type and developed along different lines, quite naturally took the place of that which Geoffrey had succeeded admirably in distorting.

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PINDAR AND GOETHE.

Although it is almost universally admitted that the influence of Pindar may be traced in Goethe's early lyrics, there is much dispute as to the actual extent of this influence. W. Scherer¹ in referring to Goethe's odes of the years 1772-74 characterizes them as "gräzisierende Oden" and speaks of "gewaltsam schwungvoller Vortrag Pindarischer Gesänge." Loeper² finds the Pindaric influence manifested in *Wanderers Sturmlied* and in *Adler und Taube*. Düntzer admits³ it only in *Wanderers Sturmlied*. A. Michaelis⁴ believes that the poetical form of *Wanderers Sturmlied*, *Prometheus*, *Harzreise*, and *Ganymed* was derived from Pindar. The conclusions of Minor and Sauer,⁵ who have given the most exhaustive discussion of the subject, may be summed up in the following four statements: 1, Goethe took Pindar, as he understood him, for his model in his odes *Wanderers Sturmlied* and *Adler und Taube*; 2, The diction of these odes is derived in part from Pindar; 3, Goethe borrowed from Pindar the run-on-line (enjambement) at the end of a stanza; 4, Pindar and Herder were the first to give him a clear conception of the importance of technical mastery of language for poetic purposes. We shall have occasion often to return to this treatise; it is again and again referred to as authoritative on the question at issue and on Goethe's early relations to Herder (cf. Weissenfels, *Goethe in St. u. Dr.*, 1894, p. 140, foot-note; R.

¹ *Geschichte der deutsch. Lit.*, 5. ed., 1885, p. 488.

² *Goethe's Gedichte*, 2d. part, 1883, pp. 320-21, 325.

³ *Erläuterungen z. d. deutsch. Klassikern*, vol. 70-72, 1876, p. 321 ff.

⁴ "Goethe u. d. Antike" in *Strassb. Goethevorträge*, 1899, p. 121.

⁵ *Studien zur Goethe-Philologie*, 1880, pp. 42, 82-84, 99 ff., 102.

⁴¹ *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 520.

⁴² Cf. *Ib.*, 520, 521, 533.

⁴³ See *Roman de Renart*, ed. Méon, Paris, 1826, II, vv. 2149, 2150.

Meyer's Goethe biography, 2d. ed., p. 721) and may therefore be considered as practically new in spite of its having been published more than twenty years ago.

As is apparent from the foregoing the commentators are agreed only on one point, namely that the ode *Wanderers Sturmlied* was effected by Pindar; they disagree as to the particular manner. There can be no doubt that it is extremely difficult to disentangle the genuine Pindaric elements in this ode. Loeper finds only two correspondences with Pindar: 1, in ll. 71-75 (praise of "Jupiter Pluvius"); 2, in ll. 101 ff. (allusion to the Greek games and to Pindar); on the other hand he points out that ll. 1, 18 ff., 97, 102 are suggestive of Horace. Even if we consider that Pindar is twice mentioned (ll. 56, 109), the similarities between *Wanderers Sturmlied* and the odes of Pindar are slight, and numerically there are fewer adaptations from Pindar than from Horace. Further considerations will tend to weaken their significance. Goethe may have borrowed the idea of "Jupiter Pluvius" and the corresponding one of the "sturmathmende Gottheit" (l. 91) from Homer and Klopstock as well as from Pindar. In Pindar Zeus is in the first place the hurler of lightnings and the thunderer, while the view that he is the God of the storm and rain is only of secondary importance. In Klopstock on the other hand the idea of the presence of God in the storm is essential;⁶ besides the pantheism implied in "Der du mich fassend deckst, Jupiter Pluvius" (l. 82-83) is more characteristic of Klopstock⁷ than of Pindar.

The only possible relation between *Wanderers Sturmlied* and the odes of Pindar must therefore be sought for in its general thought and in its form. As to the form Goethe might have found a suggestion in Pindar as he was conceived by the conventional literary criticism of the day; this ideal of Pindar appears, for instance, in Klopstock's ode *An meine Freunde*, ll. 5-8:

"Willst du zu Strophen werden, o Lied? oder
Ununterwürfig, Pindars Gesängen gleich,
Gleich Zeus erhabnem trunknem Sohne,
Frey aus der schaffenden Sel enttaumeln."

⁶ See below.

⁷ This idea is entirely compatible with the theism of Klopstock.

This imitation of a fictitious Pindar may have occurred; but even then Pindar would have been to Goethe only the exponent of poetical ideals with which Goethe was already imbued from other sources. At any rate the real, historic Pindar cannot have been the model for *Wanderers Sturmlied*. This is born out by the following points.

A characteristic feature of the poem is the fact that a number of lines begin with the same word (cf. ll. 5-6, 16-17, 19-21, 26-27, 34-36, 46-48, 72-74, etc.). Pindar has no such repetitions, whereas they are common in the Anacreontic school, especially Gleim, and in Goethe's own earlier poems.—Note further the use of the apostrophe to "Genius" and to "Jupiter Pluvius" which runs through the poem. A direct apostrophe to Zeus is seldom found in Pindar; the Olympean and Pythean odes contain only four cases (4., 5., 13. Ol., 1. Pyth. odes), and even then the apostrophe consists only of a short prayer for some divine favor. Pindar addresses his odes to princes, prominent citizens and especially to the victors whom he praises. One might of course assert that Goethe may have developed his use of apostrophe from the one found in Pindar; but this would be a rather far-fetched explanation. On the other hand, apostrophe to God and the Redeemer is very frequent in Klopstock.—More striking results are furnished by the study of the sentence-structure in the ode. The style shows a remarkable syntactical monotony, since independent clauses in the present indicative or imperative prevail. Sometimes the sentences fairly shrink to a telegram style. This enables the poet by joining together an indefinite number of chiefly co-ordinate clauses to form agglomerations of sentences of almost any length; and there is no inner reason why their close should, as is the case, coincide with the end of a stanza. It is apparent that this structure of sentences is the very opposite of the one found in Pindar, while it is exactly that for which Klopstock shows a strong predilection.

One could try to meet all these objections to an assumed influence of Pindar on Goethe by the remark: *Wanderers Sturmlied* may not show Pindaric form, but it certainly represents Pindar's ideas. This, however, is still less the case. As a rule Pindar's odes present the same sequence of thought touching chiefly upon these three points:

1. mention and praise of the person to whom the ode is dedicated; 2. eulogy of his family, if it has already gained some fame; 3. mythological allusions and references to contemporary events.⁸ Of this only mythological allusions are found in *Wanderers Sturmlied*. Pindar's narrative is objective. *Wanderers Sturmlied*, on the other hand, is intensely subjective; it is the expression of Goethe's sublime egotism. To explain this chief characteristic of the ode we have to go back either to Herder or to Klopstock, or else we must derive it from Goethe's own nature; egotism is foreign to Pindar.

There are other things in the ode which remind us not unfrequently of Klopstock. I would connect l. 1 with Klopstock's *Lehrling der Griechen*, l. 1, rather than with Horace, *Carm.* iv, 3, l. 1; Klopstock uses the word "Genius" while Horace uses "Melpomene." "Der du mich fassend deckst, Jupiter Pluvius" (l. 82-83) reminds one of "Allgegenwärtig, Vater, schliessest du mich ein" (*Dem Allgegenwärtigen*, l. 21-22); it must be noted that in this same poem of Klopstock the idea of the presence of God in the storm is found (ll. 39-40). Loeper remarks⁹ on this passage: "Im Preise des Wettergotts, der sturmathmenden Gottheit, des Jupiter Pluvius, wetteifert Goethe hier mit Pindar." But this praise of Zeus is for Pindar rather incidental. Moreover, it must be noted that for him Zeus is in the first place the hurler of lightnings and the thunderer (9. Ol. 6; 11. Ol. 83-84). On the other hand, the idea that God is present in the roaring storm is fundamental in Klopstock (*Dem Allgegenwärtigen*, ll. 37-44, 69-72. *Der Abschied*, ll. 5-9. *Frühlingsfeier*, ll. 57-60, 105 ff.). "Dich strömt mein Lied" (l. 76) finds a parallel in "So strömt der Gesang, Thuiskon, deines Geschlechts" (*Aganippe und Phiala*, l. 9-10); "strömen" is very frequent in Klopstock. *Schauer Mitternacht*, *schweben*, *Seligkeit*, *quellen*, *sterblich* may be considered as especially characteristic of Klopstock. The expression "Ceder" is not found in Pindar; Klopstock uses the word in *Dem Allmächtigen*, l. 72; *Die Glückseligkeit aller*, l. 8, and in *Messias*.

The word and idea of "Genius" certainly is not

⁸ Now and then reflections of a general nature are inserted.

⁹ *Goethes Ged.*, etc., p. 320.

derived from Pindar. Although "Genius" here may be interpreted as meaning a phase of Goethe's own personality, his poetical faculty, yet Goethe addresses it as a guiding spirit. Do we not find a parallel to the first stanzas of *Wanderers Sturmlied* in the first stanzas of Klopstock's *Stunden der Weihe*? In the latter Klopstock appeals to the quiet hours of evening not to depart without their blessing; he has the vision of one of the heavenly host saying:

"Eilt, heilige Stunden, die ihr die Unterwelt
Aus diesen hohen Pforten Gottes
Selten besuchet, zu jenem Jüngling,
Der Gott, den Mittler, Adams Geschlecht singt!
Deckt ihn mit dieser schattigen kühlen Nacht
Der goldnen Flügel, dass er einsam
Unter dem himmlischen Schatten dichte."

This order is obeyed. The situation in the ode is: Klopstock feels himself under the protection of the twilight hours; he believes theirs to be the credit of his odes (ll. 13-16). Compare this with the beginning of *Wanderers Sturmlied*, where the "Genius" takes the place of the hours in *Stunden d. W.* The parallel becomes still more evident if we consider ll. 71-75, in which Goethe expresses the belief of being Jupiter's *Sänger*, and remember that Klopstock's *Stunden d. W.* bore in the Darmstadt edition of 1771 the heading: "Als der Dichter den Messias zu singen unternahm," and also that Goethe is supposed to have written the ode while returning from his stay among the admirers of Klopstock at Darmstadt.

Pindar had no important nor even considerable influence on *Wanderers Sturmlied*. We have in this ode a poem in which reminiscences of Goethe's reading in the classics and in Klopstock are combined with genuine Storm and Stress impulses to unique effect.

Many of the foregoing remarks hold good also for the poem *Adler und Taube*. Minor and Sauer maintain¹⁰ that it is half Pindaric half Anacreontic. They refer to the eagle of *Adler und Taube* as the representative of loftiness and strength of character and the bird of Zeus, as which he frequently occurs in Pindar. But the eagle has always been the symbol of such qualities. The contrasting of eagle and dove is absent in Pindar, who sets against each other eagle and

¹⁰ *Studien*, etc., 50.

raven (2. Ol., 96), and eagle and crow (3. Nem., 76 ff.); it is, however, found in the Anacreontic school and in Horace, *Carm.* iv, 4 (ll. 31-32). Repetitions of the same word at the beginning of successive lines are less numerous, but not entirely wanting (cf. ll. 20-21, 37-39, 48-49). The style is fluent; the diction reminds one of the Anacreontics and of Klopstock (*Jüngling, wandeln, allgegenwärtig, tieftrauernd, tiefernt*, etc.). The leading thought, namely, the idea that the genius needs another sphere of life and activity than the *Philister*, is certainly not traceable to Pindar. Pindar is so absolutely the man of a sound, cheerful, sober philosophy of life that he ranks much more with the Anacreontics than with Storm and Stress. He recommends serenity and contentment with a humble lot; he praises the life of the middle classes compared with that of the tyrants. He admonishes the unfortunate ones to bear their sorrows with equanimity; in no case whatsoever is man to give up all hope. Melancholy resignation is foreign to Pindar. Cf. 2. Pyth., 93:¹¹ "It avails to bear lightly the yoke placed on our necks." 3. Pyth., 107: "Moderate in moderate fortune, great in great will I be; the bliss that befalls me I will cherish in mind, improving it to my best." 11. Pyth. 52: "For since in the commonweal I find the middle state bloom with bliss the most lasting, I despise the lot of sovereigns." 3. Pyth. 81:¹² "For one good the immortals give to men two evils: but these fools have not power to bear in moderation; not so the wise, who turn to view the good in all things." Pindar's principles apparently correspond much more with those of the dove than with those of the eagle. Furthermore the downfall of the eagle in the poem is described with more length and detail than required by the symbolic character of the fable; Goethe admires in the wounded hero the tragical beauty of fallen greatness. This idea would never have appealed to Pindar; his object always is living vigor and courage.

Of less importance to the question at issue is

¹¹ Transl. from *The odes of Pindar in English Prose*, Oxford, 1824.

¹² The number of sentences in Pindar which are opposed to Storm and Stress view could easily be multiplied. Pindar conceives especially no titanic defiance of the gods (cf. 5. Isthm. 14; 6. Isthm. 43 ff.).

the run-on-line touched upon by Minor and Sauer. They maintain,¹³ as above stated, that Goethe took over from Pindar the *enjambement* at the end of a stanza, but that he did not imitate Pindar's use of dividing a word between the end of one line and the beginning of the next, although this is, as they assert, common in Pindar. Neither of the two statements seems to be quite correct. If we distinguish between strophic, linear (Zeilen-) and verbal (Wort-) *enjambement*, then matters are very clear regarding the first two cases. Goethe makes no use of strophic *enjambement*, while he frequently uses linear *enjambement*. He does not use the first, although it is not unfrequently found in Pindar; on the other hand he did not need any model for the latter, since linear *enjambement* is found in his poems of the Leipzig and Strassburg periods.

It is not quite correct to say that verbal *enjambement* is common in Pindar. The metrical unit in his odes within the stanza is the *πούς* (*περίοδος*). If each *πούς* is printed as a separate line, then we have in Pindar not unfrequent verbal *enjambements*; on the other hand if one prints the *πόδες* which belong together as one line, then Pindar's odes never show verbal *enjambement*. The latter practice is almost generally adopted in the editions published in the latter half of the nineteenth century, while the editions used by Goethe contained, as it seems, short lines with frequent verbal *enjambement*. Goethe, however, did not follow Pindar in this respect.

Little need be said concerning another statement made by Minor und Sauer. If Herder and Pindar really were the men who convinced Goethe of the importance of linguistic perfection for poetry, then they could at best boast of having revived in the poet's mind a principle which he had temporarily lost sight of. For an exaggerated appreciation of the formal element in poetry as regards both style and metre was one of the chief characteristics of the Anacreontic school, whose disciple Goethe still was in his early Strassburg days. It is true, Goethe writes to Herder in July, 1772: "Ueber den Worten Pindar's *ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι* ist mir's aufgegangen." But one must remember that Goethe refers here chiefly to the "Grund meines spechtigen Wesens;" besides, the

¹³ *Studien*, etc., 102.

letter gives the impression of having been written by a pupil who wants to please his teacher.

The prime agent of Goethe's lyrical development between the Strassburg and Wetzlar periods were not the classics; it was probably Klopstock. His influence upon *Elysium*, *Felsweihesang* and *Pilgers Morgenlied* is universally recognized. He is, as has been seen above, in part responsible for *Wanderers Sturmlied*. His influence is perhaps traceable also in Goethe's *Seefahrt*, the poem being the positive counterpart of Klopstock's *Die Welten*, ll. 21—end. Only Goethe's later didactic odes, *Das Göttliche* and *Grenzen der Menschheit* show real parallels to Pindar; cf. *Grenzen d. M.*, ll. 1-6 with Pindar's view of Zeus as the hurler of lightnings, and *ibid.* ll. 11-13 with 6. Isthm. 43 ff. *Harzeise* ll. 6-18 remind us of Pindar's fatalism. But it is hard to say whether we have here real Pindaric reminiscences.

The foregoing opinion of the effect of Pindar upon Goethe seems to be totally disproved by Goethe's letters of 1771-72 in which he expresses great admiration of Pindar. But the more one studies these letters, especially those addressed to Herder, the more one is impressed with their unnatural character. Partly they seem to have been written to please Herder, partly they seem to exhibit a slightly turbulent state of mind in their author at the time of their composition. It is not improbable that Goethe hastily glanced through Pindar for Herder's sake. How much Herder impelled Goethe to read can be inferred from the *Ephemerides* and from Goethe's letters; the result of this activity was, as Goethe writes in the above-mentioned letter to Herder: "Es geht bei mir noch alles entsetzlich durcheinander." To make a thorough study of Pindar would hardly have been possible for Goethe during the busy autumn and winter months of 1771-72; and Pindar is not a poet to captivate upon cursory reading.

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TWO SONNETS HITHERTO UNNOTICED.

The practical disappearance of the Sonnet in English literature from about 1658 to 1750 has been discussed by many authorities. It has been frequently stated that William Walsh wrote the

only sonnet during that period that has survived. In Ward's *English Poets*, III, 7, Mr. Gosse says, "Walsh is the author of the only sonnet written in English between Milton's, in 1658, and Warton's, about 1750." Mr. Gosse characteristically forgot a sonnet he had edited himself, the famous one by Gray, written in 1742. T. S. Perry, in his admirable and scholarly work, *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century*, makes the more guarded statement, that "Walsh is one of the few men who wrote sonnets in English between Milton and the Wartons" (p. 224, note). In the latest book published on English verse, Professor R. M. Alden's *English Verse*, 1903, an excellent manual and textbook, nothing is added to our information on this particular point. In the *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, 1893, I first called attention to the prominent part played by Thomas Edwards in the revival of the sonnet, and in later impressions, I added a note (page 46) that I had discovered two sonnets of Edwards, dated 1746 and 1747 respectively.

I have recently had the good fortune to discover two sonnets that fall in this barren period, which add another author to the very scanty list. These sonnets, while devoid of intrinsic poetic merit, are in the regular Shaksperian form, and are by the notorious wit and courtly poet, Sir Charles Sedley. It is impossible to assign the exact year when they were composed, but as Sedley was about twenty-one years old in 1660, and died in 1701, they must have been written in what is loosely called the Restoration period. The two sonnets appear on pages 60 and 91 respectively of Sedley's *Poetical Works*, London, 1707. The first is entitled, *To Cæsus*.

O Times! O Manners! Cicero cry'd out,
But 'twas when enrag'd Catilin conspir'd
To burn the City, and to cut the Throat
Of half the Senate, had his Ruffians hir'd:

When Son and Father did the World divide,
And Rome for Tyrants, not for Empire fought;
When slaughter'd Citizens on either side
Cover'd that Earth, her early Valour bought.

Of Times and Men, why dost thou now complain?
What is it, Cæsus, that offends thee, say?
Our Laws the License of the Sword restrain;
And our Prince wills that his arm'd Troops obey:
His Reign, Success, Freedom and Plenty crown,
Blame not our Manners then, but mend thy own.

The second is entitled, *To Quintus*.

Thou art an Atheist, *Quintus*, and a Wit,
Think'st all was of self-moving Atoms made,
Religion only for the Vulgar fit,
Priests Rogues, and Preaching their deceitful Trade;
Wilt drink, whore, fight, blaspheme, damn, curse and swear:
Why wilt thou swear, by G——, if there be none?
And if there be, thou shou'd'st his Vengeance fear:
Methinks this Huffing might be let alone;
'Tis thou art free, Mankind besides a Slave,
And yet a Whore may lead thee by the Nose,
A drunken Bottle, and a flatt'ring Knave,
A mighty Prince, Slave to thy dear Son's Foes,
Thy Lust, thy Rage, Ambition and thy Pride,
He that serves G——, need nothing serve beside.

The above two sonnets must therefore be added to the meagre collection written between Milton and the Wartons.

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"YEOMAN'S SERVICE."

This phrase is very commonly used for "eminent" or "efficient service," and so the dictionaries explain it. It has been preserved, I suppose, in the current language by the passage in *Hamlet*, where the prince, explaining how he was able to forge letters as if from the Danish Chancery, says that his fair handwriting, of which he had been ashamed, on this occasion "did me yeoman's service." The commentators on Shakespeare, so far as I have consulted them, concur in the explanation, "eminent service," but give no instance of its use with that meaning.

I venture to think that this is not the correct explanation of the phrase. Yeoman's service was the feudal service to which a yeoman, or freeman below a knight, was held. It was below a knight's service, and above a villein's service. The knight was bound to assist his lord in war with arms, a horse, and a stipulated number of retainers: the yeoman, holding lands under a knight, was bound to attend him in war with bow and arrows. Chaucer's Yeman, in attendance on the Knight, shows the type.

"Yeoman's service," then, as used by Hamlet, I understand to mean not "eminent," but "humble but useful service," rendered him at a pinch by an art in itself despicable.

I am confirmed in this view by the fact that Shakespeare never uses "yeoman," but with a note of disparagement, as in contrast to a "gentleman."

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ENGLISH VERSIFICATION.

English Verse, Specimens illustrating its principles and history. Chosen and edited by RAYMOND M. ALDEN, Ph. D. Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1903. 16mo., pp. xiv + 459.

Books on English versification are numerous enough, it would seem, to satisfy every need, but somehow they all deal with the history of metrical forms and their classification, without paying much heed to the beginner's question about the rhetorical effectiveness of given forms for given purposes. Professor Alden's *English Verse* is doubly welcome, because it does try to answer this question about effectiveness, and because it furnishes in convenient, and for the most part undogmatic, arrangement, an unusual quantity of material for a book of its size. This material consists of illustrative passages in great number, arranged, for each point, in chronological order, and long enough to give a fair notion of what they illustrate. In addition to these illustrations, is a surprising number of brief comments by various critics, gathered (a sentence or two at a time) from a wide field, and most of them *obiter dicta* that would escape the ordinary student of versification. The references to dissertations and essays, while confessedly incomplete, are numerous enough to stimulate the curiosity and disturb the self-complacency of the student. Indeed, the chronological arrangement of the illustrations, and the number of references, form the chief value of the book to the beginner. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has not expressed his own opinion more frequently and positively, for his modesty sometimes leads us to wonder if he has not trusted too implicitly to his authorities, and not enough to his own investigations.

Part I treats of Accent and Time, the Foot and the Verse, the Stanza, and Tone-Quality (Assonance, Alliteration, and Rime); Part II, of the more important forms, such as the Heroic Couplet,

Blank Verse, and the Sonnet; Part III, of the Time-Element in English Verse; and Part IV (of the Place and Function of the Metrical Element in English Poetry) consists of over twenty pages in fine print of extracts from a baker's dozen of writers from Aristotle to Gummere.

The following notes are meant as suggestions for a second edition.

P. 33. The line from Milton's Ode, "Can no more divine," is cited as "an instance of a verse truncated at the beginning—rare in modern English poetry." Professor Alden, like most others, assumes that truncated lines are trochaic, whereas from their structure they may be either trochaic or iambic, and (as the reviewer hopes sometime to show) are used most often in iambic measures.

On p. 76, it is reported of the stanza of the *In Memoriam*: "Tennyson is indeed said to have invented it for his own use, not knowing of its earlier appearances." In the *Memoir*, I, 305-6, Tennyson says: "And as for the metre of 'In Memoriam' I had no notion until 1880 that Lord Herbert of Cherbury had written his occasional verses in the same metre. I believed myself the originator of the metre until after 'In Memoriam' came out, when someone told me that Ben Jonson and Sir Philip Sidney had used it."

On p. 85, the reference to p. 106 should be to p. 111; and reference might also be made to p. 133.

On p. 94, to Milton's poem in rime royal stanza with concluding alexandrine, might be added Wordsworth's *Resolution and Independence* in 20 stanzas, written in 1802. The rime royal rime-scheme is found in four-beat lines in Carew's *In the Person of a Lady to her inconstant Lover* (1640); in four-beat anapests in Shelley's *On an icicle that clung to the grass of a grave*; and in 5524335 (ababbcc) in Suckling's *Unjust Decrees* (1646)—where the first stanza rimes abbebc.

P. 97. Chaucer's ababbcbc stanza occurs in a 15th century French version of the *Debate between the Body and the Soul* (*Latin Poems attrib. to W. Mages*, p. 310 f.).

P. 107. Even more interesting than Phineas Fletcher's curious stanza are Hood's *Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*, a Spenserian stanza with the ninth line a pentameter; and Shelley's *Lines written in Dejection*, where the first eight lines are four-beat, and the ninth is an alexandrine.

P. 132. The stanza quoted from *Ye Nutbrowne Maide* as showing "a somewhat complex system of internal rime" is only an aabccb stanza printed as a couplet.

In the section on the Sonnet, Professor Alden quotes Sharp's Ten Commandments of the Sonnet, number three of which says that a "rimed couplet at the close is allowable only when the form is the English or Shakespearian (p. 269)." Out of 1273 sonnets conforming to the Italian rime-scheme in the octave, 353, or 27.72 per cent, end the sestet with a couplet.

P. 280. 196 of Wordsworth's 519 sonnets rime abbaacca in the octave.

P. 282. Of Shelley's eleven sonnets, one (*To the Nile*) is regular in form (abbaabbacdcdee).

P. 286. Tennyson's sonnets number 30, not 19.

P. 291. Only three of the sonnets to *Delia* are Italian (Nos. 33 and 35, and No. 2 of the 'rejected' ones).

P. 293. The sonnets in Spenser's *Amoretti* number only 89 (in Grosart's ed., in Globe ed., 88); and only one (no. 8) is in the Surrey form, not 56. Although the Spenserian sonnet has "never been adopted by other poets," one of Constable's *Diana* sequence was Spenserian, and four of Daniel's to *Delia* (Nos. 20, 22, 32, 53); and three more show its influence (23 rimes ababcbcbdbdee; 25 rimes ababcbcdededeff; and 51 rimes ababbcbcdededeff). See also Shakespeare's no. 55.

P. 294. Slight irregularities in the rime-schemes of Shakespeare's sonnets are also found in nos. 3, 6, 24, 29, 44, 45, 51, 90, 96, 97, 125, 133, 134, and 136.

Section V, on Odes, fails to mention Keats's Odes, even to explain their omission on account of their regular stanza form.

P. 360. 53 out of 55 ballades rime ababbcbc (which, by the way, may be either the origin of, or the development of, the *Monk's Tale* stanza).

P. 367. In addition to the ballade in 10-line stanzas, there is one in 9-line stanzas, by W. E. Henley (*Of Aspiration*); there are also a half-dozen variations in the rime-scheme of the 10-line stanzas, with envoys of either five or six lines, in all sorts of line-length. There are, too, at least three varieties of ballade in 11-line stanzas, and a curious one in a 12-line stanza, by W. E. Henley (*Of Truisms*).

The table illustrating the history of the Heroic Couplet is unfortunately based upon passages of only 100 lines for each author—too short to tell anything with reasonable certainty. Professor Mayor's table (*Chapters on Eng. Metre*, p. 208), based on passages of 200 lines each (which shows as great differences between Tennyson's own poems, for instance, as between Milton and Browning) should have shown the futility of basing general statements on such slight evidence. A count of the 3108 lines in the *Prologue* and *Knight's Tale*, gives 13.1 per cent. of run-on; of the 1622 lines in those of Waller's poems which are over 100 lines long, gives 15.78 per cent.; of the 2427 lines of Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite*, gives 11.74 per cent.; of 1954 lines in Pope (*Ess. on Crit., Windsor Forest, and Iliad I*) gives 8.90 per cent.; of the 2019 lines in Books I and II of *Endymion*, gives 52.30 per cent.; and of the 3036 lines of Books I to III of *Sordello*, gives 59.68 per cent. Professor Alden's results for Chaucer, Pope, and Keats are seriously misleading.

Of run-on couplets, there are, in the same passages, in Chaucer, 6 per cent.; in Waller, 1.6 per cent.; in Dryden, .074 per cent.; in Pope, .02 per cent.; in Keats, 28 per cent.; and in Browning, 28.7 per cent.

The figures for substitutions of feet can hardly be freed from the personal equation, even in the case of anapests. Dr. G. D. Brown's dissertation on *Syllabification and Accent in Paradise Lost* (Johns Hopkins University, 1901) shows pretty conclusively that we have in English a great many "unstable iambs," which may easily fit into either iambic or trochaic rhythms, and which are likely, to many, to make very good spondees, or pyrrhics.

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OLD FRENCH LANGUAGE.

Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Sprache. Zum Selbstunterricht für den Anfänger, von Dr. CARL VORETZSCH. Pp. xvi + 258. Halle, 1901.

Of this little volume I believe it can be said that it fills a long felt want. Many excellent manuals of historical French Grammar have been

published, but it may be objected to most of them that they are too technical, not being written for beginners, and presuppose a previous training such as is not possessed by the average student entering upon the study of Old French. I make this statement based upon my own experience and observation.

Dr. Voretzsch has written this book primarily for beginners, wishing, as he says,

"dem anfänger ein buch in die hand zu geben, das wirklich nichts anderes voraussetzt als das latein und französisch, das er auf der schule gelernt hat, ein buch, das geeignet sein soll, ihn mit einer anzahl häufig gebrauchter wortformen und sonstiger eigentümlichkeiten des altfranzösischen vertraut zu machen, ihn in die grundbegriffe sowie in die haupttatsachen der sprachlichen entwicklung einzuführen und zum verständnis eines leichteren altfranzösischen textes anzuleiten."

The general plan of the work is set forth in the opening lines of the preface:

"Das vorliegende lehrbuch ist aus praktischen übungen hervorgegangen. Seine veröffentlichung verfolgt den zweck, dem anfänger, welchem sich solche elementare übungen nicht bieten, dieselbe zu ersetzen und ihm diejenigen kenntnisse mitzuteilen, vermöge deren er einer systematischen vorlesung über altfranzösische oder historische grammatik oder einer textinterpretation mit besserem verständnis zu folgen vermag als es ohne solche vorkenntnisse möglich wäre."

As material for carrying out this plan in detail, Dr. Voretzsch has taken vv. 1-258, 812-870 of the '*Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*' and has made the first thirty-one verses the subject of a thorough analysis, deriving therefrom and formulating rules covering all phases of the historical development of Old French. For this purpose the poem selected is admirably suited, standing as it does upon the threshold between the older stage of the language and the most flourishing period of its literature. By occasionally citing parallel Italian and Provençal forms a comparison between the various dialects is instituted and preparation made for entering into the broader field of Romance Philology.

Since the book is intended for such as are studying without the guidance of a teacher, thoroughness has been sought after throughout, but without going into minute details, which would be manifestly out of place in an elementary text-book. The method of presentation is a combination of

analysis and synthesis, the author's purpose being to meet the possible objection "als ob diese induktive methode nur dazu gut sei, einen haufen ungeordneter und zufällig vereigneter regeln vor augen zu führen."

The book is divided into four parts. Part I is devoted to the analysis of vv. 1-31. At first every word is taken up, its etymology explained and the principles governing its changes are stated and illustrated by examples taken from the text under consideration. The intermediate steps in the transformation of a word and their dates have received due attention. The author has not stopped with a word at the stage it occupies in the '*Pèlerinage*,' but has followed its development into modern French. A few remarks on Versification are given on pp. 65-67. A fuller treatment of this subject would have been desirable. A pleasing feature of the book is the attention given to pronunciation, the words being transcribed to show the Old-French pronunciation of the period, this in contrast to the practice usually followed in similar manuals, where the pronunciation is more or less neglected.

Part II (pp. 126-157), gives briefly a systematic survey of the sound-changes observed in Part I. The general principles of linguistic change as applicable to the subject are here discussed, including Accentuation, which is admirably treated on pp. 142-147.

Part III (pp. 158-206), continues the analysis of the text on the basis of what has preceded. The translation of the text is now dispensed with and the student is referred to the glossary for the meaning of words, explanations being given only of forms and constructions not covered by principles already laid down.

Part IV contains an account of the phonology of Old French, *scil.* the '*Francien*,' its Morphology, and Syntax, in so far as the forms and their relations are exhibited in the text under consideration.

In examining the present work I have been favorably impressed above all by the exceedingly clear and lucid presentation of the facts and by what seems to me the sound pedagogical principles which mark the entire book. I do not pretend to be '*Romaniste*' enough to speak with any degree of authority on the subject of French Phonetics. I wish, however, to call attention to a

few points, which I think Dr. Voretzsch has not explained as satisfactorily as he might.

P. 23: Rule: "Nach stimmlosen dentalen (*s, t*) verstummt hiatus-*u*." This is of course true, but it is also true that this vowel in common with other hiatus vowels is either dropped or undergoes a change, this occurring after other consonants than *s, t*.¹ Hence the rule may be misleading or insufficient. The whole subject of hiatus might well have been discussed here.

P. 47: After saying that "Der vortonvocal (im nebenton) . . . zeigt eine schwächung von *o* zu *e*, die aber nur vor volgendem *n* oder *m* eintritt," the author gives the rule: "Vortoniges (nebentoniges) *o* vor nasal wird zu *e*," and cites the examples **truncare*—**truncare* > *trenchier*, *honorem* > *enor* besides *onor*, *Runcias valles*—*Roncesvals* > *Rencesvals*. To give this as the rule and explain the other far more numerous instances where *o* in similar position remains, as due to analogy, and that *o* remains unchanged also when its syllable is felt as an independent part, does not seem to dispose of the matter properly. Pretonic *o* is weakened to *e* before other combinations than those given by the author.² Other vowels in like position are also weakened to *e*.³ Nyrop calls such forms exhibiting a change of *on* to *an* "cas isolés . . . probablement dialectales."⁴ *O* to *e* in *honorem* > *enor* is better explained as dissimilation.⁴ The point is perhaps a difficult one, but Dr. Voretzsch's rule will in my opinion tend rather to confuse than to aid the student, since it covers but a small number of cases of this class that will come under his observation later.

P. 84, *espiet*: Explaining the development of Germ. diphthong *eo*—*eu* in *feudu* > *fief*, and Lat. *eu* in *meum* > *mien*, *Deum* > *Dieu*, no reason is here given for the different changes of *meum* to *mien* and *Deum* to *Deu*, *Dieu*.⁵ It might also have been well to account for the later development of *speot* to *épieu*.⁶

¹ Nyrop, Kr., *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, I, §§ 137, 262, 452; Schwan, E., *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, III. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von D. Behrens, § 327.

² Brachet, *Historical Grammar of the French Language* tr. P. Toynbee, § 65.

³ Brachet, *op. cit.*, § 199, ff.

⁴ Nyrop, *op. cit.*, §§ 184, 223, 512; cf. Schwan, *op. cit.*, 97, Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. d. Rom. Spr.*, I, §§ 358, 359.

⁵ Nyrop, *op. cit.*, §§ 165, 526; Schwan, *op. cit.*, § 51.

The Glossary gives the words occurring in the text, except pronouns and the forms found in the paradigms of inflection, pp. 221-238. The etymology is either given here briefly or reference is made to the line in the body of the book where the form is discussed more fully. The following words have been omitted from the Glossary: *baisier* (*baisast*, 826), *bandon*, 852, *barnage*, 206, 219, 804, *barnet*, 820, 829, *ber*, 814, 858, 864, *hui*, 804, *laenz*, 114, *membrer* (*membret*, *impers.*, 234), *mi* (*enmi* is given, but not *parmi*, 102), *on*, 846, 850.

The text itself shows a number of readings different from those of Koschwitz,⁶ but in a work of this kind textual criticism has no place and may be left out of consideration.

Appended is a brief bibliography of works relating to the '*Karlsreise*.'

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VOLTAIRE.

Shakespeare and Voltaire. By THOMAS R. LOUNSBURY, L.H.D., LL.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902.

This book is Professor Lounsbury's second in the series of *Shakespearean Wars*. In the first, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, he showed that Shakespeare's rejection of the unities was deliberate, and not the result of ignorance; in the present work he treats of the conflict to which this disregard of Classic principles gave rise in the eighteenth century. This conflict was especially brisk in France, and the head and front of the opposition was Voltaire.

The book is timely. We know that Voltaire once wrote a letter to the Academy on the subject of Shakespeare, and that he referred to him as a drunken savage. But no one before Professor Lounsbury, I think, has collected the various remarks of Voltaire on the subject, or traced the growth of his hatred through fifty years.

The plan of the book is chronological. It begins with Voltaire's visit to England in 1626, when he learned English, and saw Shakespeare on the stage.

⁶ *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel*, herausgegeben von Dr. E. Koschwitz, III. Auflage, 1895.

How many plays he saw we do not know, but it seems certain that *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* at least were among the number. Besides these he knew *Othello* and *Macbeth*, as *Zaïre* and *Mahomet* subsequently proved, and he cites single scenes from *Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. That he knew these very imperfectly is certain; that he knew anything whatever about the others is very doubtful; and no word that he ever wrote refers to Shakespeare as an author of comedies.

Voltaire's first impression on seeing Shakespeare's plays was that he had discovered a treasure, and he paid the great dramatist the sincere compliment of imitation. Professor Lounsbury draws damaging parallels between *Othello* and *Zaïre*, between *Julius Caesar* and *La Mort de César*, *Macbeth* and *Mahomet*, *Hamlet* and *Sémiramis*. In the prefaces of which Voltaire was so prodigal he neglected to give the sources of his inspiration, save in *La Mort de César*, which was professedly in the English taste as Voltaire conceived that taste to be, and in which he was more British than the British. In time his unacknowledged pilferings drew upon him a brisk fire from across the Channel, and presently he found himself exposed to a flank attack in his own country. In 1746 appeared La Place's translation of five of Shakespeare's plays, followed later by five others. And to these was added a preface in which half-hearted condemnation of the English author was mingled with enthusiastic praise.

This was more than Voltaire was prepared for. He himself had patronized Shakespeare, but with a distinct sense of that author's shortcomings. But when it came to the point of his being read and approved of in France, this was another matter. To quote Professor Lounsbury:

"From the outset Shakespeare had been in his eyes an inspired barbarian. As time moved on, he came to forget the adjective and remembered only the noun."

From this time until his death in 1778 Voltaire never desisted from the struggle in behalf of the honor, not to say of the preservation, of the classic French drama. He was never silent on the subject for long at a time, and toward the end of his life his remonstrance rises to a senile shriek. In

his letters, in his prefaces, in his Commentary on Corneille, in his Philosophic Dictionary, he piles abuse on him whom he now calls Gilles—the clown. His tragedies are heaps of incredible stories, monstrous farces. His breaches of good taste would be tolerated nowhere save in the dark ages of an uncivilized country. And the author himself is a drunken savage.

The climax was reached in 1776, when Le Tourneur published translations of certain of the plays, with a preface in which he stated that hitherto Shakespeare had been known in France only in ridiculous travesties. Now, since Voltaire held himself to be the medium through which a knowledge of the Englishman had filtered into France, he took the reference to be sufficiently obvious; or, on the other hand, if this did not refer to him, so much the worse. In that case he was ignored, as Le Tourneur did not so much as mention him in a preface of one hundred and forty pages.

Voltaire's rage was unbounded. He at once set about the composition of a letter to the Academy, in which Shakespeare should be revealed in all his baseness. Voltaire's idea of giving a fair presentation of his author was to select those passages which are offensive to a sense of delicacy, and to render these in all their coarseness; leaving the impression that such was the general tone of Shakespeare. The letter was read before the Academy on the day of St. Louis, and it did not have the warmest reception—not so warm as D'Alembert was able to make its author believe. This was in 1776; less than two years later the old warrior was in his grave, but he maintained hostilities to the end, and died still trying to lay the implacable ghost from across the Channel.

The first merit of Professor Lounsbury is to have brought together the various criticisms of Shakespeare that Voltaire made at various times and places. His second is to have pointed out the shallowness of Voltaire's knowledge on his subject, and the utter falsity, usually intentional, of his statements. Voltaire has an audacity which imposes on the unwary, and it is only by bringing him to book on his assertions that we can get at the real truth. This Professor Lounsbury has done again and again by putting side by side the facts and Voltaire's perversion of them. Another

valuable addition to the history of the conflict is the citation of writers on the English side; certain of these, like Horace Walpole, are of abiding importance, but most of them have sunk out of sight to-day, and are known not even by name.

Above all, Professor Lounsbury is an impartial judge—a most difficult position to maintain under the exasperation of Voltaire's constant mendacity. While never hesitating to point out the deviousness of the ways by which Voltaire achieved his purpose, in the end he makes honorable amends to the sincerity of the Frenchman's belief in regard to Shakespeare, and the consistency of his attitude. In Voltaire's eyes Shakespeare was a savage, and his adoption in France meant the unspeakable degradation of the beautiful drama of Corneille and Racine.

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FRENCH GRAMMAR.

A Practical Treatise on French Modal Auxiliaries considered in their relation to grammar and idioms; with exercises in reading, composition and conversation by ALFRED HENNEQUIN, PH. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1899.

In their explanations of the French auxiliary verbs of mode, the majority—I may say all—of the grammars published in this country leave much to be supplied by the teacher. By far the most complete exposition of the subject is that of Dr. Hennequin in the book in question.

The author devotes one chapter to each of the auxiliaries *devoir*, *falloir*, *pouvoir*, *savoir* and *vouloir*, in the order named. Every possible meaning of each verb is illustrated by French sentences, the English equivalents of which are given in parallel columns. The illustrative examples are followed by a passage of about a dozen lines of French for reading; by a passage of about equal length for French composition; and by an excellent exercise for conversation, which consists of questions, in French, and answers, likewise in French but with the modal auxiliary to be supplied by the student. Each chapter is divided into sections showing the various meanings of the auxiliary.

The divisions of the chapter on *devoir* are

entitled: 1. Indebtedness. (a) Money Indebtedness. (b) Moral Debt. 2. Duty. 3. Moral Obligation. 4. Futurity. 5. Necessity. 6. Certainty. 7. Supposition. 8. Justice. 9. Idiomatic uses of *devoir*.

The section on "Indebtedness" should have formed a chapter by itself, and the section on "Justice" should have been merged into it. *Devoir* expressing "Justice" is not a modal auxiliary any more than is *devoir* expressing "Indebtedness." The fact that the reflexive *se* is required in this construction precludes the possibility of making *devoir* an auxiliary verb of mode. Whether the reflexive pronoun be the direct or indirect object of *devoir*, the verb is no less transitive than in section 1. In spite of the fact that they do not properly belong in a treatise on modal auxiliaries, Dr. Hennequin does well to introduce both of these uses of *devoir* into his book; but in order to avoid the possibility of confusing the student, the author should have emphasized more than by a foot-note (pp. 2 and 4) the fact that *devoir* is not in all circumstances an auxiliary verb. Perhaps a comparison with the English 'will' in its double use as a transitive verb and modal auxiliary would be helpful to the beginner. The note, on page 7, explaining that *devoir* is a modal auxiliary only when followed by a verb in the infinitive, would naturally belong to the chapter suggested above to include sections 1 and 8 of Dr. Hennequin's first chapter.

The section on "Duty" and that on "Moral Obligation" should have been merged into one. There is no good reason for making the two divisions. It is not evident, for example, why the author should have put the sentence "Je sais que je devrais tout lui dire; * *" (p. 7.) under the section on "Duty," and the sentence "Je sais fort bien que je devrais vous le donner" (p. 10) under the section on "Moral Obligation." The duty implied in the latter sentence does not "appeal to our conscience" (p. 10) any more than that in the former. The student who can feel the difference between *devoir* meaning "Duty" and *devoir* meaning "Moral Obligation," as contained in this book, is not in need of a treatise on modal auxiliaries.

The third sentence from the bottom of page 8, and the sixth sentence of the composition exercise

on page 11, do not belong where they are but under the section entitled "Justice," which section should, as already suggested, be included by that treating of "Indebtedness."

The same difficulty that exists in determining whether *devoir* expresses "Duty" or "Moral Obligation" exists also in deciding in favor of "Necessity" or of "Certainty." The reviewer would be interested to know how the author can decide surely that the auxiliary *devoir*, in such a sentence as "Je vous assure qu'ils devront nous le dire, si nous insistons" (p. 19), expresses "certainty" rather than "necessity." The fact is that the dividing line between "necessity" and "certainty," as contained in this treatise, is so indefinite that perhaps it had been well not to attempt to establish it.

The note under section 6 [Certainty] saying that "with the conditional of *devoir*, the meaning changes, and that the idea of *obligation* prevails" is out of place. It would have been a help to some students to state (preferably in the section on "Moral Obligation") that the conditional and the conditional perfect of *devoir* may always be translated by the word 'ought'; and that the English 'ought' is generally, but not always, to be translated by the conditional of *devoir*.

The section on "Supposition" is not needed, as it seeks to establish a differentiation which is of no practical value. The sentences given under this section do not surely express supposition. For example, "Ils ont dû le trouver à l'heure qu'il est" may as well mean 'They must have found him (it) by this time' as to be equivalent to "I suppose they have found him by this time," the rendering given by Dr. Hennequin. The confusion is emphasized by the addition to this section of sentences like "Tout me dit que vous devez chanter," in which *devez* expresses an idea of futurity rather than of supposition.

The section on "Futurity" is well stated. The usual meaning of the present and past tenses of the indicative and subjunctive of *devoir* is that of futurity, and to be translated by 'am (is, are) to' for the present tense, and 'was (were) to' for the imperfect. The author adds that in either case there "may be an additional shade of duty or of a moral obligation." Precisely so; and to the same extent that the English 'am to,' 'was to' may

have the meaning of duty or moral obligation. For example, 'I was to have gone, but I did not go' may imply a shade of duty as well as a probable going which was not realized.

The 'am to,' 'was to' are always to be translated by the present and past tenses of the indicative and subjunctive, but the present and past tenses of the verb *devoir* are not always to be translated 'am to,' 'was to.'

The section treating of the idiomatic uses of *devoir* is well stated. To be sure, the idioms can be found in the large dictionaries, but nowhere so clearly expressed nor so conveniently arranged. These remarks are equally true of the author's treatment of the idiomatic uses of the other modal auxiliaries.

The chapter devoted to the auxiliary *falloir* has the same faults as already noted under *devoir*, namely, the making of unnecessary subdivisions and the introduction of the same idea under two different sections. Why, for example, should the sentence "Il faudra le lui dire tôt ou tard" (p. 28) be cited to show that *falloir* expresses "necessity," and the identical sentence be used again (p. 32) to illustrate the idea of "obligation"? One is at a loss to see any difference between the author's two translations, "It will be necessary to tell it to him sooner or later," and "he will have to be told sooner or later." The keynote of the first section (Necessity, Need, Want) of this chapter is given in the very first French sentence ("Il faut du pain pour vivre"), and the section should have been reserved exclusively for a discussion of the verb *falloir* used without a following infinitive (the infinitive to be supplied being *avoir*). Used in that way, *falloir* may always be translated by "need, want." The part entitled "Necessity," of the first section, would better have been incorporated with section 2 (Obligation, Duty), and perhaps the name of the whole section changed to 'Compulsion.'

The illustrative sentence "Quoi qu'il vous faille, vous en demandez trop" (p. 32) is out of place. There is no "obligation" or "duty" expressed or implied in that sentence, and it belongs in the first section (Need, Want) along with the examples in which the infinitive (*avoir*) is not expressed.

The third section (Difference between) is not essential since in *s'en falloir* the idea of "lacking

or wanting" is implied; and this section might readily be included by section 1 (Need, Want). An important matter not explained in this section is the use of the negative in the subordinate clause when *s'en falloir* itself is negative or accompanied by some word (*peu, rien, presque*, etc.) having a negative sense, or when the phrase expresses interrogation or doubt. In fact, some of the sentences given on pages 34, 35, 36, are not in accord with the rule for the use of the negative in such sentences. The *ne* should be inserted before the *y* in the last sentence on page 34, in the third sentence of the exercise for reading, on page 35, and in the fifth sentence of the second column of the conversation exercises on page 36; on the other hand, there should be no negative in the fourth illustrative example on page 35, nor in the fourth sentence of the second column of the conversation exercises on page 36.

The author's treatment of the auxiliary verb *pouvoir* would be more satisfactory if a few of the sentences which could easily be classed either in section 1 ("Ability, or Inability") or in section 3 ("Possibility or Impossibility") had been omitted. Why should a section be devoted to *pouvoir* used in exclamatory sentences, such as "Que ne puis-je parler français!" and no corresponding section be placed under *savoir* in similar exclamations? The sentence "Que ne sais-je (I would I knew) où il s'en est allé!" (p. 54) is surely as expressive of "desire, or longing to" as any sentence given in the section devoted exclusively to the exclamatory use of *pouvoir*. It would have simplified matters to cite such a sentence as the one quoted above (Que ne puis-je parler français!) under section 1 (Ability, or Inability).

The treatment of the modal auxiliary *savoir* is unsatisfactory because the author fails to distinguish between the transitive and the modal auxiliary use of the verb. The entire first section should have formed a chapter by itself, and the author should have emphasized the fact that *savoir* expressing "knowledge, or understanding" is in nowise a modal auxiliary. The remarks made above concerning the transitive use of *devoir* are pertinent here also, and perhaps even more than for *devoir* because the author does not anywhere state that *savoir* is not always a modal auxiliary.

The section entitled "Ability or Inability," and

that treating of the idiomatic uses of *savoir* are well stated.

The last chapter (*vouloir*) is the most accurately stated. Its four sections (1. "Wish, Desire, Want"; 2. "Determination, Command"; 3. "Willingness, Consent"; 4. "Idiomatic Meanings") are not confused one with another, and there are no irrelevant sentences. Perhaps it would have improved some of the sentences to render by the English word 'quite,' the French word *bien* in such a sentence as "Nous le voulons bien; mais à une condition." (p. 69).

In spite of its imperfections, this book is well worth consultation by the student. The practical, fresh sentences are a decided improvement upon those found in most grammars.

The book is excellently printed and has but few errors. I have noted the following: P. 3, l. 9: "you only owe me a few cents," change to 'you owe me only a few cents'; p. 3, l. 13: "subjective" read 'subjunctive'; p. 6, first column, last line: *quelque* read *quelque*; p. 6, second column, last line but two: *déjà* read *déjà*; p. 8, l. 10: "began" read 'begun'; p. 9, l. 19: *dele* the apostrophe of *Il's*; p. 9, l. 20: *disent* read *dise*; p. 9, l. 21: insert hyphen in *vous-même*; p. 17, l. 26, first column: *parlé* read *parlée*; p. 18, ll. 4 and 5: *à pieds* read *à pied*; p. 28, § 1, l. 7: *qu'il* read *qu'il*; p. 30, l. 4: *qui* read *qu'il*; p. 41, last sentence: "*je crains qu'il ne (puisse) me payer ce qu'il me doit*" is hardly the statement to be expected in answer to the question: "*Pourquoi êtes-vous si inquiet?*" The insertion of *pas* after the verb to be supplied (*puisse*) would make the statement more plausible by making it negative; p. 51, l. 3: *il s'y peut* does not agree with the idiom *il y peut* on p. 50, l. 15; p. 54, l. 24: *s'est en allée* read *s'en est allée*; p. 65, fourth line from bottom: *veulliez* read *veuillez*; p. 66, ll. 14 and 15: insert hyphen in "today"; p. 67, l. 9: *Ne veuillez pas* read *veuillez ne pas*; p. 68, l. 9: if the present subjunctive *allions* is to be retained, perhaps it would be well to explain its syntax in a foot-note; p. 69, third line from end of page: "vengeance" read 'vengeance.'

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SPANISH GRAMMAR.

The Spanish Verb. With an Introduction on Spanish Pronunciation, by 1st Lieut. PETER E. TRAUB, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Assistant Professor of French at the U. S. Military Academy. Under the Direction of Professor E. E. WOOD, Department of Modern Languages, U. S. M. A. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: American Book Company [1900]. pp. vii + 209.

In the preface we read:

"This book embodies the results of the corresponding portion of the system in vogue at the United States Military Academy, whereby a thorough knowledge of the essentials of Spanish is imparted to the cadet in the short period of three months."

This statement gives the measure of the book. One who has struggled with Spanish for years, feels that the author must either be a man of remarkable linguistic ability, or that his ideas of what constitutes "a thorough knowledge of the essentials of Spanish" are limited.

On page 2 the statement is made that "the sounds in Spanish are not given as sharply as in English, tonic accent being nothing more than a lengthening of the accented syllable." On p. 5 the student is told that "the syllable that is lengthened should always be a little higher in pitch than the others." These two statements do not agree. The first one is obviously wrong. On p. 2, also, the old-time remarks about the pronunciation of Spanish vowels are dishd up once more. It is time that such statements as "a sounds like *a* in *mama*, *e* like *a* in *bale*, *i* like *ee* in *fee*, etc.," be banished from text-books of Spanish. The fact is that there is no vowel in English that sounds like any Spanish vowel. The note immediately following tries to rectify the mistakes just mentioned, but is only partially correct and is of limited value, as it confines itself to Spanish monosyllables.

P. 3, § 19: "F, k, l, m, n, p, t have the same sound as in English." Spanish plosives are not aspirated; Spanish *l* and English *l* are so different as to render such words as *mil*, *sal*, *papel* when pronounced with English *l* almost unintelligible to a Spaniard.

P. 3, § 20, 1: "G" before *e* or *i* is a palatal guttural like *ch* in German *ich*. P. 4, § 22: "J

is always a strong guttural produced by depressing the chin and clearing the throat, causing the soft palate to vibrate." Why this distinction between *g* before *e* or *i* and *j*? The letters are interchangeable in a great number of words, so much so, that in looking up words in a Spanish dictionary, one must constantly take this fact into account. An example is *extranjero* which Professor Traub spells *extrangero*. The description given for *j* also holds good for *g* (+ *e*, *i*) as far as the Castiles north of Madrid are concerned. In Andalusia, Mexico and Cuba the two letters are sounded like a well aspirated English *h*.

P. 4, § 28: "*R* has the sound of *r* in English; out at the beginning and end of words and after *l*, *n*, *s*, it is slightly rolled." The first part of this statement needs no refutation.

P. 4, § 30: "*S* always has the hissing sound of *s* in *sun*." This is not true before voiced consonants, e. g. *mismo*, *los dos*, *cisne*.

P. 4, § 33: "*X* has the sound of *x* in *wax*." *extranjero* and *extremo* are given among the examples and not a word is said about *x* being sounded like *s* before a consonant. Cf. the spelling *exclavo* for *esclavo*.

P. 7, § —: The division into strong and weak vowels is not arbitrary, but a "natural division" and therefore "diphthongs and triphthongs should always be pronounced more or less the same way, whether they get the tonic accent or not." We fail to understand.

P. 8, § 53: "Generally two or three consonants between vowels are separated; the first one belonging to the preceding syllable." In the next line *en-no-ble-cer* is given as an illustration.

P. 6, § —: *Ruido* is printed without a graphic accent in illustration of a rule concerning diphthongs. On p. 11 the same word is printed twice with a graphic accent. Granted that Spanish usage is not consistent in regard to words of this kind; but a text-book on Spanish ought to be, or ought to state why it is not.

P. 12, § 61: The student is told in what respects the Spanish of Spanish-American countries differs from pure Castilian. Among the American characteristics we find: "*D* in the ending *ado*, is silent: *hablado* pronounced *ablao*." Not only is this pronunciation common throughout Castile, but the present writer also found that in Mexico its use

was restricted. In Castile only a few purists hold out against *ao*, while in Mexico the educated classes generally use *ado*. On the same page we read that: "*es* is generally used for *ex* when followed by a consonant not *h*: *escelente* = *excelente*." This statement is true only in regard to spelling; in regard to pronunciation Castilian usage does not differ from the American. See above.

The uses of the various moods in Spanish take up a little less than three pages. The subjunctive mood is "explained" in a little over a page. We quote: "The rules governing the subjunctive in Spanish are with one or two exceptions, practically the same as in French." The assumption that students of Spanish know French would, in itself, limit the usefulness of this statement; but aside from this, the rule is so far from being correct that it is misleading. Further on the same page we read: "We may say in English, 'if I had' or 'if I should have,' which mean exactly the same thing and correspond precisely to the forms in Spanish, *si hubiese* and *si hubiera*." Comment is unnecessary. On the same page "when he has finished, he will write" is translated *Cuando hubiere concluido*, *escribirá* and throughout the whole book this construction is enforced. The Castilian usage of to-day is *Cuando haya concluido*, etc.

So much for the first seventeen pages. We have picked out only the most obvious mistakes. The rest of the book (one hundred and ninety-two pages) is devoted to the conjugation of verbs, except pp. 76–79 which treat of Pronominal Verbs and Personal Pronouns; p. 90 where an inadequate explanation of the Impersonal Reflexive is given, and pp. 96–97 which discuss in the briefest way the Reflexive Substitute for the Passive. We have, therefore, one hundred and eighty-five pages devoted to nothing else but the accidence of the verb—no idioms, no exercises, absolutely nothing except complete conjugations of verbs, with a translation for every single form in the book save in a few lists near the end. Each conjugation as a rule takes up two complete pages.

What was the object of the author in getting out such a piece of work? It contains nothing that the grammars do not treat adequately. Knapp treats the Spanish verb very fully in one hundred and twenty-one pages of large print; Ramsey, in

his larger grammar, in fifty-eight pages, in his smaller grammar, in fifty pages; and Garner in forty-five pages. The only "advantage" we can see in this new book is that it saves thinking on the part of the student and makes the learning of the Spanish verb entirely mechanical and—very tedious. That part of the book which is not taken up with mechanical details is so full of mistakes and slipshod statements that it is worthless.

The book is carefully printed. The only misprints noted are *lavámonos* for *lavémonos*, p. 77, and *dirije* for *dirige*, p. 79.

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SOME RECENT INDEXES.

Englische Studien, herausgegeben von Eugen Kölbing: *Generalregister zu Band 1-25*, zusammengestellt von ARTHUR KÖLBING. Leipzig, Reisland, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv, 244. Price, 8 marks.

Übersicht über die im Jahre 1896 auf dem Gebiete der englischen Philologie erschienenen Bücher, Schriften und Aufsätze, zusammengestellt von ALBERT PETRI. *Supplementheft zur "Anglia," Jahrg. 1898-99*, Bd. xxi. Halle, Niemeyer, 1901. 8vo, pp. iv, 175. Price, 4 marks. Same for 1897. *Supplementheft zur "Anglia," Bd. xxii*, 1902, pp. iv, 171. Price, 4 marks.

General-Register zum Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 51. bis 100. Band. Zusammengestellt von Dr. HERMANN SPRINGER. Braunschweig, Westermann, 1900. 8vo, pp. iv, 285. Price, 6 marks.

The makers of such indexes as these deserve the thanks of the scholarly world, especially when they do the work in the same thorough and careful manner in which they would conduct original investigations. Such indexes greatly facilitate the work of the student and form valuable additions to his working library, even though he may not possess the periodicals themselves. These three indexes, though not perhaps of equal worth, will all be found of great value.

The problem of the arrangement of such indexes has not yet received a satisfactory solution. Each

of the three before us differs from the others in this respect. Springer, dissatisfied with the simple alphabetical author and subject list of the index to volumes 1-50 of the *Archiv*, has adopted a highly elaborate classification: I. Systematisches Verzeichnis der Beiträge. A. Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft u. Litteratur. B. Germanische (and C. Romanische) Sprachen u. Literaturen. D. Neusprachlicher Unterricht. E. Gelehrtenbiographie; gelehrte Gesellschaften. II. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Mitarbeiter (mit Aufzählung ihrer Beiträge—in order of publication). III. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der besprochenen Werke (mit Verweisung auf das systematische Verzeichnis). This is all very well; but the sub-division of these groups, though logical, is perhaps too elaborate—even bewildering: thus Chaucer books and articles are entered in four different places. Kölbing arranges his matter as follows: I. Sach- u. Stellenregister. II. Rezensionenregister, with Sachindex. III. Wortregister. IV. Verzeichnis der Mitarbeiter u. ihrer Beiträge. This arrangement is simpler and more satisfactory. It would have been much better if Kölbing had combined the index to II. with the main part under one alphabet; many entries now in the index would not then have been needed. The arrangement of the *Übersicht* is that which has now been used in that annual for several years. Perhaps the gravest objection to it is the attempt to distinguish between eighteenth and nineteenth century literature (III. 3, 5), also between "Litteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts" (III. 5.) and "Neueste Litteratur" (III. 7.)—divisions of which there is no need. Nor is there any good reason for taking Shakspeare out of the alphabet of "Neuenglische Litteratur." With these exceptions the general arrangement may be defended as logical.

Kölbing's index is a creditable piece of work—well printed, easy to use, generally accurate. I note a few corrections and additions: (pp. 11, 12) since the Cædmonian authorship is not now universally accepted, there should at least have been a cross-reference under *Daniel* and *Satan*; (p. 19, l. 7 f. b.) the entry should be Sutherland, Duke of; (p. 23) under Fletcher should be a cross-reference to Beaumont; (p. 73) why not enter *R. R. Doyster* under Udall, now conceded to be its author?; the seventh entry from the bottom should

be Cambridge, Univ. of; (p. 97) enter Bret Harte under Harte; (p. 99) Brown, for F. M. read E. M.; (p. 102) read Chambers; (p. 103) *The Tale of Gamelyn* should have been entered by itself; (p. 104) under Conrad, with cross-reference from Isaac, should also have been entered *The Mill on the Floss* hrsg. von Hermann Isaac (p. 113), who afterward took the name of Hermann Conrad (this fact seems not to be generally known among bibliographers); (p. 125) there should be a cross-reference under Haughton to Chettle; (p. 151) enter here: Murison, W., *Shorter Poems by Burns, Byron, and Campbell*. London, 1893. Ref. E. Kölbing, xix. 136-7; (p. 153) enter *Gorboduc* under Norton and Dorset; (p. 154) enter *O. E. Texts* under Sweet; (p. 161) the entry should be Rolle, Richard; (p. 168) *School and College* was ed. by R. G. Huling; (p. 196 ff.) the subject index is very defective; for example (p. 201) under "Englische Litteratur" there should be a reference to Th. A. Fischer, "Ueber die Einfluss der See auf die englische Litteratur," in his *Drei Studien* (cp. p. 208 s. v. See), and (p. 208) the *Sermo in festis S^{ae} Mariae* should assuredly have been entered under Mary.

I have published a criticism of Petri's *Übersicht* for 1895 in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, iv. 116-8. The numbers for 1896 and 1897 are not much better: there are likewise numerous errors; there is the same inconsistency in referring now to the volume and number of periodicals, now to the whole number, and again simply to the month; and there is the same ignoring of important reviews in *The Athenæum*, *The Nation*, and even in some German periodicals. Some points may be noted in detail:

1896: (p. 1) the Sievers *Festgabe* was entitled *Philologische Studien*; transfer, then, to p. 3; (p. 2) transfer Dobson to p. 28; to Weinhold *Festgabe* add reference to following entry; (p. 5) to Breymann (which appeared in 1897) add rev. by Klinghardt in *Engl. Stud.* xxiv. 128-33, by Rambeau in M. L. N. xiv. cols. 382-4, by Tobler in *Archiv* xcvi. 221; (p. 7) add Skeat on *hickory* in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 258; (p. 8) Grandgent deals with the phonology, not the etymology of *warmpt* in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*; (p. 9) Gerber appeared in 1895; (p. 10) add Haverfield, F., "Chester," *Athen.* 1896 ii. 201-2; the rev. of

Holthausen in *Litt. Centrbl.* is anon., cp. *Übersicht* for 1895, p. 10; Jespersen's *Progress in Language* (1894) was rev. by Garnett in *Am. Jour. Phil.* xvi. 362-8 (1895); (p. 12) add here also Mayhew's art. noted on p. 169; (p. 18) to Storm add Stoffel, "Some Notes on Joh. Storm's Engl. Phil.," *Engl. Stud.* xxv. 329-32, rev. of I. 1., 2. by Klinghardt in *Engl. Stud.* xxiii. 469-72; of the revs. of Streitberg all but the last two, with others, appeared in the 1895 *Übersicht*; add revs. by Schmidt-Wartenberg in M. L. N. xii. cols. 229-32, by Roediger in *Archiv* c. 378-82; (p. 23) to Zupitza add rev. by Finck in *Anz. f. d. Alt.* xxv. 123-7; (p. 26) to Budge add rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 122-3; (p. 27) to Crow add rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 379; (p. 30) Gurteen is rev. in M. L. N. xii.; (p. 34) to Meyer (which appeared in 1897) add rev. by Sarrazin in *Zs. vgl. Littgesch.* xii. 493-6; in *Shak. Jb.* xxxiii. 295; (p. 40) Groth's rev. of Wülker is in *Grenzboten* lv. 4. no. 51; add rev. in *Deutsche Rundschau* xc. 475; (p. 41) to Plummer's *Bede* add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 79-80; the last rev. of Miller's *Place-names* is by A. L. in *Rev. Crit.* '97 no. 13; (p. 44) under "Gesetze" belongs Liebermann, *Über die Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 183-4, by Hübner in *Archiv* xcix. 444-6; to James I. add Miller, A. H. "The Kingis Quair," *Athen.* 1896 ii. 66; Schleich's rev. of Gattinger is in *Dtsch. Littg.* 1897 no. 2; (p. 48) the rev. of Moorman's *Browne* in *Litbl. f. ger. u. rom. Phil.* was written by L. Pröscholdt; to Chambers-Wallace *Burns* add rev. of i. and ii. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 92-3; here also is reviewed Henley's *Burns* (p. 49); (p. 51) Congreve: in *Engl. Stud.* xxv. no. 3 Swaen reviews Schmid's *complete* work, pub. in 1897; (p. 55) to Baker's *Lyly* add rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 236; under Massinger enter cross-ref. to Chapman, p. 51; (p. 59) to Sawtelle add rev. by Fischer in *Anglia Bei.* x. 130-2; (p. 63) to Boas add rev. in *Shak. Jb.* xxxii. 319-20; to Brandes add rev. by L. Fränkel in *Shak. Jb.* xxxiii. 278-87; Miss Tappan's rev. is of the trans. (1898); (p. 64) to Horton-Smith add rev. in *Shak. Jb.* xxxiii. 297; to Koppel add rev. by Fischer in *Anglia Bei.* x. 135; to Moyes add rev. by L. Pröscholdt in *Shak. Jb.* xxxiii. 296-7; (p. 65) Schwab rev. in *Shak. Jb.* xxxiii. 294; Sievers rev. by P. Hartmann in *Shak. Jb.* xxxii. 321-3; (p. 77) Schnabel's rev.

of Kölbing's Byron is in *Zs. vgl. Littgesch.* N. F. xi. no. 1; in *Anglia Bei.* ix. no. 10 and in *Lit. Centrbl.* '99 no. 29 is rev. the "Engl. Textbibl." ed. (1898); (p. 127) *Sir George Tressady* rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 413-4; (p. 147) to Michael add rev. in *D. Rundschau* xc. 475; (p. 153) add *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* xlv.-xlvii. rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 378-9; (p. 157) add Lang's *Life of Lockhart*, rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 515-7; (p. 160) why enter Cuthbert, Ronan, etc. under *St.?* (p. 163) add *Dolly Madison*, by Maude Wilder Goodwin, rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 153; (p. 164) add *Margaret Winthrop*, by Alice M. Earle, rev. in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 152-3; (p. 168) add White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, rev. by E. P. Evans in *Die Nation* xiii. 709-10; (p. 171, cp. p. 9) Habben's *London Street Names* is condemned in *Athen.* 1896 ii. 598; (p. 173) enter Hale's "'Tis Sixty Years Since" at Harvard s. v. Cambridge, Mass., p. 169; (p. 174) under Virginia add cross-ref. to Stimson, p. 124.

1897: (p. 1) add *Bibliographica* (Lon. Kegan Paul), completed in Feb. 1897; (p. 3) to "Amerikanismen" add art. in *Encycl. Brit.: New American Suppl't* i. 154-8; Lodge's "Shakespeare's Americanisms," *Harper's* xc. 252-6 (to be added also on p. 60); and *America and the Americans*, N. Y. 1897, pp. 156-68; (p. 4) to Barrère and Leland add rev. in *Spectator* lxxix. 84-6 and in *Athen.* 1897 ii. 673; add Bates, A., *Talks on Writing English*, Boston; (p. 24) enter Chambers's *Biogr. Dict.* rather on p. 147; (p. 31) to Lee, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* add rev. of vols. xlviii.-L. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 607-8; (p. 32) why include Myers's *Seed-Sower*? (p. 35) to Selby-Bigge add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 534-5; (p. 36) enter ten Brink's *History of Eng. Lit.* trans. Miss L. Dora Schmitz s. v. Brink and add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 142, *Nation* lxiv. 94, trans. condemned; (p. 42) *Brunanburh* ed. Crow should also be entered s. v. *Brunanburh*, p. 39; (p. 43) enter Miss Weston's *Gauvain* s. v. Gawayne, p. 41; (p. 44, *Testament of Love*) Bradley's art. appeared Feb. 6, p. 184, Skeat's Feb. 13, p. 215; (p. 45) enter Fletcher also on p. 49; (p. 53) to More add Jusserand, J. J., "Thomas Stapleton's Copy of the Works of Sir Thomas More," *Athen.* 1897 i. 215; (p. 54) to Shelton's trans. of *Don Quixote* add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 143-4; (p. 57) to Walton and Cotton add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i.

237; (p. 65) for *The Strange History of Richard II* read *Stage History*, etc.; (p. 66) add Gates, L. E., *Selections from the Prose of Matthew Arnold*, N. Y., Holt; (p. 72) to Dickens add Holyoake, M. Q., "Memories of Charles Dickens," *Chamb. Jour.* xiv. 721; also art. by David C. Murray in "My Contemporaries in Fiction" in *Canad. Mag.* viii. 245; (p. 78) to Morris, *The Well at the World's End*, add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 237-9; to Scott's *Bibliography of W. Morris* add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 ii. 591-2; (p. 81) owing to the appearance of Lord Hallam Tennyson's *Memoir* much was written that year on the poet; yet Petri s. v. Tennyson musters only 36 references, including both books and articles, while *The Cumulative Periodical Index* gives 76 references, *The Annual Literary Index* gives 40 references, and the *English Index to the Periodicals of 1897*, 36 references, none of the three including books; likewise (p. 82) s. v. Thackeray Petri has only 18 references, books included, while *The Cumulative Periodical Index* has 26, no books; (p. 108) to Kipling's *Captains Courageous* add rev. in *Athen.* 1897 ii. 589-90; (p. 120) the Edinburgh ed. of Stevenson was rev. in *Athen.* 1897 ii. 213-5, 245-7; (p. 139) to Maitland add. rev. in *Athen.* 1897 i. 274; (p. 142) add here Traill's *Social England* with rev. in *Athen.* 1897 ii. 279-80; (p. 152) enter Mulcaster also on p. 12, since he is interesting mainly to philologists; (p. 162) add Field, E., *The Colonial Tavern*, Providence, R. I.

Springer's index to the *Archiv* is the most accurate of the three. So far as we have tested it we have found no errors worth noting. It furnishes proof that Germans need not blunder when dealing with Italian, French, and English titles. We commend it to Herr Petri and others as an example of the kind of indexing most desired among the "Neuphilologen" on both sides of the Atlantic.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Corneille's Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste, edited with introduction and notes by JOHN E. MATZKE, Ph. D. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1903.

Professor Matzke, whose edition of *Hernani* met

with such general favor, turns his attention in the present work to the classical drama. His purpose has been, he says in the preface, to treat the play distinctly as a piece of literature. With this in view he has written an introduction of thirteen pages containing a discussion of the date of the production of the play, its genesis, its sources, and the observation of the unities in it. The notes are grammatical and literary; the former pointing out especially the difference between the usage of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the latter adding bits of literary criticism and gossip with the aim of giving the play a setting. For questions of versification he refers to the excellent treatment of the Alexandrine line in Dr. Eggert's edition of *Athalie*.

The text is that of the edition of Corneille in the series of "Les Grands Écrivains de la France." Dr. Matzke has in a few instances altered the orthography in accordance with modern usage. We note the change of *oi* to *ai* in the endings of the imperfect and conditional tenses, and in such words as *faible*, *faiblesse*; also the substitution of *ait* for *aye* in the third person singular of the present subjunctive (l. 1283). If the book were intended for college students only the advisability of making these changes might well be questioned. The older forms present no difficulty, require simple explanation, and offer a "glimpse of the growth of the language" which Dr. Matzke thinks it desirable to give the student in the matter of usage. Why not here as well? It is doubtless because such texts are to be put into the hands of high school students that these simple changes are so regularly made in classical texts. Dr. Matzke allows *aye* to stand for *ait* in the *Examen*, p. 14. Some misprints occur in the text. In l. 262 *la* for *ta*, l. 485 *mol* is followed by a semi-colon instead of a comma, l. 955 *affermi* for *raffermi*, l. 1078 *en* is omitted, l. 1124 the first *les* should be *des*, and the numeral 1275 is omitted in numbering the lines. The punctuation has been altered in a number of lines, whether by misprint or intention it is not always possible to say, but in no case does the change affect the sense of the passage.

The notes are full and thorough. Some points in them, however, require attention. The form of the statement of the note on l. 147 would seem to

imply that *en* does not frequently refer to persons now as it did in the seventeenth century. In commenting on the expression *à vous attendre* (l. 282). Dr. Matzke says: "*à* here expresses situation with reference to the purpose to be attained. *He is still at your house with the purpose of waiting for you.*" Is 'this not rather misleading.' Whatever the original idea of *à* was in such a sentence it has utterly lost the idea of purpose to-day. The infinitive with *à* is regularly used after *être* where English employs a continuative tense with the present participle. The note on lines 283, 284, is not clear. The second sentence is confusing, and Dr. Matzke himself would be the first to acknowledge the error in the statement that the sentence: "*S'il venait, mon père le verrait,*" is a condition contrary to fact. The third paragraph seems to state that the order of tenses is not logical in English because we translate: "*S'il est venu, mon père l'aura vu,*" by "*If he come, my father saw him.*" May not the same logical order be observed in English, "*If he come, my father will have seen him,*" and does not French employ also the same order of tenses as in the English sentence above, *S'il est venu mon père l'a vu.*" In a note on l. 656 the translation "*through the result of his remorse*" is suggested for "*pour l'effet d'un remords.*" Is not the idea rather "go free with no other punishment than a feeling of remorse." The word "*offal*" for *rebut*, l. 690, seems rather inept in speaking of an empire. Line 874, "*Qu' une âme généreuse a de peine à faillir,*" is translated "*What pain a noble soul experiences when it falls.*" It may be so translated, but it may be equally well rendered, "How difficult it is for a noble soul to fall." And in this passage where Cinna's feelings are in conflict and he has not yet fully determined to commit the crime, is not the latter the better reading? In line 1110, *je me fais justice* is translated, "*I judge myself aright.*" The meaning, "I condemn and punish myself as I deserve" given in the dictionary of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld is more to the point. In commenting on line 1207, *abjet*, Dr. Matzke remarks that "*c* is omitted to make the rime perfect to the eye." According to M. Marty-Laveaux (*Lexique*, vol. xi, p. 17) there were two forms of this word, the one without *c* occurring within the line as well as at the end.

In the introduction to Scene III of Act IV, the editor speaks of the suppression of the rôle of Livie and of its reintroduction in 1860, but fails to note that it had again been suppressed (cf. Hémon, Cinna, l. 1193, note).

One cannot but wonder that after stating in the preface that points of difference in the usage of French of the seventeenth and that of the nineteenth century require attention, Dr. Matzke should pass over so frequently a part of speech very interesting and important in this respect, namely, the preposition. *Au sang* for *dans le sang* l. 197; *à l'endroit* l. 255; the use of *de* after *espérer* l. 875; of *de* after *commencer*, where modern French usually employs *à*, l. 618; the omission of the second preposition in a phrase like *à César et Pompée*, l. 494, might well be noticed. Why not note, too, the placing of the object pronoun of the complimentary infinitive before the auxiliary verb, as a point in which French of the golden age differs from the modern language; also, the use of *qui* relative, referring to things after prepositions. We can readily understand that Dr. Matzke did not care uselessly to burden his notes with Corneille's Latinisms and obsolete expressions, but points of the kind cited in which the student finds the rules of his grammar transgressed would seem to call for remark. We note the following misprints in the notes: l. 11, *mon père meurtri* for *mon père massacré*; l. 450, *denier* for *dénier*; l. 758 for l. 748.

The points to which we have called attention above are slips such as find their way almost inevitably into texts. We venture, however, to disagree with Dr. Matzke as to what constitutes strictly literary treatment of such a masterpiece. In the introduction the editor discusses the date of the production of the play and adopts the results of Professor Warren's study (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. ix, col. 392), states M. Fournier's conjecture that the uprising about Rouen and the punishment of the city suggested to Corneille the subject of the clemency of Augustus, and discusses the sources and the observation of the unities in the play. Is this all that the student of Corneille's masterpiece and French drama needs in the way of help to the appreciation of the play?

It is a regrettable fact that the American student fails very generally to enjoy classic French tragedy.

Even those who read French readily do not appreciate it as they do English and German tragedy. To the ordinary student drama means Shakespeare. He finds something similar in Schiller, the first German dramatist he reads, and having formed his idea of the *genre* from the romantic tragedy, he fails to find any satisfaction in the classic French tragedy. It is filled with long monotonous speeches and is devoid of action and interest. With the exception of the *Cid*, which is more romantic, and of *Athalie*, which is lyric, it is for him a "grind." And we have met Modern Language teachers who feel very much the same way. It cannot be expected that every editor of a classic tragedy should point out the essential character of French drama, how it differs from the romantic drama, from Shakespeare and the Greeks, how it was analytic rather than synthetic, that it sought not to picture life by showing it in action any more than it endeavored to produce its effect by picturing a passion, that it was essentially moral and psychological, and that it aimed to be what M. Lanson terms "*l'étude de la préparation morale d'un fait*." But the notes of an edition which aims primarily at treating the play as literature should at least suggest these points, and such matter in an introduction would do more to aid the student in the appreciation of French tragedy than details of literary history. Have we not a right to demand that the introduction and notes of such an edition should call attention to those characteristics of the play which make it a masterpiece, to the characters which the author has conceived and the way he has drawn them, to the manner in which he has delineated passion, to the peculiar qualities of the author's style—to all those things which have given the author and his production a reputation? It is futile to expect the student to accept a work as great merely because the signature is that of a renowned writer. Dr. Eggert has followed this plan in his edition of Racine's *Athalie*, and is it not admitted that he has given us the best edition of a French classic of which America can boast?

EDGAR S. INGRAHAM.

University of Pennsylvania.

OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Life and Times of Alfred the Great, Being the Ford Lectures for 1901. By CHARLES PLUMMER, M. A., Fellow and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. With an Appendix. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902. 8vo, pp. xi + 232.

When Pauli published his *König Aelfred* in 1851, he commented with some severity upon the lack at so late a date of a satisfactory biography of Alfred. Just fifty years elapsed between the appearance of Pauli's work and the presentation of the lectures which are collected in Mr. Plummer's volume, and although a number of works have treated Alfred's life during that time, the popular character of the majority of these makes the later study scarcely less important than the earlier.

Mr. Plummer begins with the warning that it is unlikely that he will be able "to offer anything very new or original" in such a well-worked field, but adds that he hopes at least to tell only what is "approximately true." That as much cannot be claimed for most of the recent works upon Alfred, the author shows by a few citations from these products of what he names the recent "boom in things Alfredian."

The present work may be considered as falling into three parts: the treatment of the sources of Alfred's life; the account of his reign; and the discussion of his literary works. Of these the first gives the author the greatest opportunity for original treatment, and forms perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole work. Here the long-fought battle which, since the primary attack of Thomas Wright, has been waged over the authenticity of Asser's *Life of Alfred* will doubtless be considerably affected by Mr. Plummer's belief in the biographer's integrity.

The defenders of Asser had not before this been convincing in their reasoning. Pauli's reply to Wright was very inadequate, and with his too great respect for the text of Asser constitutes one of the chief faults of his work. Lappenberg, Lingard, Clifford, and Sir Frederick Pollard have also at different times argued for Asser's integrity, but

it may be questioned whether they were successful in answering the attacks of Wright and of Howorth. Mr. Plummer examines the question in a far more thorough manner than has been attempted by any of the preceding investigators. Many of their arguments are, of course, adopted, but in addition to these are some important contributions original with the present author. Of particular importance is the suggestion that in the passage which tells of Alfred's visit to the shrine of St. Neot the wholly irrelevant words "sublevatus est" are the result of incorporation into the text of the gloss of a later scribe, and that these words referred to the removal of the saints' body from Cornwall to Huntingdonshire. If this supposition is correct, the original *Life* must have been written previous to the translation of the saint which is known to have taken place about 975. Such an early date is strong evidence for Asser's authenticity.

From the investigation of the author's language, style, and knowledge of Welsh affairs Mr. Plummer concludes that the *Life* must have been written by a native of that country. The contradictory story of Alfred's sickness, which has aroused much ingenious explanation, is, he thinks, the result of the combination of two different versions. Mr. Plummer's conclusion is expressed in the following words:

"On the whole, then, Asser is an authority to be used with criticism and caution; partly because we have always to be alive to the possibility of interpolation, partly because the writer's Celtic imagination is apt to run away with him. But that there is a nucleus which is the genuine work of a single writer, a South Walian contemporary of Alfred, I feel tolerably sure, and I know no reason why that South Walian contemporary should not be Asser of Menevia."

Such a judgment, reinforced as it is by the similar opinion of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, whose edition of Asser is now in preparation for the Clarendon Press, may be regarded as the final one upon this difficult question.

In that part of the present work which deals with Alfred's life and reign the usual facts are presented in a clear and interesting manner. The explanation of the famous *crux* by which the *Life* declares Alfred to have been "illiteratus" at

twelve years of age is doubtless correct. This certainly refers to his ignorance of Latin. Much less certain is the author's conviction that the view that Athelwold put aside Osburgha to marry Judith should be dismissed as "an abominable theory." The eulogy of Alfred's fame is, however, by no means indiscriminate. Thus the often-vaunted claim that Alfred founded the English navy is very properly regarded as doubtful. Another point which arouses the author's incredulity is Asser's account of Alfred's three-fold division of time, in regard to which he concludes that the biographer was here "attacked by an acute fit of imagination."

The latter part of the work is given to a consideration of Alfred's literary productions. Mr. Plummer regards the *Orosius* as earlier than the *Bede*, and the latter as certainly Alfredian. He is doubtful as to the relation of Alfred to the *Paris Psalter*, but seems inclined to suppose him unconnected with it.

Mr. Plummer has not changed the easy style of personal address in which these lectures were first delivered, and which will make the present volume acceptable to a large circle of readers. At the same time his numerous foot-notes testify to the exact and careful manner in which this excellent study is prepared.

L. WARDLAW MILES.

Johns Hopkins University.

ITALIAN LITERATURE.

Una Questione d'Amore, by PIO RAJNA. (Estratto della "Raccolta di Studii Critici dedicata ad Alessandro D'Ancona festeggiandosi il XL Anniversario del suo Insegnamento," pp. 553-568.) Firenze, Barbèra, 1901.

The pages 36-37 of Vol. xxxi of the *Romania* (Pio Rajna: *Le Questioni d'Amore nel Filocolo*) contain but a brief résumé¹ of the treatment of the detached episode which was previously pub-

lished in the collective volume offered to Professor D'Ancona in 1901. I am fully convinced that in America as well as in Europe festival collective publications are not always placed within reach of the various readers of scientific reviews. Any one who wishes, in perusing Professor Rajna's recent masterly study in the *Romania*, to inquire more profoundly into the intrinsic details which were summed up there in order to trace the origin of the first of the thirteen love-questions contained in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, might be deprived of a fitting opportunity to do so. I therefore believe that I shall render a not wholly superfluous, though modest service to American readers of the *Romania* if I here attempt to disentangle once more the various threads of those cobweb results, due to the marvelous handling of the genetical method, which represents perhaps the principal characteristic of the genius of the eminent Italian scholar.

The first love-debate of the *Filocolo* treats of a young woman who, being entreated to mark her preference for one of her two lovers, crowns the head of the one with her own wreath of flowers, whilst hurrying to adorn herself afresh with the garland snatched from the other. Professor Rajna chooses to turn our attention to the *Βαβυλωνιακά* of Giamblico and to the episode related by Chirio Fortunaziano in the first book of his *Arte Rettorica*. In Giamblico the love tokens amount to the number of three because there are three rivals to be taken into consideration. The first receives the cup from which his love had been drinking, the second her wreath of flowers, the third a kiss. Fortunaziano but reverses the order of the love tokens: the first lover is embraced, the second receives *residuum poculum*, the third is crowned. With Savaric de Mauleon we encounter quite different marks of affection: 1. an amorous look. 2. a tender pressure of the hand. 3. of the foot. Must this substitution needs be ascribed to the observance of reality? Professor Rajna thinks not. The multiplicity of love tokens enumerated by Isidorus, *Origines* (I 25, 26) comprises two which Nevio has in common with Savaric: the tender pressure of the foot and the amorous winking. Besides, Isidorus in the same place quotes Sol., *Prov.* (vi 13): "annuit oculo, terit pede, digito

¹ "Io non ho qui se non da ripresentare in forma succinta e con diverso congegno cose già da me dette."

loquitur." Isidorus has been evidently furnishing new materials for the troubadour's *Partimen*. We are face to face with a "contamination."

The problem becomes more complicated as soon as the Italian *derivations* are examined. Professor Rajna quotes five sonnets.² Perhaps the number might still be increased by other valuable contributions from unedited codices. But there are hardly any important links missing in the careful *exposé*, though probably the primitive samples of vulgar poetical reshaping of the antique mold are irrevocably lost. But the few specimens given allow us to discern sundry parallels. There are sonnets more or less directly descended from Savaric; there are others which combine Fortunaziano's type with some of Savaric's characteristics. The existence, co-existence or non-existence of the *garland* forms the cardinal point with regard to Boccaccio's revival of the hazardous topic. In two cases the kinship with Boccaccio becomes obvious. The so-called Adrianus' sonnet is, perhaps, the latent model into which Boccaccio's genial power infused new life, whilst Petro Montanaro's poem very likely emanates from the *Filocolo*.

M. J. MINCKWITZ.

München.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The following list of thirty one questions is an exact copy of the blank sent by the president of a western State university to candidates for positions as teachers in his Faculty. Not a word, not a syllable, has been altered.

"University of..... Application Blank.
Signature.....
Position desired.....
Date.....

1 What was your age last birthday?

² We are indebted to him for the *editio princeps* of the sonnet by Antonio dalla Foresta to Lorenzo Moschi (Codice Riccardiano 1103, 107*), for the reëdition (with variants) of P. Montanaro's sonnet, and, besides, for numerous careful text-revisions.

- 2 What is your height?
- 3 Your weight?
- 4 Your complexion?
- 5 Are you of a nervous or phlegmatic temperament?
- 6 In what condition is your health?
- 7 Kindly send a recent photograph?
- 8 Are you fond of society?
- 9 Are you considered popular?
- 10 Do young people like you?
- 11 Are you considered a good public speaker?
- 12 Have you ever conducted teacher's institutes or taken part in them in any way? State your experience.
- 13 Can you help increase the attendance of a university by canvassing for students?
- 14 Are you fertile in making suggestions?
- 15 What church do you attend?
- 16 Are you a member?
- 17 Do you smoke or chew?
- 18 Do you drink?
- 19 Have you any other habits good or bad?
- 20 What is your nationality, and where were you born?
- 21 Are you married?
- 22 If not, have you been?
- 23 How many children have you?
- 24 Where have you taught before, and how long at each place?
- 25 What was your salary at the last place?
- 26 Were you successful?
- 27 In what do you consider yourself stronger, scholarship or discipline?
- 28 If elected to a position, would you make the advancement of the institution of as much importance as the improvement of yourself, scholastically and materially?
- 29 Should you be willing to assist students at all times, even if considerable attention outside of regular hours were required?
- 30 How many hours a week are you willing to teach regularly?
- 31 Of what teachers' agencies are you a member?"

Such is the blank!

Our first feeling on reading it is amusement, our second indignation. What could be more amusing than: "Are you fertile in making suggestions?", "Do you smoke or chew?"—perhaps this should

be punctuated: Do you smoke, or chew?—; “Have you any other habits good or bad?”; “Are you married? If not, have you been?” Again, how naïve must be the originator of this blank if he supposes that he will receive truthful answers to such questions as: “Are you considered popular?”; “Do young people like you?”; “Were you successful?” Of course, the information asked for in many of these questions would be desirable to know, but the impossibility of obtaining it from the candidate himself is apparent.

Our indignation and contempt are aroused when, on looking closer at these questions, sent out from a supposed seat of higher learning, we notice the kind of a man evidently desired by the president. We can easily discern what this man must be: he must be of irreproachable mediocrity, or rather sub-mediocrity:—He must be fond of society, must be considered popular, must pique himself on his oratory. He must have frequented teachers’ institutes,—absit omen!—; he must be willing to canvas for students; he must be fertile in suggestions; must be a regular attendant and member of an orthodox church; must not smoke or chew or drink; must be a person of such training and limitations as to discuss seriously the question: “In what do you consider yourself stronger, scholarship or discipline?” He must be at so low an ebb “scholastically and materially” as to promise that, if named, he will be willing to assist students at all hours. In addition, he must agree to teach “regularly” a fabulous number of hours. Finally, he is supposed to be a member of teachers’ agencies. Such is the type of man that would meet the ideal of the president who wrote this blank. Now, while some of these qualifications are desirable in a university teacher, we may safely assert that a man who fulfilled them all could only be a man of limited training, a man who should never be placed in a professor’s chair, not even in a poorer sectarian “college,” or “normal” school.

The folly of many of these questions has already been mentioned. Their charlatanism is no less marked. The disastrous effect of such a college administration as is here suggested is beyond doubt. The best faculty in the land, renewed on the lines of this blank, would soon sink to the level of the poorer sectarian “college,” or the correspondence school.

One cannot so much blame the president who emits such a list of questions, as the board which appointed him, and, back of the board, public opinion. Let us suppose that a president is to be chosen for a typical college or university in this country. One might expect that the appointing boards would look into the qualifications of all citizens possessed of the requisite training, talent and character,—that there would be no restriction of the field of candidates. In fact, however, the field is halved, quartered, and halved again. The main object of the boards seems to be to secure a “safe man.” To this end, all possible appointees who are not devout members of some one—too frequently of some particular one—of the larger evangelical sects, and who do not belong to the political party locally in power, are at once set aside. This is a very serious limitation of the field. Without going further and showing how the candidates remaining are emasculated by the rejection of the keenest and most vigorous—for they might not prove “safe”—we can readily see that the president of the average American university or college must be relatively a weak brother, distinctly below the level of his better professors. He is too often a man who has tried several careers and failed, and his mouth is generally filled with pedagogic terms and religious cant. He is frequently a time-server, a man whose influence cannot fail to be injurious to youth, whose entire life will not show one example of vigorous, independent thinking, of courageous and virile action, of conspicuous virtue. This man surrounds himself with a faculty composed largely of sycophants, misfits and charlatans. These men govern, and the cause of education is ruined in that institution for a generation.

Why is it that we continue to send our children to such schools? It is mainly because, as a nation, we are too young to have learned the great lesson that all things are not created equal—that there is in education, as in every thing else, a standard article, and that the standard article is always the best. We do not realize that there are startling and decisive differences among universities, and that the best are none too good.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

University of Missouri.

A NOTE ON *Henry VIII*.

To the Editors of *Modern Language Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Henry VIII*, Act V, scene 4, there is a passage,—“These are the youths that thunder at a play-house and fight for bitten apples; that no audience, but the tribulation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Limehouse, their dear brothers, are able to endure.” Since the word “tribulation” was so commonly used as a Christian name by Puritans, it has been conjectured that Shakspeare here referred to a separatist congregation in the vicinity of the Tower. Wheatley, (*London, Past and Present*, 1891) though granting the probability of the conjecture, fails to understand why men of that religious bent should be supposed to enjoy the disorders of the play-houses. One editor has ingeniously suggested that Shakspeare, in ridicule of the Puritans’ scruples against the drama, meant that they approved of riotous conduct there in that it rendered inaudible the words of the abhorred plays. A more natural explanation occurs to me. Puritans were always represented on the stage as lovers of contention. Dekker regarded their “lectures” as places “to talke and make a noise” (*Westward Ho.*, p. 292). Jonson, Marston, (*Dutch Courtezan*) and all other playwrights allude to their fondness for disputation and controversy, and to their demonstrative zeal in prayer and exhortation. Hence one might presuppose, if he wished, a certain sympathy between the gallants and the groundlings, and their soberer brethren. Further illustration of this point, and, at the same time, a more luminous explanation of the nature of Shakspeare’s allusion is found in D’Avenant’s *The Wits*, (iv, 2) where we read,—

“Our theatres are raz’d down; and where
They stood, hoarse midnight lectures preach’d by wives
Of comb-makers, and midwives of Tower-wharf.”

The Wits was licensed in 1633–34; but if the neighborhood around the Tower was then noted for its Puritan inhabitants, it is highly probable that a dissenting congregation assembled there in the days when *Henry VIII* was first produced. The passage, at the least, indicates that D’Avenant,

who knew Shakspeare’s works so intimately, interpreted his lines as a reference to such a religious body.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

Yale University.

VOLTAIRE’S “ÉPÎTRE À MME. LA MARQUISE
DU CHATELET SUR LA CALOMNIE.”

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Mr. Borgerhoff, in his review of Mr. Eggert’s excellent edition of Voltaire’s *Zaïre and Épîtres* (*Modern Language Notes* for March, 1903, pp. 85 and 86), seems, like the editor, to have neglected or not recognized the allusion in ll. 81–85 of this epistle. The reference is to La Fontaine, Book ix, fable 6.

Voltaire’s lines (p. 178 of the edition) run:

Que le mensonge un instant vous outrage,
Tout est en feu soudain pour l’appuyer:
La vérité perce enfin le nuage,
Tout est de glace à vous justifier.

And La Fontaine’s (last strophe of “Le statuaire et le statue de Jupiter,” as above stated):

Chacun tourne en réalités,
Autant qu’il peut, ses propres songes:
L’homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est de feu pour les mensonges.

A comparison of the two extracts leaves no doubt as to the allusion and enables us to dispense with the note (p. 181), in which Mr. Eggert says that “the figure is not very clear.”

MARY VANCE YOUNG.

Mt. Holyoke College.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In your issue for Feb. 1901 (vol. xvi, cols. 123–4) a correspondent drew attention to a supposed arithmetical error in Valdés’ *José*, (Davidson edition, pages 30–31). In reading the

book recently, I was convinced that the error did not exist, and that your correspondent had misapprehended the author's intention. I will not restate the case, which will be found clearly set forth in the original communication, and indeed it would not be worth while to devote much space to proving Valdés an expert mathematician; I wish merely to state the misconception involved.

After señá Isabel has reckoned up the value of the catch of José's boat for the past week at the current rates, she proceeds to put in force the special reduction which José has granted her. This reduction does not, however, apply to the whole catch, as has been assumed in the calculation above referred to; it applies only to the three shares falling to José himself, one as a member of the crew, and two as owner of the boat (cf. p. 14, l. 30). The rest of the catch, namely, that belonging to the rest of the crew, must have been paid for at the regular rate, which was about 32.6 maravedís per pound. The special reduced rate given by José was about 25.5 maravedís. Now we have not the data wherewith to obtain the average rate for the whole catch, since we are nowhere told how many men formed José's crew. If we were to assume, for example, that there were six beside José, we should have a total of nine shares, three of which were paid for at 25.5 maravedís per pound, and six at 32.6, giving a total average of about 30.2. As the rate which señá Isabel fixes to save working out the figures is 28 maravedís, she would, if we assume a crew of seven in all, cheat him of a sum amounting to 2.2 maravedís per pound on the whole—in accordance with the author's statements. In order to make señá Isabel cheat herself, as is stated by your previous correspondent,—that is, to bring the total average down to less than 28 maravedís—José's crew must be reduced to two, himself and one assistant; and we know that it was much larger. So one is safe in acquitting the novelist of error in this instance, noting that the annotator of the book is in any case mistaken.

S. G. MORLEY.

Harvard University.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Jonson seems to have consulted his friend Selden about the meaning of that prohibition in Deuteronomy touching "the counterfeiting of sexes by apparel." In Selden's works [Ed. 1726, II, II, 1691] there is a long letter to Jonson on the subject, full of curious learning. Selden says the translation of the text should be: "A man's armour shall not be upon a woman, and a man shall not put on a woman's garment;" and he explains the prohibition by showing that these travesties were used in certain idolatrous and lewd practices of the heathen. He also mentions the subject in his *Table Talk* [Arber, p. 85].

WM. HAND BROWNE.

Johns Hopkins University.

PERSONAL.

Professor Fred N. Scott (University of Michigan) has become head of the department of Rhetoric. Professor Isaac N. Demmon's title henceforth will be Professor of English.

Professor Scott has been engaged by the Chicago board of education to give a course of five lectures on the teaching of English composition, at the Chicago Normal School.

Dr. Warren W. Florer, instructor of German at the University of Michigan, will read a paper on "The Direct Method as a Basis for Literary Interpretation" before the National German American Teachers' Association which meets at Erie, Pa., July 1-3, next.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 7.

THE WORD FOR NIGHTINGALE IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

The purpose of the following note is not to advance an explanation for the shift, in various Romance tongues, notably in French *rossignol*, from *l-* to *r-* in the derivatives of Latin *lusciniola* 'nightingale,' but rather to ask if the solutions now in vogue are not beside the mark, so long as no explanation, to my knowledge, has been advanced to account for the Latin variant *ruscinia*, which occurs in a ninth century manuscript,¹ and *roscinia*, which occurs as early;² and which is further attested by the lemma, *roscinia* 'nectae-galae,'³ from an Anglo-Saxon (Old English) Glossary. They may be right who explain the *r-* of *rossignol* as due to the *-r-* of *hirondelle*;⁴ or they may be right who follow Diez in his *Woerterbuch*,⁵ echoed by Groeber in his review of Grammont's book;⁶ but the difficulty of *ruscinia*, *roscinia* still confronts either of those explanations. Will not the variation of *l-* and *r-* in the Romance languages meet its most satisfactory, as well as its simplest, explanation, by appealing to *ruscinia* as a popular etymology, in Low Latin times, of *lusciniā*?

True, it may prove easier in fact to explain the Romance forms as special Romance developments than to make sure of the source of the popular etymology whereby *lusciniā* was affected.

In a study of Latin *lusciniā*, still unpublished, I have sought to prove that to the Romans *lusciniā* was the 'dawnsinger'—though Schweizer-Sidler may be right⁷ when he derives *lusciniā* from *lus[ci]-cīnīa* 'twilight singer'—in which case the obvious guess for *roscinia* is 'dew-singer' (: *rōs*

'dew'), dew being also, popularly considered, a phenomenon of the dawn. The long *ō* in *rōs* is, however, not favorable to that explanation. Another guess, also of the obvious variety, is to find in *ruscinia* the influence of *ruscus*, defined in Pliny⁸ and in other ancient sources by 'myrtus silvestris' (i. e. *μυρτινάκανθος*)⁹ and by 'lignum foliis spinosum,'—'genus virgulti.'¹⁰ The *ruscus aculeatus*, now known as butcher's broom, "belongs to Southern Europe, and occurs in large quantities on the soil of dry woods where everything else is wrapped in deep sleep during the height of summer."¹¹ This evergreen shrub, varying in height from one to three feet, is admirably adapted, one would think, to the nightingale's habit 'to nest on or near the ground, and secretively to haunt hedges'—Shakespeare¹² puts his nightingale in a pomegranate tree and the Persian nightingale (*bulbul*) haunts the rose (*attargul*) hedges—and we might accordingly fancy that the name *lusciniā* was shifted in the popular nomenclature to *ruscinia* 'butcher's broom bird.'

The form *ruscinia*, thus interpreted as 'thorn-bird,' might seem to lie back of the mythological figment of the nightingale impaled upon the thorn, a tale common in English poetry. An early instance is cited from Barnfield as follows:

She, poor bird, as all forlorn,
Leaned her breast upon a thorn.

The same fantastic notion is echoed by Giles Fletcher, Sir Philip Sidney, Young, Thompson and Byron.¹³

Being without the opportunity of observing the nightingale, and being unable to cite any Latin literary evidence for the association of the *lusciniā*

¹ Cf. Diez, *Roman. Woert.*, p. 275, citing Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, v. 197b.

² Cf. Diez, *op. cit.*, citing Mone's *Anzeiger*, vii. 148.

³ See Goetz, *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*, s. v.

⁴ Cf. Grammont, *Dissimilation Consonantique*, p. 118.

⁵ l. c. ⁶ *Roman. Forsch.*, 22. 428.

⁷ See the index to his Latin Grammar.

⁸ N. H. 23. 83. § 166.

⁹ Cf. the lexica of Du Cange and Liddell and Scott s. vv.

¹⁰ See Goetz, *op. cit.*, s. v. *ruscus*.

¹¹ Kesner and Oliver's *Natural History of Plants*, i. i. p. 334.

¹² *Romeo and Juliet*, 3. 5. 5.

¹³ See citations in an article on *The Nightingale*, by H. G. Adams, in *Littell's Living Age*, 25. 273.

with the *ruscus*, far be it from me to claim any cogency for this guess, that *ruscina* has suffered the influence of *ruscus*, even though a sort of half evidence may be made out from the gloss *acalanthis* 'uel luscina uel roscina, ηετεγela . . . aus uepribus adsueta.'¹⁴ The English names brake-nightingale and hedge-nightingale also furnish a sort of attest for the interpretation of *ruscina* by 'thorn-hedge-bird.' Further, the bird names ἀκαλανθίς = ἀκανθίς 'thistle-finch' (derived from ἀκανθα 'thistle'), Latin *carduelis* from *carduus*, same meanings, and French *linot*, *linotte* 'linnet' from *lin* 'flax,' offer analogies. If it be objected that the thistle-finch is named from his feeding on thistle seeds, and not from his haunting the thistles—though just how we are to dissociate these ideas entirely I do not see—we may note that the bobolink is named 'reedbird' from his haunts and 'ricebird' from his feed; and here in Texas we have a very apposite illustration for the pair *ruscus*, *ruscina* in *chapparal*, *chapparalbird* (otherwise known as road-runner), for *ruscus* is, in Texan, to all intents and purposes, precisely 'chapparal.'

But all this aside, the query is respectfully put to Romance philologists whether it is not the Latin glosses *ruscina*, *roscina* that call for explanation in respect of their *r-*, rather than the Romance words, e. g., *rossignol*, that show *r-*.

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THE NEW GERMAN ORTHOGRAPHY.

The history of German orthography is closely connected with that of the New High German literary language. The latter is chiefly based on the "Kanzleisprache" (= language used in the Chancery) which commenced to form itself in the fourteenth century. Also Upper and Middle German, especially the Saxon dialect, played a prominent part in the formation of a united language, since Luther took for his writings expressions from this idiom, where the "sächsische Kanzleisprache" did not suffice.¹

¹⁴ See Goetz, *op. cit.*, s. v.

¹ Cf. Luther's *Tischreden*, Ausg. v. Förstemann u. Bindseil, iv, 569: "Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene

As Luther's language increased in influence, so also his orthography. It served as a model for other writers, especially when Fabian Frangk, the first New High German grammarian and orthographer, considered it worthy of imitation. Yet it was by no means uniform. In the beginning Luther left his manuscripts to the discretion of the printers. The translation of the Bible, however, was not published, before he had corrected the proof most carefully, and from that time he was anxious to make his writings intelligible to everybody by striving for a consistent orthographical system. Hence he tried to do away with the confusion which existed during the transition period in the use of double consonants; they were only to remain after short vowel of accented syllables. He wrote *tz* instead of *cz* and *i* for *y*, except in final *-ey*. Wherever the Chancery fluctuated between Upper and Middle German forms, he chose the latter. Insignificant orthographical differences are common to all his editions of the Bible, especially to those published between 1522–1530; f. i.: *u*, *o* for *ü*, *ö* in the edition 1522; in that from 1526, we find only *ü*, *ö*; cp. also such spellings as *auff*, *unndt*, *tzu*, *Junk*, *junk*- or *Jung-fraw*, etc.

During the whole transition period and still in the seventeenth century, the German writing was disfigured by many irregularities, such as consonant-crowding, the frequent use of *y* without justification,² and many others.

The activity of the grammarians, however, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as that of the press and the advance in educational matters fostered the tendency for a uniform orthography, already noticeable at the time of the Reformation. The classical literature of the eighteenth century, the political union, as well as the spreading of newspapers, contributed to the success of this movement.

It was, of course, only to a certain extent possible to carry out the theory upheld by eminent grammarians in that time (like Gottsched, Schot-

Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen Sprache, dasz mich beide Ober- und Niederländer verstehen mögen. Ich rede nach der sächsischen Canzeley, welcher nachfolgen alle Fürsten und Könige in Deutschland."

² Cp. *Stiff*, *nimbt*; *seyn*, *Heyrat*, etc.

telius, Adelung), namely: "Schreib, wie Du sprichst,"³ and since Luther, German orthography has become more and more historic. A few instances might illustrate this: *und* is written with *d*, pronounced *t*, because of MHG. *unde*; Umlaut was unknown to the older language; hence, as the Latin alphabet offered no means to express it, the Umlaut of *a*, *u*, *au* was either not indicated at all, or different writers used different signs, which gave rise to a confusing variety, until eventually the present signs for Umlaut were uniformly employed.

The relative unity in the orthographical system towards the end of the eighteenth century was principally due to the efforts of Gottsched (*Deutsche Sprachkunst*, Leipzig, 1748) and Adelung (*Anweisung zur deutschen Orthographie*, ib. 1788). Slight improvements in the spirit of their predecessors were introduced by some orthographers in the early nineteenth century, when the grammatical works of J. Chr. A. Heyse exercised a considerable influence. Towards the middle of the century, the effect of the writings of Jacob Grimm made itself felt. They strongly advocated a simpler orthographical system; but by laying too great stress on historical spelling, their theories were scarcely conducive to greater unity.—Soon after, the study of phonetics gave rise to a new orthography, represented by Raumer, Michaelis and others. A more radical reform than the one proposed by Heyse, was thought necessary.

The question was, which of the two systems, both in opposition to the traditional one, should serve as basis for a more uniform orthography. Should the phonetic or the historic course be chosen? According to the adherents of the former, spelling is to be in conformity with pronunciation, whilst those of the latter consider the original writing regardless of present pronunciation as their chief guide for a consistent orthography. J. Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (1848) and *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (commenced in 1854) mark the beginning of a new epoch for German Philology, Grammar as well as Orthography. One of his chief aims was a simple spelling. He objects to the fluctuating accumulation of vowels and consonants; *dt* is to be replaced by *t*, the *h* of *th* finally, omitted, etc. His proposed reform tended to reintroduce the spelling of older times.

³ Spell as you pronounce.

Hence, "Dehnungs"-*h* is only to remain where it corresponds to organic *h*; the *e* in *ie*, which indicates length, is to be dropped; therefore he writes: *gibt, siht, stilt* for *giebt, sieht, stiehlt*. Although Grimm does not strictly carry out these views in his own productions, yet they manifest the direction in which he opposed traditional writing.—The historic course had the greatest number of followers. K. Weinhold in his pamphlet, *Die deutsche Rechtschreibung* (Wien, 1852),⁴ showed himself as one of its most extreme representatives. Also Aug. Schleicher was a zealous advocate of this theory, which maintains the principle: "Schreib, wie es die geschichtliche Fortentwicklung des Neuhochdeutschen verlangt."

Although the simplification of orthography would be advantageous, yet the theories proposed by Grimm and his adherents were too inconsistent to effect a permanent reform. The distinction between so-called organic and inorganic *h*, which made Grimm propose to write *Mohn*, because it is derived from *māhen*, but *Lon*, because of older *lōn*, etc., could but cause confusion; few people would understand the reason for spelling *lieb*, *Dieb*, but *Zil*, *vil*, *diser*, *geschriben*, as Weinhold and Schleicher desired, and as f. i. Alfr. Ludwig, the translator of the Rigveda, still writes to-day. Thus, it can only be considered an advantage for German orthography that the extreme propositions made by the historic school were not carried out.

On the other hand, a more phonetic spelling had been suggested by Adelung, Gottsched and their followers, who maintained the principle: "Schreibe, wie du sprichst," or "einheitliches Zeichen für einheitlichen Laut." Even the upholders of the historic spelling cannot quite disregard this phonetic view, although they do not consider it the chief condition for a uniform orthography. In many suggestions, the two courses meet each other, as f. i. the abolition of capital letters, the omission of the "Dehnungs"-*h*, the proposition (advocated by J. Grimm) to reintroduce Latin (= *Antiqua*) for German (= *Fraktur*) writing. Neither of the two methods could eventually fulfil the conditions essential for a new and

⁴ Sonderabdruck aus der *Zeitschr. für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, 1852.

better orthography.—The original way of spelling is phonetic; but, as languages change, either the same writing is preserved in spite of sound-changes (= historic spelling) or words are corrected (= phonetic correction.) In both cases we are aware of a certain conflict. The present English and French orthography rests on a historic basis, cp. the pronunciation of Engl. *colonel*, *bough*, *write*, French *roi*, *reine*, *filz*, etc. The German as well as the Italian and Spanish languages give preference to the phonetic principle; thus MHG. *dri riche künene* > NHG. *drei reiche Könige*; *hus*, plur. *hiuser* > *Haus*, *Häuser*; *wuot*, *muot* > *Wut*, *Mut*. Some instances of historic writing would be: *ei*, which is mostly pronounced *ai* (or *ae*); *chs*, which equals *ks* in pronunciation; *ng*, which is a simple sound in New High German, etc.

Usage, which gives rise to a certain conventional system, will always form a chief factor in matters of orthography. It is tradition which causes us to employ capital letters, to write *Sage* and *Saal*, *wider* and *wieder*, etc. It forces us to follow the current spelling and to imprint the figures on our mind.

The attempts to regulate German spelling in accordance with one of the two, i. e. the phonetic or historic principle, go hand in hand with the striving after a uniform orthography. Unity in spelling can, however, never be attained without a compromise between the traditional (or conventional), historic and phonetic systems. Orthography has always been more conservative than pronunciation. Again and again have scholars tried to render the historic spelling phonetic; but the latter became historic again in a short time. Engl. orthography is the most historic; it gives the pronunciation current at the end of the Middle Ages. Sanskrit in old time and Italian in the present show the most phonetic orthography.

The extreme historical school lost influence in the course of time; this was fortunate, because their system would, as already mentioned, not only have caused confusion in many respects in orthography, but also have endangered the unity of language. Rud. von Raumer was the first to point out this danger in several treatises and reviews which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien* (1855 ff.) He shows clearly how unity in orthography cannot exist without a close

connection between language and writing; he advocates full justice for his principles: "Bringe deine Schrift und deine Aussprache möglichst in Übereinstimmung" and "Schreibe, wie du richtig sprichst."⁵ At the same time he brings before the public the necessity of recognizing traditional spelling.

Thus the interest of scholars and teachers was roused, and the desire for a new orthography increased. Side by side with the attempts for an historical reform went those in favor of a new system on a phonetic basis. The latter was strongly supported not only by the increased study of phonetics, but also by the spreading interest in stenography. The chief representative of the Stolze stenographical system, Michaelis, belonged to the first supporters of a phonetic reform. (Michaelis, *Vereinfachungen der deutschen Rechtschreibung*. Berlin, 1854.) It stands to reason that an orthography based on this latter method might find its way into all schools, as it was intelligible to everybody, whilst the historic course naturally could only gain influence among learned people and in higher educational establishments.

Thus, uncertainty reigned in matters of orthography during half a century. Especially teachers felt the need of a thorough improvement. School-boards had to lend their assistance.—The "Ober-Schulkollegium" of the former kingdom of Hannover took the first step. A meeting of expert teachers was held in 1854 in order to settle the chief fluctuations in writing. As the result of this conference appeared *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für deutsche Rechtschreibung, gedruckt auf Veranstaltung des Königl. Ober-Schulkollegiums zu Hannover* (Clausthal, 1855.) This essay is chiefly the work of Direktor K. A. J. Hoffmann in Lüneburg. Not only in these Rules, but also in his NHG. grammars, he decidedly favors a historic basis. His views appear all the more interesting, because Rud. v. Raumer seems to have adopted

⁵ Cp. Dr. S. Lefmann's treatise *Über deutsche Rechtschreibung* (1871), where he points out that the maxim necessarily must be: "Schreibe, wie du richtig sprichst" and not simply, as Adelung and Gottsched maintained, "Schreibe, wie du sprichst"; otherwise the inhabitants of Kursachsen ought to spell "das reene Hochteitsch" instead of "das reine Hochdeutsch."

them to a certain extent¹ in his project, printed in the *Verhandlungen der orthographischen Konferenz in Berlin* (1876.) Hoffmann was already in favor of restricting the use of *th*. With regard to *k*, *c* and *t*, *z* in foreign words, he advocates the principle to retain as far as possible *c* and *t* in words derived from Latin, but to use *k* and *z* in words whose foreign origin is no longer apparent; therefore, *Vocal*, *Consonant*, *Conjugation*, but *Punkt*, *Kontrakt*, etc. The rule about *s*-sounds was proposed in double form: 1) according to the usage of Gottsched and Adelung, based on the phonetic line, 2) the historic point of view, which kept *sz* (ß) and *ss* (ſſ) distinct.

Six years later, the government of Württemberg followed the example of Hannover and had a similar book worked out, entitled *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für die deutsche Rechtschreibung zum Gebrauch in den württembergischen Schulanstalten amtlich festgestellt* (Stuttgart, 1861). This treatise has no distinct features with regard to the changes suggested; in the spelling of some words, however, the influence of the historic school is noticeable.—The Prussian Government likewise considered the matter, and had a plan worked out by Müllenhoff with the view of putting an end to the ruling uncertainty in orthography and punctuation. But it came to no definite conclusion in the matter.

In Leipzig, more decisive steps were taken in 1857. At the instigation of Direktor Vogel, a commission proposed certain improvements, which were published in the "*Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für deutsche Rechtschreibung, zunächst zum Gebrauch in der Realschule und den Bürgerschulen zu Leipzig*." These rules are partly based on those proposed by the schoolmen of Hannover; some more definite changes are perceptible; the writing *Mis-*, *-nis*, *-ieren* is f. i. used instead of traditional *Misz-*, *-nisz*, *-iren*. The pamphlet was considered the standard for the Leipzig High Schools until 1880. A similar proposal was made in Berlin 1871, where Direktor Bonitz took the initiative, and with the consent of "Gymnasial"- and "Real"-school teachers a commission of five specialists was appointed, who composed a short "*Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis*."² This was ac-

cepted by the schoolmen in their meeting on the 24th of May. The Berlin *Regelbuch*, based on traditional writing, followed in the main Raumer's views: "Bezeichne jeden Laut, den man bei richtiger und deutlicher Aussprache hört, durch das ihm zukommende Zeichen" is the chief principle. Hence the phonetic element is considered important; yet the authors distinctly mention in the preface that the relationship of words cannot be disregarded. The frequent double writings proposed in the booklet render us conscious of the fact that it is the nature of orthography not only to be in need but also to be capable of constant development. This work spread even further than Berlin; within nine years' existence, about 70,000 copies were sold.

The matter was reconsidered in 1872. The negotiations regarding educational systems which took place between the different governments after the foundation of the German empire, led also to discussions on orthography. The Delegates of the various German states proposed a more uniform spelling for the whole of Germany. With the consent of all governments, Minister Falk requested Rud. v. Raumer to work out the plan of a new orthography. Four years later, the "orthographische Konferenz," to which the minister invited Raumer, Bartsch, Duden, Hildebrand, Sanders, Scherer, Wilmanns, and other experts, held eleven meetings from Jan. 4th–15th in order to discuss Raumer's project, contained in his two writings: *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für die Orthographie* and *Zur Begründung der Schrift: Regeln etc. der deutschen Orthographie*. Raumer retained traditional spelling as far as possible. He disapproves however of double vowels, and tries to do away with the inconsistent use of *e* to indicate length. For *-iren*, he proposes *-ieren* in all cases. *Fron-* is to be written without *h*, and the *h* of *th* is omitted in certain instances, such as *Miete*, *Abenteuer*, *Flut*, *rot*, *Rat*, etc. The transactions of this Berlin conference were published later on in the *Verhandlungen der zur Herstellung grösserer Einigung in der deutschen Rechtschreibung berufenen Konferenz. Berlin, den 1. bis 15. Jan. 1876.* (Halle).

Although the press occupied itself shortly with etc. Abdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen. Berlin. 2. Aufl. 1871.

¹ *Erörterungen über deutsche Orthographie zur Begründung und Erläuterung der Schrift: Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis,*

Raumer's work, yet it did not gain practical significance.⁷ The confusion seemed greater than ever, since the state had not given its sanction to the new project, and yet, certain schools accepted the reform.

Not only the conditions in Germany, but also in Austria, which country had not taken part in the conference of 1876, seemed to necessitate a definite line of German writing. At the instigation of the Austrian government, an *Orthographiebuch* was published for "Volksschulen" on the 2nd of August 1879, and the attention of higher educational establishments was called to the necessity of a union among themselves in that direction. About the same time, the Bavarian school authorities took a decisive step. As in Austria, so also here, Raumer's projects and the *Verhandlungen der orthographischen Konferenz* were taken as basis. The new orthography was introduced by order of the minister of instruction on the 21st of September 1879. The latter had, before taking the decisive step, corresponded with Minister Falk on the subject, and the Bavarian *Regelbuch* may be said to be on the whole in accordance with the rules approved of by the Berlin "Gymnasial- und Real"-school teachers in their *Regelbuch* from 1871.

After this, the Prussian minister for instruction, von Puttkamer, felt it his duty to keep in the line proposed by Bavaria, and at his instigation, a booklet *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für die deutsche Rechtschreibung* was published in 1880 "in möglichster materieller Übereinstimmung" with the Bavarian orthography, and introduced into Prussian schools at Easter that same year. The government of instruction had recommended the new school orthography to all its officials and expressed the hope that ministers of other official departments would do the same. But this attempt was not successful; on the contrary, an opposition arose, the outcome of which was that the new writing was forbidden in diplomatic intercourse.⁸ Yet the new orthography gained wider influence than might have been expected from the unfavor-

able conditions under which it started. By and by, the authorities of other German states joined the Prussian-Bavarian union, and Mecklenburg, Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, etc., introduced into their schools *Regelbücher* based on the newly established manner of writing.

With regard to literary publications on the new system W. Wilmanns' *Die Orthographie in den Schulen Deutschlands* (1. edition, entitled: *Kommentar zur Preussischen Schulorthographie*, 1880; 2. edition, 1887.) deserves special mention. In the introduction, the author gives a sketch of the historic development of the orthographical movement. Then follows a detailed commentary on the *Regelbuch*. In the second edition, Wilmanns was able, considering the progress lately made in phonetics to enlarge on the grammatical-orthographic explanations of the first edition; he could likewise make use of the orthographical *Regelbücher* in Baden, Mecklenburg, Saxony and Württemberg which had meanwhile been published.

In spite of these energetic efforts for a uniform spelling, yet the conflict between school and government orthography continued to exist, so that young men, who entered the diplomatic service, were not allowed in their official reports to use the orthography they had been taught. This uncertainty in spelling caused the Prussian government to call a second Conference to Berlin in 1901 (Jan. 17th-19th), to which the Southern German states as well as Austria and Switzerland sent representatives. The outcome of this meeting was a revised edition (*Neue Bearbeitung*) of the *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis*, introduced in 1880 by von Puttkamer. These new regulations, although far from perfect, are simpler than the former ones. Certain rules show a distinct improvement; f. i. t, f for th, ph in all words of German origin, sch for ch in foreign loan-words; the introduction of k and z for c may also on the whole be considered a change for the better; k for the k sound, and z for the z (= ts) sound are given preference over c; hence: *Kolonie, Komplott, Konzert, Konzil, Akkord, Akzent, Antezedenzien, Zement, Zentrum, Zirkular, Zylinder*. A number of further changes mark a distinct progress towards a uniform orthography, as they strive to settle doubtful points: z in French words is, in accordance with the pronunciation, written s; therefore: *Hasardspiel*,

⁷ Cf. *Öffentliche Urteile über die Ergebnisse der orthographischen Konferenz in kurzen Auszügen zusammengestellt* (J. Imelmann). Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

⁸ Cf. *Zeitung für das höhere Unterrichtswesen Deutschlands*, edited by Weiske (Lpz.) 1880. No. 7. 12. 17. 41. 43.

Basar. Final *t* is omitted in: *mittels*, *vermittelt*, after the analogy of words like *angesichts*, *behufs*. In *stetig* and *unstet*, *e* replaces former *ü*, owing to leveling with *stets*. Substantives in *-ie* form their plural in *-ien*, as *Galerien*, *Theorien*. Instead of capitals, small initials are to be employed in adverbial expressions, such as: *in betreff*, *zugrunde*, *zugute*, etc. The German abbreviations for *etc.* are to be written *ufw.*, *uff.*, not *u. f. w.*, *u. f. f.* All words indicating measure or weight are neuter according to the reform, because they were used as such in the *Mass- und Gewichtsordnung des Norddeutschen Bundes* from August 17th, 1868, which was adopted by the German empire on January 1st, 1872. Hence: *das Ar*, *das Liter*, *das Meter*.

Doubtless these reforms tend to greater unity, yet perfect consistency and uniformity was neither intended, nor could it have been attained without extreme radical changes.—Many words admit of two spellings, as f. i. those which have *c* (by the side of *z*) or *k* in foreign words like *Succade* and *Sukkade*, *succedieren* and *sukzedieren*, *Accessit* and *Akzessit*,⁹ etc. Opinions might differ as to the advisability of replacing every *c* in foreign words from Latin by *k*, when it has the *k*-sound, as *Vokal*, *Konsonant*, *Komfort*, *Kuvert*, although we are quite accustomed to the *k* in words like *Konsul*, *Klause*, *Kontrapunkt*, *Klausur*.—The new orthography retains *t* before *i* in words ending in *-tion*, although it is always pronounced *z* (= *ts*) in those cases, as in *Nation*, *Ration*, *Lamentation*; in terms like *Konjugation*, *Vokalisation*, *Vokation*, it seems incongruous to use *k* (according to the new rules) and yet retain *t* for *z*.—It will take us time to get accustomed to spellings like *Komfort*, *Konseil*, *Bukett*, especially as most people pronounce them in the French way; in these latter cases, the new orthography does, indeed, allow as alternative *Comfort*, *Conseil*, *Bouquet*, etc. Would it not be as well to retain the foreign spelling in this class

⁹ Cp. also *Literatur* by the side of *Litteratur* and many similar instances. The members of the Conference of 1901 were apparently anxious to allow in orthographical matters a certain amount of individual liberty. Their liberal policy, however, has met with little favor on the part of the public, there being a general demand for fewer duplicates and greater uniformity in spelling. Cp. f. i. the articles in the *Zeitschrift des Allgem. Deutschen Sprachvereins*, 1903, No. 1 (Jan.), 2 (Feb.), and 9 (Sept.).

of words, and encourage those not acquainted with foreign languages to use German *Bequemlichkeit*, *Staatsrat*, *Blumenstrauß* instead?—Also with regard to the use of *th*, occasional fluctuations can scarcely be avoided; they are only to be retained in words where they are etymologically entitled; but as not everybody is acquainted with the history and science of the language, how are people not versed in classics to know, why *Katholik*, *Kathedr*, *Theke*, *Thema* are spelt with *th*, whilst we have *t* in *Kategorie*, *Katechismus*, *Katechese*?

Concerning Latin writing, the rule laid down for the use of *ss* and *sz* might cause difficulty. The new regulations require *ss* for German *ff*, and *sz* (or *fs*) for German *fz* or *ß*. Simple as the rule may sound, fluctuations must arise on application. The *fz* in Germ. writing is used for *ff* after long vowel and for the combination *f* + final *s* after a short one, for *fäßen*, *Mäße* as well as *daß*, *miß*. Since the difference between long *s* and final *s* is unknown in Latin, it seems rather a roundabout proceeding to be obliged to consider the German writing in each particular case, before we can come to a conclusion about the Latin writing. Matters would be simplified, if the rule ran thus: "For *ff* and *fz*—*ss* is used in Latin writing," or "when using Latin letters, *sz* or preferably *fs* is used after long, *ss* after short vowel."

Thus it has been shown that, although the new German orthography marks a decided progress towards greater unity on the line started by Rud. v. Raumer in opposition to the proposals of the extreme historical school, yet certain improvements might be suggested for the future in order to attain a still greater unity.

The new orthography has lately been introduced in German, as well as Austrian and Swiss schools; the leading newspapers have likewise adopted it, so that the problem of a uniform German orthography seems to be satisfactorily solved for a considerable time.

The new regulations are most clearly stated in the *Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis für deutsche Rechtschreibung. Neue Bearbeitung.*¹⁰ (Berlin, Weidmann, 1902.)—Among general dictionaries

¹⁰ "Hrg. im Auftrage des Königl. Preussischen Ministeriums der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten."—Similar *Regelbücher* were published in Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Austria, Switzerland.

on the reformed spelling, those of Duden (Leipzig, Bibl. Institut., 1902) and Vogel (Berlin, Langenscheidt, 1902) deserve special mention.¹¹

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THE RED CROSS KNIGHT AND

Lybeaus Desconus.

The story of Gareth and Linet in Malory's *Morte Darthur* is usually assigned¹ as the closest parallel to the story of Una and the Red Cross Knight in Book I of the *Faerie Queene*. Professor W. P. Ker, in his *Epic and Romance*,² goes even further, asserting unqualifiedly that the narrative "is founded upon Gareth." It is my purpose in this note to point out a parallel to the story of the Red Cross Knight apparently closer than Gareth—one which, save for a casual mention by Professor Ker, has not, to my knowledge, been anywhere noted. This parallel is the Middle English romance of *Lybeaus Desconus*.³

The plot may be summarized as follows: Gingelein, illegitimate son of Sir Gawain, is reared in ignorance of his birth and of knightly usages. He finds the body of a knight in the forest; his ambition is stirred; and he journeys to Arthur's court. The king inquires his parentage, and when Gingelein confesses his ignorance, dubs him Lybeaus Desconus (The Fair Unknown). The boy asks to be made a knight, a request to which Arthur accedes, though demurring somewhat on account of the suppliant's extreme youth. In addition, the king promises to allow him to undertake the first adventure that shall present itself.

A damsel, accompanied by a dwarf, comes to the court and begs assistance for her mistress, the Lady of Snowdon, who is confined by enchantment in her own castle. Lybeaus at once offers himself.

¹¹ Cp. also: K. Erbe, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Rechtschreibung*. Union in Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1902.—Dr. Gustav Gensz, *Wörterbuch für die deutsche Rechtschreibung*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1902.—Dr. Joh. Pöschel, *Taschenbuch der deutschen Rechtschreibung*. Leipzig, K. E. Pöschel, 1902.—Dr. Th. Matthias, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der deutschen Rechtschreibung*. Lpz. 1902.

¹ Cf., e. g., Walther, *Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*, p. 18.

² *Epic and Romance*, London, 1897, p. 392.

³ *Lybeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, Leipzig, 1890.

The maiden stubbornly objects to a cavalier so young and so uncouth; but Arthur tells her that there is no choice, and she finally yields to his decision. Escorted by the dwarf, they set out on the journey. First one knight, then three knights together fall victims to the young warrior's prowess. Two giants, one black, the other red, are killed later and their heads sent to Arthur's court. Lybeaus then meets a knight who insists that his *amie* is fairer than the hero's companion. The question is at first put to popular vote in the market-place, but the suffrage proving unfavorable to Lybeaus, he challenges his opponent to single combat, and after a long struggle kills him. Proceeding on their way, the three companions come upon a company of hunters with a pack of hounds. Lybeaus coolly takes possession of a beautiful hunting dog, presents it to his *amie*, and puts the protesting hunters to rout. The next enemy to meet the group is a giant, the protector and keeper of the fair sorceress of the *Ile d'Or*. After a struggle lasting the whole day, the combatants pause for a drink. The giant treacherously knocks his opponent backward into the stream, but Lybeaus, apparently revived by the shock, lops off the giant's arm and splits him down the back. Emboldened by his triumph, Lybeaus enters the castle and immediately falls under the spell of the enchantress. Here he lingers twelve months, when at last his fair guide, with reproachful words, brings him back to a sense of duty. Freeing himself from the spell, he sets out again for Snowdon. Arriving there, he forces his way into the stronghold, and meets in succession the two magicians who have enchanted the place. Wounding the first, who is spirited away by magic, and killing the second, he makes his way to the inner court. Here the lady of the castle appears to him in the form of a serpent with human face—the form into which the magicians, by their evil power, had changed her. Much to Lybeaus's horror, the loathsome animal writhes toward him and kisses him upon the lips. At once it becomes a beautiful woman, who tells him that the spell has been broken through her kissing a kinsman of Gawain. Together Lybeaus and the lady ride back to Arthur's court and are married with great ceremony.

The following points of similarity between this romance and the story of the Red Cross Knight may be noted:

I. R. C. K. (in the introductory letter to Raleigh) is a "clownish young man" when he first enters the court of the *Faerie Queene*. Similarly, L. D. seems to Arthur "To Ying to done a good fiztinge" and his early life in the woods has afforded him no experience with arms.

II. R. C. K. presents himself at the court of the Faerie Queene, and desires that "hee might have the atchievement of any adventure which during that feast should happen." L. D. says:

..... My lord so fre
In herte I were riȝt glad
pat ferste fiȝt ȝf I had
pat ony man askeþ þe. (99-102.)

III. Like Una, the messenger from Snowden is escorted by a dwarf.

IV. Like Una, this messenger is the emissary of victims of enchantment, confined in their own castle.

V. "The clounishe person [R. C. K.] upstart-ing, desired that adventure." So we read of L. D.:

Up starte þe jinge kniȝt
.....
And seide, Arthour, my lord!
I schall do þat fiȝt. (169-172.)

VI. Una is represented as "much gainesaying." In *L. D.*,

pan gan Elene to chide
.....
Lore, king, is þy pride
And þy manhod y-schent
When þou wilt sende a childe
pat is witles and wilde
To dele douȝt dent. (181-187.)
þe maide stout and gay
Lep on her palfray;
þe dwerȝ rod hir be side.
Till þe þirde day
Upon þe Kniȝt alwey
Faste sche gan to chide. (277-282.)

VII. R. C. K., after defeating Duessa's champion, is enticed by her into the House of Pride. In the course of time he repents and rejoins Una. L. D., after killing the giant keeper of the sorceress, is subjected to her spell for a twelve-month, but finally repents and rejoins Elene (1297 ff.).

VIII. R. C. K., after a whole day of battle with the dragon, falls backward into a stream, and is thereby enabled to renew the fight. L. D. fights the giant,

From þe our of prime
Till hit was evesong time, (1423-4)

desists a moment, and is hurled backward into the

stream by a treacherous blow. He springs out with renewed power, and defeats his enemy.

IX. Like R. C. K., L. D. ultimately succeeds in overcoming the superhuman power which has shut up the castle of his search, releases the inmates, and is united to the lady of the castle.

Certain points of contact between *Lybeaus Desconus* and other parts of the *Faerie Queene* may also be noted. Just as L. D. is enticed by the lady of the *Ile d'Or*, so Guyon (*F. Q.* II) is enticed by Phaedria to an isle of joys. Just as L. D. rides unattended into the enchanted castle, finds minstrels playing on their harps, sees them vanish, and then meets the two enchanters; so Britomart (*F. Q.* III, xii) forces her way alone into the house of Busyrane, is met by the sound of a "shrilling trumpet" and the sight of a masque-like procession of figures, finds herself suddenly alone, and then enters the chamber where enchanter and enchanted are revealed.⁴

It will be readily seen that this romance has a number of points of similarity to the career of Una and her knight not in the Gareth story.

I. Gareth spends a year in the King's kitchen, but in *F. Q.*, as in *L. D.*, the achievement is undertaken at once.

II. In both *L. D.* and *F. Q.* the lady is followed by a dwarf. In Gareth, a dwarf appears, attending, however, not upon the lady but upon the knight.

III. In *L. D.* and *F. Q.*, the young warrior is armed before he sets out; in Gareth, he is armed and knighted only after he has been sometime afield.

IV. There is nothing similar to the *Ile d'Or* incident in the story of Gareth.

V. Nothing similar to the reviving-stream incident appears in the story of Gareth.

VI. Malory lays much stress upon the mystery surrounding the identity of the lady and her castle; in *F. Q.* as in *L. D.*, no use is made of this motive.

VII. In Gareth, the lady is confined in her castle by a tyrant, simply; in *F. Q.* as in *L. D.*, the rescuer has to contend against the power of enchantment.

There can be no doubt that *Lybeaus Desconus* was readily accessible to Spenser, for it appears to

⁴ Latter point noted by W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 395.

have been printed as early as the sixteenth century.⁵ Though no copy of the old print is extant, we can judge of it from the version of the story in the Percy Folio ms.,⁶ which seems to be nothing but a transcript of the printed text. The romance is referred to not only by Chaucer, but also by Skelton, in *Phyllyp Sparrowe* (1529), and by Henry Crosse in his *Vertues Common Wealth, or The Highway to Honour* (1600). The hero is mentioned in an interlude, *Thersites*, which was acted in 1537.⁷

It cannot, of course, be argued that the author of the *Faerie Queene* was indebted solely to *Lybeaus Desconus* for the plot of Book I. But that he was familiar with the poem, and that its plot was more influential than is usually supposed in shaping the experiences of Una and the Red Cross Knight, one may, I think, reasonably conclude as a result of the above comparison.

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KEATS AND SPENSER.

It is a well-known fact that the genius of Keats was to a great extent moulded by a study of the works of Spenser. From the time of Lord Houghton, Keats's first biographer, down to that of Matthew Arnold, the critics have agreed that the influence of Spenser on the mind of Keats was stronger than that exercised by any other writer. This influence, appearing in the lines that mark the beginning of Keats's career, is to be found everywhere,—throughout the volume of 1817, in *Endymion*, in *Lamia* and in the *Odes*, in *Isabella* and in the *Eve of St. Agnes*, in the *Dramas*, and in the *Cap and Bells*. Even the language of *Hyperion*, written when the influence of Milton on Keats was at its height, shows scarcely an appreciable falling off in the Spenserian element. Granted that Cowden Clarke and Charles Brown had failed to bear witness to the eager delight

with which Keats perused the *Faerie Queene*, a glance through the letters¹ of Keats would suffice to indicate the position that Spenser occupied in his affections; while Keats's poetry contains, as the most careless reader may perceive, numerous allusions to Spenser. But to Mr. W. T. Arnold belongs the credit of having made the first attempt to point out the exact extent of the Spenserian element in Keats's diction. In the introduction² to his edition of Keats's poems, he says: "Keats's imitation of Spenser descends even to points of spelling, and the following words were undoubtedly derived from him—'perceant,' 'raught,' 'libbard,' 'seemlihed,' 'espial,' 'shent' and 'unshent,' 'wox,' 'besprent,' 'grisly' (spelt by Keats, after the manner of Spenser, 'griesly'), and 'daedal.'" Mr. Arnold also points to the same source for *beadsman*, *passioned*, *covert*, *shallows*, *eterne*, *tinct*, *raft* ('the raft branch,' *Endymion* I. 334), and *imageries*.

To Mr. Arnold's list of Spenserian words in Keats there may certainly be added the following: *amate*, *dreariment*, *elf* (meaning 'person,' not 'fairy,' in *Isabella*, st. 57), *empierced*, and *lout*³ (verb). It seems to me highly probable that Keats also borrowed from Spenser the words *affray* (verb), *bale* (meaning sorrow, misery, etc.), *dispart*, *distraught*, and *needments*, as well as such tricks of expression as 'adventurous knight,' 'wretched wight,' and 'withal a man of elegance and stature tall.' Keats's lines

At least for ever, ever more,
Will I call the Graces four

were doubtless suggested by a similar passage in the *Shep. Cal. for April*—

Wants not a fourth Grace, to make the daunce even?
Let that rowme to my Lady be yeven:
She shal be a Grace,
To fyll the fourth place, etc.

Peona, the name of Endymion's sister, is generally thought to have been taken from the *Faerie Queene*. To the same source I should refer Angela, of the *Eve of St. Agnes*, the old woman

⁵ See Kaluza, p. x.

⁶ Ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1868, II, 415 ff.

⁷ Cf. Schofield, "Studies on the *Lybeaus Desconus*," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, Vol. IV, p. 241 ff.

¹ See Forman's edition of Keats's *Letters*, London, 1895, pp. 11, 21, 488.

² See the *Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. by William T. Arnold, London, 1883, pp. xxiv-xxv.

³ *Lout* is also used in the *Letters*, p. 368.

who "Died palsy-twitch'd, with meagre face deform." Is not this phrase a reminiscence of the line "With heary glib deform'd and meiger face" (*F. Q.* iv, 8, 12)? Again, it seems not to have been noted that the expression "load every rift of your subject with ore," used by Keats in a letter to Shelley, may be put side by side with the line "And with rich metall loaded every rife" (*F. Q.* ii, 7, 28).

A considerable number of the words noted by Mr. Arnold and myself may be found in Shakspeare and in Milton; and their occurrence in the works of these poets, who were also favorites with Keats, renders it rather difficult to estimate the exact extent of his indebtedness to the *Faerie Queene*. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that Spenser, his first love among the poets, maintained the supreme place in his affections up to the close of his career.

Mr. Sidney Colvin, in his admirable *Life of Keats*, remarks that Keats's "professedly Spenserian lines resemble not so much Spenser as later writers who had written in his measure, and of these not the latest, Byron, but rather such milder minstrels as Shenstone, Thomson, and Beattie, or most of all perhaps the sentimental Irish poetess Mrs. Tighe," etc. This view is sustained by a reference to Mrs. Tighe, in Keats's poem *To Some Ladies*, and also by the following passage to be found in a letter written by Keats in 1818: "This however is true—Mrs. Tighe and Beattie once delighted me—now I see through them and can find nothing in them or weakness," etc.⁴

Mrs. Tighe's *Psyche* is an allegorical poem of some length, consisting of six cantos written in the Spenserian stanza, and may be described, in its general tone, as a fairly close imitation of the *Faerie Queene*, although the authoress has avoided, as she states in her preface, the obsolete words which are so characteristic of Spenser. The similarity in style between the two poems is, indeed, marked; so much so, that it would be difficult to point out any features in Mrs. Tighe's poem which, reappearing in Keats's *Imitation of Spenser*, are not to be found also in the *Faerie Queene*. A rather notable exception is the expression 'coerulean sky,' which Keats certainly borrowed from Mrs. Tighe's 'cerulean skies' (*Psyche*, Canto vi,

p. 185). Apart from the use of the word *teen*, there is, however, in Keats's poem more than one point of similarity with the Spenserian manner. Take, for instance, the usage of the ending *-es*, in *scales*, to complete a metrical foot—

Whose silken fins, and golden scales' light—
and compare the numerous examples⁵ with which Spenser's poems abound.

I have been unable to discover, after a careful search, a single instance of this usage of the ending *-es* in Mrs. Tighe's *Psyche*.

Again, Keats's line—

I could e'en Dido of her grief beguile—
has a parallel in the *Faerie Queene*, i, 5, 17—

Him to beguile of grief and agony—
and also in Spenser's 86th Sonnet—

And faine my grieffe with chaunges to beguile.
So, too, the lines—

For sure so fair a place was never seen,
Of all that ever charm'd romantic eye—
are good examples of the Spenserian manner.
Thus:—

Eftsoones they heard a most melodious sound,
Of all that mote delight a daintie eare
(*F. Q.* ii, 12, 70)—
or, *F. Q.* Intro. vi, 1—

And sprinkled with such sweet variety
Of all that pleasant is to eare or eye—
or once more, *F. Q.* iii, 6, 29—

So faire a place as Nature can devise.

It would not be easy to determine how far Keats was influenced, in his art of versification, by his study of the *Faerie Queene*. He uses the Spenserian stanza in his first poem, the *Imitation of Spenser*, in some verses on Charles Armitage Brown, in a *Stanza Written at the Close of Canto II, Book V of the Faerie Queene*, in the *Cap and Bells*, and in the *Eve of St. Agnes*. In this last poem the prolonged, flowing melody of Spenser's measure has been caught with consummate skill; but this is something that can far more easily be felt than expressed in words. If, however, there be one feature of Spenser's verse that may be con-

⁴ *Letters*, p. 249.

⁵ See the *Faerie Queene*, i, 5, 17; i, 10, 34; ii, 7, 8; ii, 7, 32; ii, 7, 38; ii, 7, 48; ii, 12, 3; iii, 15, etc., etc.

sidered as not having been without influence on the sensitive ear of Keats, it is the general tendency to expand words to the fullest extent, a tendency that finds, perhaps, its most striking example in the usage of the preterit or participial ending in *-ed* to complete the metre of a line. Mr. Swinburne, an excellent judge in such matters, has somewhere said that none but the critics have condemned this usage, and Keats evidently did not regard it as a defect, for it appears not only in his earlier poems, but also in some of his more finished productions. Thus, he has the rimes *unworried: head* (*End. I, 75*), *sped: garlanded* (*End. I, 110*), *bewildered: bed* (*End. II, 93*), *visited: ocean-bed* (*End. III, 391*), *ripened: led* (*End. III, 707*), *crescented: bed* (*End. IV, 438*), *tread: passioned* (*Lamia I, 182*), *said: vanished* (*Lamia II, 307*), *anguished: wed* (*Isabella, st. VII*), *casketed: spread* (*Isabella, st. LIV*), *shed: unwearied* (*Ode on a Grecian Urn*), *published: dead* (*Cap and Bells, st. x*). It is true that this usage of the ending *-ed* may be met with here and there throughout the range of modern English poetry. What forms with others the exception, however, is one of the characteristic features of Spenser's verse—I have counted ninety-five examples in the *Faerie Queene*—and occurs, as has been seen, not infrequently in Keats. Nevertheless, the system of measuring metre by the simple process of counting on finger and thumb the number of syllables in a given verse is liable to produce results so wild and fanciful that little significance can be attached to such a test. About all that can be said is, that Keats may have caught this mannerism from Spenser; it is impossible to prove that he did so.

The awakening of Keats's love for chivalry may be ascribed to the influence of the *Faerie Queene*. Chivalry, that feature of romanticism which finds its most perfect expression in the works of Scott, constitutes the frame on which several of Keats's poems are built. The *Induction to a Poem, Calidore*, the *Epistle to George Keats, On Receiving a Shell*, etc.,—these and other poems, especially in the volume of 1817, may be cited as striking examples of the youthful poet's effort to depict scenes from the days of chivalry. While it is not to be denied that other writers may have contributed to the development of the romantic spirit in Keats, the individual, as well as of the romantic move-

ment of the age, yet it is also clear that no influence was so powerful in fostering the romantic element in Keats's work as that of Spenser.

Such is a brief outline of a subject that might easily be pursued further. It is evident that the rich, bizarre effect of Keats's vocabulary is largely due to the exquisite taste with which he borrowed from the earlier English poets, but chiefly from Spenser, the word or phrase most appropriate to the situation. Then, too, Spenserian influence may, perhaps, be seen in his method of handling metre, and of course in his frequent usage of the Spenserian stanza, while a number of poems owe their very existence to the inspiration derived from the *Faerie Queene*. "There is something almost uncanny—like the visits of a spirit—about the recurrent appearances of Spenser in English literary history. It must be confessed that nowadays we do not greatly romp through 'The Faëry Queene.' There even runs a story that a certain professor of literature in an American college, being consulted about Spenser by one of his scholars, exclaimed impatiently, 'Oh, damn Spenser!' But it is worth while to have him in the the literature, if only as a starter for young poets."⁶

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Pamela ABROAD.

Pamela is a moral novel which is sometimes very indecent; a sentimental story of a somewhat revolutionary character; and a badly told tale that holds our interest, spell-bound the eighteenth century, and was translated into at least seven languages. A young servant girl of talents and beauty inspires a passion in the breast of Mr. B., her master, resists his attempts on her honor, and finally leads him into marrying her. That is the plot in a sentence, and in it we see an old and much loved character, *la belle âme*, Spenser's Una, Milton's Lady, come again into favor with the revolt against seventeenth century rakishness, and here embodied in new form. But there is a startling variant to the conventional story of trium-

⁶ Beers, *English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 120.

phant virtue. Here virtue is a serving maid, and she marries her master; excellent morality perhaps, but very doubtful policy. In the past, except in the case of King Cophetua and the beggar maid, and such apocryphal tales, virtue had been made to be born gently if she were to be so rewarded. Finally here, as Professor Cross says, was a literary form which presented "life as it was, united with an ideal of life as it should be," the story of *la belle âme* told realistically; and this, if it was not the element which attracted the dramatists, was at least that which makes *Pamela* the first of the novels in point of time. So much for the original story, which aims, as the editor of the sixth edition quaintly says, "To paint Vice in its proper colours, to make it deservedly odious; and to set Virtue in its own amiable light, to make it look lovely."

The moral aspect of the story interested the English readers; this and the revolutionary suggestion the Continental. It was not very long before Pamela found her way abroad. The great dramatic age had passed in France as in England. In comedy Molière shunned the serious; he touched all sides of life, but never forgot to smile; he was moral without moralizing. The smaller men who followed found his range too wide and his attempt too high. Their work lost dignity, and comedy passed into the hands of those who would take some of her duties from the church and teach morality instead of wittily causing it. These moral writers, by stress of circumstances, fell into the use of the pathetic to enforce their ends. Destouches and Piron use it, though not designedly. After them La Chaussée, incapable of true tragedy or true comedy, saw that with an intermediate *genre* he could gratify a new taste, and in a measure supply that which the decadent tragedy no longer gave. While the elements have long existed, he is the inventor of the *comédie larmoyante*, which makes for realism; moves people to tears that are quite as satisfactory as smiles; is highly moral, and in keeping with the philosophical tendency of the age. The Pamela story tells itself well in such an atmosphere. Its morality is that of the new school, its sentimentality is easily made *larmoyante*. Moreover, Antoine François, Prévost d'Exilles had made in 1741 an excellent French translation, which was scarcely

less popular in France than the original in England. The new schools were not backward. They speedily availed themselves of this English material, and we may now take up Pamela as the central figure of a comedy of tears.

In 1733 La Chaussée set the new fashion in its career with "*La Fausse Antipathie*." His comedies followed thereafter in about two year intervals, to the great purging of Parisian tears. They were successful enough to inspire imitators, among whom seems to have been Boissy, a minor dramatist of the time. In May of 1743 he produced at the "Italiens," home of new ventures¹ and new ideas, his "*Pamela en France, ou la Vertu mieux éprouvée*." It was hissed, but its failure did not daunt La Chaussée, for in December of the same year he presented his *Pamela* to the more fastidious audience of the Comédie-Française. La Chaussée, said Voltaire, had made five acts without a single scene. Pamela lost her charm when she stepped upon his stage, for the borrower had taken one quality of Richardson's which had been better left alone, his incurable prolixity. "Billets rouges" were passed among the loyal *claqueurs*, instructions were given that "Que cela est beau!" might be called at the proper places, but to no avail. There was uproar in the theatre. Some wit, when the slowness became unendurable, cried, "Vous prendrez mon carrosse, afin d'aller plus vite," and La Chaussée retired his piece. So far the Pamela story was more adapted than adaptable. It had scored two failures, and now fell into the hands of the mockers, for the Italians satirized their own failure with that of the Comédie-Française in "*La Déroute de Pamela*," a burlesque by Dancourt. Yet it is interesting to note that two French dramatists in one year took up the theme of an Englishman. Perhaps it is significant of the growing part in literary France which England was to play; certainly it indicates a family likeness in the sentimental morality of the most popular English novel and the tearful pathos which the Parisian theatre-goer enjoyed.

Voltaire succeeded in professing an active dislike for the *comédie larmoyante*, and acknowledging that he had been won over to its principles all in the same preface. This remarkable achieve-

¹ Cf. Bernardin: *La Comédie des Italiens*.

ment may be seen in any edition of *Nanine*, where the reader will find him first damning the new school, then pleading for a middle ground between comedy and tragedy. Tears followed by laughter are natural to the human race, therefore the comedy of tenderness and tears is legitimate so long as it never forgets that it must ultimately provoke laughter. "*Nanine*" is, professedly, such a comedy. The idea and much of the plot are Richardson's, the working out is in some respects Voltaire's, as is the credit for the whole performance so far as any acknowledgment of debt is concerned. Mr. B. becomes Le Conte D'Olban, gaining a much milder disposition with the title. The bad qualities of Lady Davers are transferred to La Baronne de L'Orme, to whom the Count is half-bound by a pre-contract of marriage. Pamela, less strenuously virtuous, is Nanine; Andrews is Phillipe Hombert, an old soldier. The Count wishes to marry Nanine almost from the first. The baroness is plotting to avert the match. A convent, a threatened marriage with the gardener, finally a fearful jealousy when all is going well, whereby a letter to Hombert, father of Nanine, is supposed to be to a rival, all delay the *dénouement*, which, of course, is a marriage with the count. So ends this "bagatelle" as Voltaire called it; bourgeois Richardson dressed in gentleness's clothes.

La Chaussée's *Pamela* was designed to draw an almost constant patter of tears from the audience. Voltaire never forgets that he is a wit; yet the *larmoyante* quality is not lacking in this little piece. Nanine, amid laments, leaves the house of her jealous master in a scene which is quite charmingly pathetic. But the doldrums of the count when Nanine will not yield are not so affecting and by no means so absurd as the rapid pining away of La Chaussée's unfortunate Milord B. Both plays are highly moral; indeed the gentleman just mentioned ends the comedy by declaring how delighted he is to serve himself by recompensing virtue. But it is the attitude towards the revolutionary nature of the plot that is perhaps of the greatest interest, for nothing will better indicate the state of the public mind on such questions than the opinions which their plaudit-seeking dramatists allow themselves. La Chaussée was fortunate. He was regarded merely as the adapter of a well-

known English story, which, being English, might very naturally contain something heretical according to Continental ideas. Yet even he softens situations as much as possible. In the first place the dangerous opening chapters, where Pamela is too obviously the menial, find no place in his drama. Pamela comes of humble stock, her parents are poor, but she neither acts nor speaks like a servant, and Madame Andrews, who attempts to save her daughter's honor, is by no means a peasant. At the end Pamela consents to sully the honor of Milord by marrying him, and Miledi Davers is willing to lower hers by permitting it, only as a heroic life-saving expedient. Milord, in one short scene, has passed from reasonable health into a terrible decline, and now is coming perhaps to his last moment, all because he cannot have this girl. Surely the staunchest of conservatives would have let him have his will under such circumstances, especially when five minutes of happiness will restore him to complete strength again. And thus La Chaussée tacitly acknowledges the social difficulties of his subject, without feeling himself much hampered thereby.

Matters were different with Voltaire. In the first place he said nothing whatsoever about Richardson's connection with his affair, and therefore took all the responsibility upon himself. Then, too, his story was somewhat different, and in 1749, when *Nanine* appeared, it had been eight years since the first vogue of *Pamela*, long enough to dim the impression of the English story in most minds. It may be that Voltaire, more keenly alive to all questions of philosophy, saw further into the implications of that course of action which Richardson allowed his characters. At all events he makes it sufficiently evident that he considers Richardson somewhat revolutionary. His temperings, and softenings, and sugarings, only confirm the impression made by the significant couplet at the end. Be happy and all the rest, says the old Marquise D'Olban at the final betrothal, but let this not be made a precedent. Phillipe Hombert the father of Nanine is no peasant; that would never do. He is a peasant in appearance for dramatic effect, but in reality a soldier whose ungrateful state has failed to reward his noble service in the wars. Goldoni, as will be seen, makes this father noble, La Chaussée is ambiguous, Voltaire

chooses a middle course, and thus somewhat exalts the first state of his Pamela to soothe conservative feelings. Indeed Nanine is treated rather as a companion to the old lady than as a servant. In an illustration to one old edition she appears in finery not less gorgeous than the elaborate costume of the Baroness. Her apparel is even made a reproach to her in the play. Then, in Act 1, scene 7, the count speaks. Tell me frankly, he says, what effect has this English book had upon you? The author of this English book pretends, as Nanine has said in an earlier passage, that all men are born brothers, all born equal. Nanine replies,

"Il ne m'a point du tout persuadée;
Plus que jamais, monsieur, j'ai dans l'idée
Qu'il est des cœurs si grand, si généreux,
Que tout le reste est bien vil auprès d'eux."

This seems to be a clever method of begging the question. *Nanine* is interesting apart from the light it throws upon the relation of Richardson's work to the eighteenth century. It is quite the best play made from the Pamela material. Tears trickle very easily; letters are misunderstood as they never would be anywhere except on the stage, but it goes. It did not have to borrow a "carrosse" to make it travel faster.

It is not improbable that the original English edition of Pamela was known in Italy, for the Italians of the early eighteenth century were great admirers of things English. Carlo Goldoni was always looking for new material for his unending string of comedies. Through his compatriots of the Italians he was possibly familiar with the work of Boissy and La Chaussée, but it was unquestionably *Nanine*, and its source in Prévost, that stood sponsors for his comedy of *Pamela Fanciulla*, sometimes called *Pamela Nubile*. Indeed he speaks of "the romance of Pamela the delight of the Italians"² and tells how he was urged by his friends to base a comedy upon it. In the spring of 1750 this interesting comedy was put upon the stage at Mantua, introducing "la bella inglese Pamela" to the Italian theatre-goer.

In the collected editions of this play is a preface as amusing as it is significant of the character of the story regarded from an Italian standpoint. Beneath the heading, "The author to

the reader," Goldoni very frankly confesses his debt, saying that he who knows the original may see in what degree his own invention has had play. But the original is not altogether to be admired. Richardson must be severely censured for lack of proper decorum. Virtue itself is pleasing enough, but even virtue, when of mean degree, must not be allowed to stain by marriage the blood of a Cavaliere. "O the English author, according to me," says Goldoni plaintively, "ought not to dispute such an article, or he ought to settle it with more decorum for his nation." Now virtue and morality were beginning to be so fashionable in Italy, as well as in more northern countries, that Goldoni feels that perhaps he has gone too far. And he would hesitate before disagreeing with the English. According to the principles of nature, he says, virtue may be preferable to nobility and riches, but, he continues naïvely, on the stage he must show that most commonly approved, he must be pardoned for exhibiting the custom most praised. He could have changed his argument, or his scene, as Voltaire in *Nanine*, but no, he is too much pleased with the beautiful English characters. "It is my delight," writes this flatterer, "to penetrate as far as I am able into the maxims and the customs of this illustrious nation." And the defence of the moral comedy with which he ends this frank foreword might have been written by Steele himself. His denial that his play is not true comedy is borrowed from Voltaire.

Goldoni's problem was not easy. He had not only to reduce an action of great range to the narrow limits of a play, but also to supply an ending which would be cheerful without offending Italian decorum. As the preface indicates, he set about it manfully. Mr. B. becomes Milord Bonfil, gains morality and loses strength. Richardson's Mr. B. was plainly too brutal for the Frenchmen and the Italian, but the more generous characters which they present are worthy of no greater respect. Bonfil, soon made to repent of his wicked designs by a page and a quarter of truly Pamelian argument, falls into a pitiable vacillation between will and will not, between marriage and parting, sufficient, indeed, to carry on the plot for nearly all of three acts. Pamela is our occasionally sweet, more usually priggish, Pamela still, but Italian-

² *Memoirs*, p. 167.

ated, inasmuch as her love for her master is there from the start. Miledi Davre is easily recognized, though Italianate, too, for instead of boxing Pamela's ears at the proper place she threatens to kill her. Milord Artur is the mouthpiece of decorum throughout the play. Il Cavaliere Ernold is Lord Jackey, given a broader sphere. In Goldoni he has traveled, and that is his humor. The plot progresses along the general lines of the English story until the complication is well developed. Bonfil is madly in love with Pamela, yet is deterred from marriage by Artur's reproaches, and by his own sense of decorum. He tries the effect of an absence treatment, only to be overcome by an "orribile svenimento," which brings him home again to the source of his physical well-being. Things look very bad, either for Italian decorum or Italian tear ducts, when the ingenious author comes to the rescue. Andreuve, the father of Pamela, steps upon the stage. He is the peasant of Richardson in appearance and in manners, but wait and see. At the proper moment, when all seems lost for unhappy Pamela and despairing Bonfil, this venerable *deux ex machina* confesses that, rough as he may be externally, his blood is of the proper composition for the purging of Italian punctilio. Indeed he is no other than Count Auspingh, a Scotch rebel, it seems, who, flying to the mountains some thirty years back, had settled humbly incognito in England when the persecution ended. He throws himself upon the mercy of the delighted Bonfil, who promises to gain a pardon, and then marries Pamela, after making her weep a bit by telling her that he is engaged to the Countess Auspingh. So the play ends with "Virtue gloriously triumphant."

That Goldoni must have had a first hand acquaintance with Richardson's *Pamela*, either in French or in English, is made very evident by a perusal of the play; that he knew *Nanine* seems to be as certain, not only on account of the reference in the preface, but for internal reasons as well. The characters have a close family resemblance. The struggle between decorum and inclination is identical in the two comedies. Goldoni's advice for solving the marriage problem is but an amplification of Voltaire's to fit a more difficult case; for the Italian took the harder part in choosing to keep true to Richardson, and yet accord with

native tastes. And there are other close resemblances. The Italian play is witty, occasionally excellent, but in structure defective. It is not so good a play as *Nanine*. That Goldoni thought his tale was so radical as to need handling with gloves almost every scene shows. That he thought it material for a *comédie larmoyante* may be judged by the prevalence of tears throughout, and still better by comparison with his new Pamela play which followed.

For Goldoni was not done with "la bella inglese Pamela." At Carnival time in Rome, in the year 1760, he presented *Pamela Maritata* at the Teatro Capranica. If Goldoni read the second part of Pamela he found no more satisfaction in it than the reader of to-day. I am inclined to think that he did not. At all events the action in this second piece is built upon circumstances which Goldoni himself introduced into the story, and the one new character, "Monsieur Majer, Ministro della Segreteria di Stato," is quite obviously of Italian origin. What little action there is in Richardson's continued story arises from the affection for Mr. B. engendered in the breast of the nun at the masquerade, and the subsequent intrigue. The Italian plot, too, is founded upon jealousy, but, in keeping with national traits, the jealousy of a husband who unjustly suspects his wife. There is no other resemblance between the two.

This very amusing little play has very little to do with the history of the Pamela story. As a comedy it is much nearer to the conventional Goldoni type than *Pamela Fanciulla*. This one is a moral comedy only in so far as morality triumphs at the end; and *larmoyante* only inasmuch as innocence is most of the time in distress. It is only slightly moralizing, perhaps because of the welcome escape from Richardson, and it was probably on account of the absence of a social problem that the author constructed a better play for Pamela than in his first attempt.

Pietro Chiari, better known as l'abbate Chiari, was a comedy writer of the gay days of Venice, Goldoni's bitter rival, and the beaten dog in a merry war that raged between the two for many years. L'abbate Chiari had a system of retaliation in this contest which very much resembled the old trick of capping verses. Goldoni wrote his *Moliere*

and gained applause; Chiari promptly took up the story where he had left it, with his *Molière marito geloso* as a result. He gave him *Filosofo veneziano* for his *Filosofo inglese*, and, by a correspondent alchemy, *Pamela maritata* for the *Pamela nubile*, of which I have been speaking. The text of this play of Chiari seems not to be had here; the plot, as it is given in *Un rivale del Goldoni* of Gianfrancesco Sommi Picenardi, makes one thing very clear; it is to jealousy of Goldoni, not love of Richardson, that we must give credit for another Pamela play. The material is simply that which had been used before worked up in new form, with a leaven of novel incident which does not come from Richardson. Indeed I am inclined to think, from a certain slight similarity in the plot of the two, that Goldoni's second Pamela comedy, *Pamela maritata*, drew much more inspiration from this play of the same name than from the second part of the English *Pamela*. Chiari translated *Tom Jones* and was therefore in all probability familiar with Prévost's Richardson. He does not seem to have made much use of his knowledge, unless indeed we may believe Picenardi, who says that his characters are more faithful to their originals in Richardson. For this merit he particularly commends Chiari's Bonfil, a truly English character, who, in the chief scene of the play, requests Pamela to confess her guilt or watch him cut the throat of their only child. He is rude and impetuous, says Picenardi, precisely as in the English romance.

The *Pamela Fanciulla* of Goldoni was translated into English in 1756, and thus came back to her own, where, indeed, a Pamela play by James Dance preceded. The Italian play was also translated into French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and modern Greek, a range of European interest which seems to point as much to the nature of the story as to the popularity of Goldoni, for *Pamela maritata*, while often translated, went by no means so far. Both plays found their way into opera. Italian authorities speak of the influence of the Pamela story upon succeeding dramatists of the "commedia lagrimosa" school, especially Giovanni Greppi. De Camerra, too, the Italian La Chaussée, must have drawn inspiration here as well as from *Clarissa Harlowe*, where he found the material for four

plays. These were men of the moral-sentimental movement, and in that change of taste Pamela seems to have been as much of a factor here as in France.

The French, probably, were quite familiar with Richardson in Revolutionary times, therefore another version of equality-breathing Pamela is not surprising. That it should have been put upon the stage in the midst of the Reign of Terror is excellent evidence of the attitude of its century towards the story. The author, François de Neufchâteau, had a checkered career. Befriended by Voltaire at an early age, he experimented largely in the field of letters, his endeavors reaching all the way from the theatre to a translation of *Orlando Furioso*, upon which he spent years of labor, only to lose the manuscript in the wreck of his vessel, homeward bound from the West Indies. It will be seen from the last item of information that Italian was a familiar tongue for him. In 1791 he read at the Lyceum a comedy entitled "*Pamela, empruntée au célèbre roman de Richardson.*"

By the summer of 1793 the Girondists had been downed, conservatism was suppressed, and the Committee of Public Safety was ruling with a despotism of terror. The coalition threatened from without. Violence held sway within. France was nearly ready for a reaction from her debauch of blood, and this the men at the helm knew and feared. It was at such an electric time, on the first of August 1793, that *Pamela* was produced at the Comédie-Française. It ran eight nights with great applause. Then came a warning from the Committee of Public Safety. *Pamela* was reactionary; that she should prove to be the daughter of a count did not please the Revolutionists. The play was interdicted on the 24th of August, withdrawn, Pamela made a commoner throughout the play, and replaced on the 2d of September. Its new career was a short one. On this night at the repetition of the lines,

"Ah! les persécuteurs sont les seuls condamnables,
Et les plus tolérants sont les plus raisonnables!"

a patriot cried, "Point de tolérance politique! c'est un crime!" Confusion followed and the man was ejected. This was too much; by order of the National Convention, through the instigation of Barrère, the actors and the author were thrown

into prison, and the Comédie-Française, for the first time in its history, was closed.

Professor Masi, in his *Storia del teatro italiano*, would have it that the objection lay in the nobility of Pamela, which, rather than her virtue, was rewarded. This is only a half-truth, for in the revision Pamela's nobility was carefully disposed of. Barrère, in his report to the committee, praised the ending of *Nanine*, in which the count marries the low born girl; she is scarcely a servant there. Undoubtedly this conclusion would better accord with the taste of the French radicals than would the climax in Neufchâteau, for Voltaire makes her father an unrewarded soldier, while Neufchâteau raises him to the rank of captain. But he was much too wise to ennoble his Pamela, as Signor Masi might have discovered. Indeed the old Captain Auspigh is careful to say that he is not of noble blood.

This last name hints at a fact which the editions of the play would never betray, although one biographer comes near to it. Neufchâteau's *Pamela* is as direct a translation from Goldoni's *Pamela Fanciulla* as the nature of the times and theme would permit. The author, in an open letter when his piece was suppressed, says that the debasing of Pamela has destroyed another comedy which he was going to imitate from Goldoni's *Pamela maritata*. But this is not an imitation; it is a direct translation, cut somewhat, patched with a few sentiments to please Republican ears, and ended by a device which is a compromise between Goldoni and Voltaire. Auspigh, instead of solving all difficulties by declaring his nobility, proves merely to be an old captain who has saved the life of Bonfil's father, and that is the extent of the novelty in the plot, novelty introduced, it will be noticed, only at the necessary revision of the piece.

Careful translation is continued almost throughout the piece, with occasional omissions, and now and then an insertion for a purpose. For instance, Act 1, scene 6 in the Italian closes with a vehement denunciation and reproach by Pamela, after which Bonfil paces up and down, moved, but saying nothing. In the French arrangement the author has added a soliloquy of a line or two:

"Faut il qu'entre
Elle et moi l'orgueil de ma naissance
Elève un préjugé dont la raison s'offense?"

Which is very plainly a sop to the Republicans. Indeed there is little change and no real invention until the last act, in the scene where Joseph Andrews (evidently a reminiscence of Fielding) is made to confess that he is really a captain Auspigh. Here the rebellion of the old man is specialized and shown to have been the attempt of the Pretender against William, whereby religion and not hatred of a king becomes the root of Auspigh's disaffection. In 1793 it would never do to have the old man confess sorrow for a mere revolt against a king. A few such baitings for the crowd constitute Neufchâteau's sole claim to the play, unless, by a process similar to the transference of honor to Pope from Donne, he gains Goldoni's laurels because he versified his play.

Thus the *Pamela* of Neufchâteau is the *Pamela fanciulla* of Goldoni, translated, cut slightly, with an ending somewhat altered, and certain lines of political bearing added without effect upon the structure of the play, but with a purpose so transparent that when Neufchâteau wrote "Le règne des bourreaux est passé, Dieu merci" the Committee of Public Safety who, like most defeated candidates, were not willing to admit the evidence of the returns, could understand and punish the audacity of the author. Neufchâteau and the actors were not long in prison,³ and on the 6th of Thermidor of the Year Three (July 25, 1794) *Pamela* was presented again.

This, so far as I have been able to discover, was the last appearance of Pamela upon the stage in a new rendering. Her influence and the heroines who trace back to her as a literary ancestress must be left out of this reckoning, but it was great and they were numerous. Her character and her story must be regarded as a product and as an impetus in the half moral, half sentimental wave which swept over Europe in the eighteenth century, making for morality in England, and in Italy and in France coloring with human interest the formal productions of the decadent classic school, and bringing new life to the comedy. In no one of these countries did this alteration result in a great dramatic form. The English comedies were dull, the French usually sentimental and weak, the Italian eventually did much to destroy the effect of Goldoni's work, which, in the main,

³ See A. Pougin, *La Comédie-Française et la Révolution*.

encouraged a clever, though superficial comedy. But in this widespread fashion may be found some of the roots of Romanticism, and therefore of the modern comedy, which owes so much to its Romantic source. Pamela is no longer Revolutionary, nor surprisingly moral, but there are many comedies to-day which approximate the effect of her story, more, perhaps, than some lovers of true wit desire.

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FRENCH DICTIONARIES.

Cassell's New French Dictionary. Pp. 596-616.

7 x 4 inches. D. Appleton & Company, 1903.

James & Molé's New French Dictionary. Pp. 663-

564. 7 x 4 inches. Macmillan, 1903.

The dictionary maker seems to be abroad. Edgren's excellent book was published only a few years ago and the two mentioned above have just appeared in revised form, while still others are announced as in preparation. This activity deserves commendation, although it is a misfortune that some one—especially an American—does not undertake the revision of some of these books and make a dictionary that is really up to date; ranking in this respect with the school edition of Sachs-Villatte, for example. We insist on this point that it should be an American scholar and teacher, because both of the above books were made in England and what may be a good definition in England is not necessarily a good definition with us. For example, both of these books define "souquenille," *smock-frock*. Now an English child may know very well what a smock-frock is, but certainly to most of our students this definition is meaningless.

Again, Cassell defines the railroad term "aiguille," *point*, which is intelligible to an Englishman but we should say *switch*. It is only fair to say that in James & Molé, as well as in Edgren, the word is adequately defined.

The Cassell dictionary follows the plan of pronouncing exceptional words only, while in James & Molé all words are pronounced, thus taking up much space that might more profitably have been devoted to other matters. Even such elementary

words as *il* and *elle* are respelt for pronunciation; concerning which it may be said that students who need help in such cases have no rights that dictionary makers are bound to respect.

Cassell's dictionary has the serious defect of defining things that need no definition and, on the other hand, of giving definitions that do not define. Of the first defect examples may be found under almost any word that has several significations. Take for example, "bras." Why define the phrase "être blessé au bras" as *wounded in the arm*? Could it possibly mean anything else? Also: "il a le bras en écharpe," "recevoir quelqu'un à bras ouverts," or "un bras de mer." The same defect is found in James & Molé but to a less degree, the definitions there being generally briefer. If economy of space was a consideration, a large proportion of the compounds under *sous* as well as elsewhere might have been omitted. It is doubtful whether any one will ever look under *sous* for such words as *sous-bibliothécaire* and *sous-précepteur*. Of definitions that do not define *pan coupé* may serve as an example, "et crimine ab uno disce omnes." This is defined by Cassell as "cant," which is precisely as good as no definition at all. It may be added that this phrase is entirely lacking in James & Molé. By omitting useless matter of the kind mentioned above much space might have been saved for the introduction of many new words and definitions that would have been useful. While it could not be expected that dictionaries should keep up with the vocabulary of Pierre Loti or Zola there surely is no good reason why a dictionary which pretends to be "up to date in all respects" (the prospectus of Cassell has precisely these words) should not record all the words found in the principal works of such standard writers as Balzac, Daudet, Flaubert, and Hugo. "Tressauter" occurs in *Le Petit Chose* and "hébètement" in *Les Misérables*, but these words are lacking in both of the above-mentioned dictionaries, as well as in Edgren. One would also look in vain in any of these dictionaries for an explanation of the common phrase "pas gymnastique." "Ascenseur" is found in Cassell but not in James & Molé, although if one should want to know what to call the mechanism that replaces the stairs in most modern large buildings he would look in vain under "elevator" in all the diction-

aries mentioned. One would think, too, that the editors of all these books had remained unmoved by the music (?) of the "sirène" found on all ocean steamers since they all neglected to note this common signification.

It is the English-French part of all these dictionaries that especially needs the attention of a man of common sense. This part is so frequently ridiculous that it is needless to quote many examples. A somewhat careful comparison leads to the conclusion that this part of Edgren's book was copied almost "en bloc" from Cassell with scarcely any attempt at revision. Cassell has the noun "blow-out," *bombance*, but does not have "baking powder." Edgren has omitted the former word but has failed to note the latter. Both books have the useless verb "to barn" and both omit "barn-stormer," which is certainly a better word than "blow-out." One looks in vain in any of these books for "arc-light" or "trolley," in its most common acceptance.

The revision of Cassell seems to have been directed to the addition of new definitions rather than of new words. A count of the words from "bras" to the end of the letter B shows that only seven new words have been added and four old ones omitted as being obsolete. Comparing this space with the same space in James & Molé it will be found that the latter has about sixty words that are not found in the former, so that the latter greatly excels in the fullness of its vocabulary while the former excels in the fullness of its definitions. The mechanical make-up of James & Molé also deserves notice for its superiority.

The treatment of proper names is another matter in which these dictionaries, as well as most others, are singularly defective. Here Edgren has introduced the sensible method of listing all proper names in alphabetical order in the body of the book instead of relegating them to an appendix. If the pupil should meet with such an expression as "cheval breton" he would naturally look in the body of his dictionary for the word "breton" and not finding it there would naturally conclude that it was missing altogether. Cassell has "breton" in the body of the work and "Bretagne" in the appendix. In James & Molé both words are in the appendix while "Breton" is found in

neither book. On this point, too, dictionary makers are recommended to study the school edition of Sachs-Villatte.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

The Exemplary Novels of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, translated by N. MACCOLL. (In *The Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, edited by JAS. FITZMAURICE-KELLY.) Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1902.

The first English translation of the *Novelas exemplares* of Cervantes was made by James Mabbe in 1640, who published it under the Spanish rendering of his own name—Don Diego Puede-Ser. It contained only six of the original twelve tales, omitting *La Gitanilla*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *El Licenciado Vidriera*, *La ilustre Fregona*, *El Casamiento engañoso* and *El Coloquio de los Perros*. Other incomplete translations appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is safe to say that the modern reader who has not gone to the Spanish original, owes his acquaintance with these tales to the translation made by Walter Kelly in 1846, which was reissued in 1881 and 1894 in Bohn's Library. This translation is not a very brilliant one, its chief faults being its not infrequent mistranslations and its many omissions, without the slightest indication that anything in the original text has been passed over. Still we should be thankful for what this translator has done. As Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says in the Introduction to the present translation: "But for him, hundreds and perhaps thousands of readers must have lived and died without even a superficial knowledge of the *Novelas exemplares*, and, in so much, he deserves gratitude." (p. xliii). But Walter Kelly's version is certainly wholly inadequate to the needs of the reader of to-day, and accordingly this new translation has been prepared by Mr. Norman MacColl, the well-known Spanish scholar and editor of Calderon. He has taken, as the basis of his work, the *editio princeps* of 1613,—obviously the only sound proceeding. The great disadvantage under which a translator of

the *Novelas ejemplares* labors, as compared with a translator of *Don Quixote*, is that, almost incredible as it may seem, there exists no annotated edition of the *Novelas*. An examination of Mr. MacColl's translation shows at once its immense superiority, not only in the vastly more accurate knowledge of the Castilian idiom, but also in point of style, a matter in which Kelly's translation fell lamentably short of rendering the brilliant and vivacious manner of Cervantes. This new translation of the *Novelas ejemplares* will take its place beside Mr. Ormsby's version of *Don Quixote*, as the best English renderings of these works that have yet been made, and which, in our opinion, are not likely to be improved upon by subsequent translators.

But in addition to the excellence of the translation, this edition of the *Exemplary Novels* has another and singular merit to recommend it,—it contains an Introduction of no less than forty-five very closely printed pages by the distinguished editor of *Don Quixote* and historian of Spanish Literature, Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Every point that has arisen concerning the *Novelas*,—their origin, their probable chronological order and many other questions are here handled with the accuracy and fulness of knowledge habitual with this scholar.

The *Novelas* were first issued in 1613. "It seems safe to assume," Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says, "that the volume was in general circulation towards the end of September, 1613, and that the mysterious Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda was among the first to read it." Six editions of the *Novels* were issued during the remaining three years of the author's life, and no sooner was the work issued than, like *Don Quixote*, it began to be pirated beyond the borders of Castile. But these piracies Cervantes was powerless to prevent, for, as in the case of *Don Quixote*, so in his *Novelas* he had completely parted with his interest in them, having on September 9, 1613, sold his right for the sum of 1600 reales (£35. 11s. 1d. English), and twenty-four copies of the printed book, to Francisco de Robles, who had also been the original publisher of *Don Quixote* eight years before.

The *Novelas Ejemplares* as originally written and published by Cervantes, contained twelve tales, and not thirteen, as often asserted, the

thirteenth, *La Tia fingida*—that much debated novel which has been ascribed to Cervantes—was not published till late in the succeeding century. This latter novel, *La Tia fingida*, a manuscript copy of which first turned up in the Library of San Isidro, in Madrid, in 1788, Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly discusses at great length, basing his remarks, in great measure, upon M. Foulché-Delbosc's remarkable *Étude sur la Tia fingida*, in the *Revue Hispanique* (Paris, 1899), Vol. iv. The whole history of the novel is given here and all the arguments that have been advanced in support of the claims for its authenticity. "Even among those who are called experts, an overwhelming majority is no doubt in favor of ascribing *La Tia fingida* to Cervantes," Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says (p. xvii), and again: "Yet it must be confessed that there is no external evidence to connect Cervantes with *La Tia fingida*, and no conclusion can be drawn from the internal evidence, though the partizans of both views claim a verdict on the strength of it" (p. xix), and he concludes: "It is possible, though it is not likely to be proved, that Cervantes was the author of *La Tia fingida*, and it is certainly very difficult even to suggest the name of any other contemporary who was capable of writing it" (*ibid.*). So after all this very careful sifting of the evidence for and against this novel, we have advanced no further on the road to certainty. It will not be without interest to note here the date of composition of the various *novelas* at which Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly has arrived after carefully considering all that has been said upon this point, especially as Watts, in his *Cervantes, his Life and Works*, London, 1895, has said that the majority of the *novelas* were written between 1595 and 1603. "We have no data enabling us to conjecture when *El Amante liberal*, *La Fuerza de la Sangre* and *Las dos Doncellas* were written. The first and third of these may have been written before *Don Quixote* was published, but this is simple guess-work. With regard to the remaining tales, the balance of probabilities leads the best critics to assign *Rinconete y Cortadillo* to 1603–1604; *El celoso Extremeño* to 1604–1605, *La Española Inglesa* and *El Casamiento engañoso* to 1605 or later; *La Gitanilla*, *El Licenciado Vidriera*, *La ilustre Fregona* and *La Señora Cornelia* to 1607 or later; and the *Coloquio*

de los Perros to 1606-1608. These, it is true, are mere approximations; but they are approximations based upon evidence which, such as it is, lends no support to the view that Cervantes wrote the majority of his *Novelas* between 1599 and 1603. At least eight of the twelve were composed later." Much else that is extremely interesting follows upon the innumerable imitators of Cervantes both in and out of Spain, and no student of the greatest Spaniard can afford to fail to read carefully this painstaking and very searching introductory essay by Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, by far the most comprehensive, the most logical, the best that has yet appeared upon the subject.

HUGO ALBERT RENNERT.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

L. E. Kastner and H. G. Atkins: A Short History of French Literature. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1901. xvi + 312 pp.

Some fifteen or twenty years ago a course in literature was written entirely from the critical point of view: Students were taught not so much what an author thought himself, as what they ought to think of him. This practice had gone so far that a reaction was bound to come, and the spirit of positivism which had already victoriously invaded almost every domain of human thought, made itself felt also in the treatment of literature. An era of facts, dry facts, without any effort to explain to the pupil their connection or their meaning, followed. For fear of conveying a wrong impression, all critical understanding was given up. As the pupil cannot be expected to reflect by himself, or else as he does it in a childish way, the remedy was about as bad as the evil it was intended to correct. From Charybdis we fell into Scylla.

By and bye an intermediate and more adequate treatment of the subject will no doubt prevail. Already a few signs could be pointed out of a tendency to give to literature its place in our universities and colleges, as distinct from philology on the one hand, and from historical researches in the field of literature on the other.

The "Short History of French Literature" by Messrs. Kastner and Atkins, of Cambridge, England, though betraying a slight move in the direction of progress, remains nevertheless an unmistakable illustration of how much we are still under the influence of the "heap of facts" system one need only consider how many names and works and dates occur, the effect of which, in a primer of French Literature, can only bewilder the student, or at any rate cannot contribute to his understanding of literature; therefore in our judgment they are useless, if they do not cause positive harm. Facts should be granted value according to their quality and not according to their quantity. It seems unnecessary to burden one's memory with such names as Philippe de Thaon, Richard de Fournival (p. 31), Maurice Scève (p. 49), Louise Labé (p. 50), even Nicole de la Chanaye and Jean de Pourtalès (p. 50), or Molinot, Meschinot and Cretin (p. 40), or still Jean de Beaubreuil, Daigaliers, Ogiers (p. 109). We know why the authors have adopted this plan. The Preface informs us that their aims were 1) to meet the "requirements of candidates for examinations," and 2) to offer "a reliable introduction to the study of French literature for all those who desire to become acquainted with the subject." Messrs. Kastner and Atkins follow, of course, the prevalent custom, and thus are not wholly responsible. But whether this custom is a good one is a different matter. It seems rather regrettable that the two purposes indicated should be considered separately: Knowledge for examination and knowledge for science, rote-knowledge and intelligent knowledge.

An attempt has been made to remedy this defect. A chapter entitled "General View" has been placed before each period. These pages are certainly valuable and establish some kind of connection between the different writers. But why separate the ideas from the facts as if they had nothing to do with each other? Is not the interest of literature, as well as its importance as an educational discipline, precisely in this connection of facts with ideas? How much better would it have been to state some important characteristic of a period and then proceed directly to the illustrations, thus impressing the thesis upon the student's mind. This does not at all mean that a

general introductory chapter for each new period is useless. On the contrary; but it is wrong to think that it is enough and that the remainder of the work need only be dry erudition to meet "examination requirements." The fundamental ideas of French Romanticism, for instance, are well set forth in the introduction, but it is to be feared that the student will have forgotten all about it by the time he reaches the authors concerned.

Moreover, the "general views" seem sometimes insufficient. The book being intended for beginners, they ought to be given some hints not only as to the chronological succession of literary standards, but as to the logic of the literary evolution: what is the relation between the eighteenth century and Romanticism at the opening of the nineteenth century? Why does Romanticism overthrow Classicism, and Realism Romanticism? Why does one form of art precede the other and not vice-versa? and so forth.

Again, a few words concerning the relations of literature with social and political events nearly always throw great light on literary subjects. How is a student to understand the seventeenth century and the almost total lack of individuality of many of its greatest writers, if you do not remind him of the autocratic system of government of Richelieu and Louis XIV, and point out how those rulers have crushed deliberately all attempts at originality in all domains of life. Historical factors explain, in the main, the whole literature of the time and not only isolated facts like the *Satire Ménippée* or the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*.

According to the same principle, some references to the religious organization of the Middle Ages would have explained why Calvin happened to lay so much stress on the doctrine of predestination by which he endeavored to take away from the Church the power of salvation in order to give all credit for it to God alone.

Another fact showing to what extent the authors allowed themselves to be guided by purely external considerations is the unhappy division of the centuries into Poetry, Drama, Prose. First of all, Drama does not correspond to Prose and Poetry, but for example, to Lyric Poetry, Novel, Satire. Of course the authors did not wish to divide the treatment of Drama which in some periods would belong at once to Poetry and to Prose, therefore they introduced this extra chap-

ter. But very nearly the same difficulty occurs elsewhere. For instance, Chateaubriand the prose Romanticist will be in one chapter, and Lamartine the verse Romanticist in the other; while on the other hand Béranger and de Vigny will be treated under the same heading. Such a division as Prose and Poetry might be adopted perhaps for early literature, when there was a kind of tacit convention that such and such a subject ought necessarily to be treated in prose, while another one was properly treated only in verse. It can no more apply in a time of such complex conditions in literature as the nineteenth century; or else every attempt at understanding one's subject is, *a priori*, vain, and one sees such exceedingly surprising things as Murger, Karr and Sue appearing in the same chapter and on the same page with A. Thierry and Guizot (p. 269), and merely in different paragraphs.

There are a few regrettable misprints: Molière was not born 1662 (p. 132), and Racine's "Plaideurs" are of 1668 not 1688 as given twice on the same page (p. 139). It might also be well to adopt for the play of Corneille either the French name for both Horace and Curiace, or the Latin for both (pp. 113-114).

The above criticisms ought not to make us blind to the serious qualities of the book which in many respects is a distinct improvement on other similar attempts. Though it is yet far from an ideal History of French Literature for beginners and reminds one more of a work of reference than of a really intelligent introduction to the subject, it deserves in part the success with which it has met both in this country and in England.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

Bryn Mawr College.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORNEILLE's *Cinna*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Will you permit me a few words of protest against the nature of the criticisms brought by Mr. Ingraham in your last issue against some of the notes in my recent edition of Corneille's *Cinna*.

Your reviewer takes exception to my note to l. 282 that in the sentence *Polycète est encor chez vous à vous attendre* the preposition *à* expresses 'situation with reference to the purpose to be obtained,' and he maintains that the idea of purpose in a sentence of this kind is utterly lost to-day, whatever the original meaning may have been. This is not the place to go into a discussion of the question, but the definition in my note can be found in the *Dictionnaire Général* s. v. *à* with examples such as *être à dormir*, *à ne rien faire*, and this very line is cited with the same interpretation by Jacobi in his *Syntactische Studien über Pierre Corneille*, p. 22. I would also call your attention to the fact that the caesura of the line falls before the infinitive phrase, and that *est*, therefore, is an independent verb in the sentence.

This note is followed by another on ll. 283-284, written for the purpose of making clear the use of the tenses in real and unreal conditional sentences, which present quite little difficulty to students as all teachers know. Mr. Ingraham characterizes it as 'not clear;' yet, if he had read the note more carefully, he would have seen that all that he says is provided for. He believes that I 'would be the first to acknowledge the error in the statement that the sentence '*s'il venait mon père le verroit*' is a condition contrary to fact.' He is probably led into this remark through his neglect to note that the so-called 'ideal' or 'future less vivid' condition is not included in the note. Perhaps it might have been well to illustrate this variety also, but in spite of this possible interpretation, I should still hope that I would be the very last to maintain, that the sentence cannot be a condition contrary to fact of the present.

In my note to l. 656 *pour l'effet d'un remords* is translated by 'through the result of his remorse, i. e. his abdication.' Mr. Ingraham changes it to 'through a feeling of remorse.' The rejected interpretation is that of Petit de Julleville, and it is supported by Corneille's use of the word *effet*; cp. *Lexique de la langue de Corneille*, s. v.

For l. 874 I translated *qu' une âme généreuse a de peine à faillir* by 'what pain a noble soul experiences when it falls.' Your reviewer prefers 'How difficult it is for a noble soul to fall.' If correctly analyzed in the context this rendering will be found to contain the same meaning as the

one criticized; if not, it resolves itself into an empty compliment, paid by Cinna to himself. The declarative converse of the line is *Cinna a de la peine à faillir*, and in this sentence *à* denotes cause, and not purpose as Mr. Ingraham seems to imply; cp. Haase, *Syntaxe*, § 124-3.

I will say nothing about the numerous typographical errors in the short review, some of which obscure the reviewer's idea, but I submit that to characterize matters of this kind as 'slips' that 'find their way almost inevitably into texts' is a compliment neither to the editor of the text, nor to the reviewer.

JOHN E. MATZKE.

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A SONNET OF WATSON AND A STANZA OF SPENSER.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—So far as I know, attention has never been called to the striking example of literary borrowing found in Sonnet 51 of Watson's *Tears of Fancie*:

Each tree did boast the wished spring times pride,
When solitarie in the vale of love:
I hid myselfe so from the world to hide,
The uncouth passions which my heart did prove.
No tree whose branches did not bravely spring
No branch whereon a fine bird did not sit:
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing,
No song but did containe a lovelie dit.
Trees, branches, birds, and songs, were framed faire,
Fitt to allure fraile minde to careles ease:
But carefull was my thought, yet in dispaire,
I dwelt, for brittle hope me cannot please.
For when I view my loves faire eies reflecting,
I enttaine dispaire, vaine hope rejecting.

Reference to the *Faerie Queene*, II, vi, 12 and 13, suggests an origin for these lines not less definite than the—acknowledged—origins of the *Hecatompathia* conceits.

No daintie flowre or herbe, that growes on ground,
No arboret with painted blossomes drest
And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
To bud out faire, and her sweet smels throw all around.
No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sit:
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing;

*No song but did containe a lovely dit.
Trees, braunches, birds, and songs were framed fit
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease.
Carelesse the man soone woxe, and his weake wit
Was overcome of thing, that did him please:
So pleased, did his wrathfull purpose faire appease.*

The six lines italicized in both cases will be seen to be identical except for the final word of the fifth line, where Spenser has "fit" for Watson's "faire."

Now it may suggest itself that neither of the poets borrowed this passage from the other, but that each borrowed it independently from the Italian, say, of Tasso. The verbal identity, however, makes impossible this hypothesis. No passage in Italian of this length could conceivably be translated by two poets independently into such identical English verse. Besides, the collators of Spenser with Tasso and Ariosto have failed, so far as I know, to point out in the Italian any passage more than remotely suggestive of the one before us. In the *Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 70, Spenser very freely translates a passage in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, XVI, 12, which, in its chainlike linking of melody, may well have suggested the passage before us; but this latter is in no sense a translation of the Italian.

The question is, then, whether Spenser borrowed from Watson, or Watson from Spenser. The answer is not far to seek. The *Faerie Queene*, Books I-III, was published during Spenser's visit to England in 1689-90, having been completed during his previous residence in Ireland. The *Tears of Fancy* was published in August, 1593, as shown by the registration (Arber's reprint, p. 10). Of course it may be contended that these *Tears*, published posthumously, might have been written years earlier, might have been circulated in manuscript, and have been seen by Spenser before the publication of the *Faerie Queene*. But, in the first place, the superior excellence of the *Tears*, as Prof. Saintsbury points out, indicates a date much later than that of the *Hecatompethia*, a date when the influence of Spenser and Sidney had been felt in sonnet-writing. Secondly, Spenser, in his Irish exile, probably uninterrupted from 1580 to 1589, was the last person to see Watson's manuscripts if they were in general circulation at home. And thirdly, if Watson had the sonnets on hand very

long before his death, there is no reason why he should not have published them before his death. His failure to do so could not be explained on grounds either of lack of encouragement or of disinclination to see himself in print, for he was one of the most popular poets of the time, and in the year of the *Faerie Queene*, 1590, he published two works, a set of Italian madrigals "Englished," and the *Melibæus* in Latin and English. Finally, significant is the somewhat unnatural way in which the passage is introduced into Watson's sonnet. Spencer, in the canto where it appears, has set himself deliberately to describe one of his luscious bowers of temptation, so to make it as alluring as possible to the tempted knight Guyon. It is natural, therefore, that he should embellish it with all the beauties at his command. In Watson's "vale of love," on the other hand, where all the notes are sad, if beautiful, ones, this joyous spring-time description strikes one as singularly out of place, however plausibly introduced as a foil to the lover's own "carefull" figure. Nowhere else in the *Tears* is there any description to compare with it in length; and aside from this sonnet, each detail is introduced for the sole purpose of illustrating the lover's hopeless passion. The birds

"Gan dolefully report my sorrowes endles;"

the flocks

"Doe in their kind lament my woes though dumbe;"

while

"The mirrhe sweet bleeding in the latter wound,
Into the cristall waves her teares did power."

One of the lines above quoted, by the way,

"The mirrhe sweet bleeding in the latter wound,"

suggests another, slighter and more doubtful case of borrowing, perhaps not without its significance taken with the other. The *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 9, has, with the variation of one word, this identical line,

"The Mirrhe sweete—bleeding in the bitter wound."

Now this antithesis of "sweete-bleeding" (referring to the odour) and "bitter" (referring to the taste of the gum) is a very happy one, and constitutes just such a conceit as would have delighted the sonneteer Watson. Moreover, the "latter" makes no very good sense; and Prof. Kittredge

suggests it may be a misprint for Spenser's "bitter,"—a misprint natural enough in a posthumous work.

Now I am warned by Prof. Kittredge not to make any false inference with regard to these facts. We cannot apply to authors of this period our strict modern ideas about plagiarism. Every body knows that Spenser did not hesitate to take bodily a passage from any Classical or Italian writer, nor was there any plagiarism in Shakspeare's versifying speech after speech of North's Plutarch. Besides, we have no reason to suppose that Watson would have failed to acknowledge his loans in the *Tears* if he had lived to see it through the press himself. In the *Hecatompethia*, he takes evident pride in calling attention most scrupulously to the originals of his conceits in the Italian, Latin, and French. But the *Tears of Fancy* was published much later, when the English poets had made the sonnet form their own; and is more original in its scheme than the earlier sequence. It is, therefore, interesting to find him here again, in at least one case, following the same methods of composition, and now making use of the work of his English contemporary. Suppose it were found that the *Tears*-sonnets resemble the earlier ones in this respect more closely than has generally been imagined, would that at all affect the justice of Mr. Arber's judgment that Sidney, Spenser, and Watson are "all equally original" sonneteers?

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.

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AN OLD FRENCH PARALLEL TO CERTAIN LINES IN *Geraint and Enid*.¹

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Although in a hasty search I have found no mention of the parallel, I take it for granted that the obvious likeness is well known between a passage in Tennyson's *Geraint and Enid* and one in the *Chevaliers as .II. Espees*.² For purpose of contrast, showing how Tennyson introduces senti-

¹ *Works of Tennyson*. London. Macmillan, 1884. Vol. III, pp. 97-100.

² *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees*. Herausgeg. von W. Foerster. Halle, 1877. II. 4200 ff.

mentality where there is none in his source,³ and how the Old French is bluff as might be expected, a few lines from either poem are given below:

And Enid
. . . . stood behind and waited on the
three,
And seeing her so sweet and service-
able
Geraint had longing in him evermore
To stoop and kiss the tender little thumb
That crosst the trencher as she laid it
down ;
But after all had eaten then Geraint,
For now the wine made summer
in his veins,
Let his eye rove in following
or rest
On Enid at her lowly handmaid
work,
Now here, now there, about the
dusky hall.

In the French version the eye is more fixed, and there is hearty expression of the eye's meaning:

(*Gawain*)
Fait seoir enmi son vis
La pucele por miex veoir,
Et li sire s'ala seoir
Entre lui et sa fame apres.
.
Si li plaist bien, mais a ses iex
Ne puet mie mesure faire
Nule fois ne les puet retraire
De la damoisele esgarder.
Et quant miex s'en cuide garder,
Il s'esbahist et s'entroublie
Si ke il ne li membroit mie
Ke a la table as mes se sist,
Ne laisa k' il ne le presist
Par le menton et le baisast
Maintes fois, ki ki l'esgardast ;
Et si en sont il tuit mout lie.
[II. 4830-4847].

A recently published Old French text⁴ supplies

³ *The Mabinogion*. From the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, etc. Lady Charlotte Guest. Vol. II (London, 1840), pp. 76-78. Nutt's Edition, New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902. (More convenient than the original and hereinafter cited.) Pp. 201-208.

⁴ *Sone von Nausay*. Herausgeg. von Moritz Goldschmidt. Tübingen, 1899. Bibliothek des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. CCXCVI.

Cf. Gröber: *Grundriss*, II, 1, 784: "Der letzte der Abenteuerromane." That is, written towards the beginning of the fourteenth century.

another parallel to the Geraint of the *Mabinogion* and of Tennyson. This notice of the fact may be fresh, since *Sone de Nausay* is a long and tedious poem; not without merit as will appear:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| [Appearance of the castle.] | Les la forest de Montargis Avoit sur une mote assis Une maison qui grande estoit. Bien pert de grant anchisserie, Que jadis pseudomme i eüst. Mais tant povreté i avoit (Biaus osteus y a plenté Mais tant sont wasti et pierdu Et huis et feniestres cheu,) Que nus layens ne s'enbatoit. Uns bailleus les avoit trāys. [Il. 12673-12687.] |
| | Une dame en un lit gisoit Cui li castiaus iestre devoit, (Mout ot taint et pale le vis, 13092. Et nonpruec bielle fourme avoit ⁵ Selonc le mal k'eü avoit.) Une fille ot qui le siervoit Qui de mout grant biauté estoit. Mais povretés l'a abaubi. Chilz qui du lieu sires estoit Est a tant entrés en la sale; Et quant a celle gent veü Qu' en son ostel a descendu, Sa povreté ne puet couvrir, Dont ses cuers est en grant aÿr Non pourquant ses atours biaux fu De lor venue biel li fu. [Il. 12703-12768.] |
| [Cause of ill fortune.] | Li preudons a grant desirée 12818. Que a son oste eust conté Le voir de sa grant povreté: "Sire, sachiés de verité C'on m'a a tort desyreté; Voires est que je partout erroie 12855. Et .xxx. chevaliers avoie Que je menoie a mes deniers, Si empruntai as usuriers. |
| | |

⁵Cf. *The Mabinogion*, p. 202. "It seemed to him that he had never seen a woman fairer than she must have been when in the fulness of youth." Tennyson has not made use of this item.

Plus dolans de ma fame sui 12895.
C' avec le mal a tant d'anui
Qu' en povreté sa fille voit."
[Il. 12818-12897.]

[The
Meal.]

A tant a on .II. trastres mis
Et la table apriés sus assis,
.
La dame et ses sires laverent,
Coste a coste seÿr alerent.
Nichole aprochier ne voloit
La table, arriere se traioit,
Mais Sones l'a par le main prise
Si l'a par delés lui assise.
[Il. 13135 ff.]

The meal is of Sone's supplying; the host, his invalid wife and their daughter Nicole, wear clothes given them by their guest. The lady appears at table for the first time perhaps in five years. She is greatly heartened by this visit from a man of consequence.

The man of gentle instincts⁶ has been long known—these four stories celebrate him. For instance, only when fitting does the stranger bid the daughter to a place at table. Tennyson emphasizes Geraint's "utter courtesy" in forbearing to serve himself, "reverencing the custom of the house." In the *Mabinogion* there is the simple statement that the knight's horse is lead away by the fair Enid, who also serves the meal.⁷ The French versions so order it that there are servants in plenty for the needs of the household.⁸ Neither Sone, therefore, nor Gawain will allow the daughter to stand. Gawain, it must be remarked, is in love; Sone is not.

One other point is of interest. Tennyson, wishing to dignify Earl Yniol, paints his nephew the Sparrow Hawk somewhat blacker than is warranted by the *Mabinogion* where Edeyrn, the son

⁶On another occasion, without intending it, Sone epitomizes his credo rather well:

"Bien deüsse valoir .i. homme

En tous besoins." *Sone von Nausay*, l. 2639.

⁷Cf. p. 202. "And the hoary-headed man said to the maiden, 'There is no attendant for the horse of this youth but thyself.' 'I will render the best service I am able,' said she, 'both to him and to his horse.'

P. 203, "And it was on this wise: Geraint sat between the hoary-headed man and his wife, and the maiden served them. And they ate and drank.

⁸Cf. *Chevaliers as .II. Espees*, l. 4834. Sone has his own attendants who stand and wait.

of Nudd, is distinct from the Sparrow Hawk.⁹ Thus Tennyson's Edyrn has his own and another's sins to answer for, and in consequence resembles Gernemant of the *Chevaliers as .II. Espees*¹⁰ more nearly than he would, if poets had no license.¹¹ In the *Mabinogion* the old Earl tells how his ruin is due to a nephew who had sought to recover an estate held too long in trust.¹² Besides making one man of two, Tennyson deepens the composite's villany by giving out that scheming revenge is his motive; Edyrn had asked Enid in marriage, and being refused

"He sow'd a slander in the common ear,
Affirming that his father left him gold.
. . . Which was not rendered him."

No difference over money figures in the *Chevaliers as .II. Espees*. However, the old knight comes to grief because his daughter will not marry Gernemant, a great personage of Northumberland.¹³

In *Sone de Nausay* there is question of bankruptcy pure and simple, with homestead exemption apparently granted. It is significant that of these four decayed gentlemen he alone whose spendthrift weakness is to blame should be forward in discussing his misfortunes; and that this same gentleman should speak very tenderly of his wife and daughter.

ALFRED J. MORRISON.

Johns Hopkins University.

SOON AT NIGHT.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Stoffel, in his work *Intensives and Down-toners* (Heidelberg, 1901), discussing (pp. 10–11) the phrase *soon at night*, found in several of Shakespeare's plays, says that the examples given "would

⁹ Cf. *The Mabinogion*, pp. 203; 207–208.

¹⁰ Ll. 4412–4430.

¹¹ Poetic justice, on the other hand, does Edyrn amend:

"And being young he changed and came to loathe
His crime of traitor."

¹² *The Mabinogion*, p. 203.

¹³ *Chevaliers as .II. Espees*, ll. 4412–4430.

¹⁴ *Sone von Nausay*, ll. 12855–58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 12818–20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 12895–97.

seem to confirm Gil's explanation *soon* = *ad primam vesperam*, *at night* being an explanatory addition to ensure *soon* being understood in this special sense." In the course of an excellent review of Stoffel's book in *Archiv*, cx, p. 171, G. Tanger, however, takes exception to this explanation and thinks that *soon* must be understood in its ordinary meaning "bald, früh, zeitig." He adds: "Möglich, dass bei weiterem Suchen sich auch Belege für *soon at noon*, *soon at midnight* oder ähnliche finden: jedenfalls zeigen meines Erachtens diese Beispiele höchstens, dass *soon* oft mit *at night* verbunden vorkam, nicht aber, wie Gil behauptet hat und Stoffel zu glauben scheint, dass *soon* für sich *ad primam vesperam* bedeuten könne."

I can give earlier examples supporting Tanger's view: *Sone on the morne, when hit was day*. Sir Triamour l. 43: *Sone by þe morne*, ll. 2306 and 3116, *Morte Arthure* from Robert of Thornton's MS.

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STECKENREITER, ZUCHTKNECHT, AND SANDERS' WÖRTERBUCH.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Heller in a carefully prepared edition of Schücking's *Die drei Freier* (Ginn, Boston, 1903), which has just come to hand, remarks on the word *Steckenreuter* (p. 7, l. 7) "in this meaning (= constabulary), the word is not given in the dictionaries."

Convinced as I am that the indefatigable labors of the late Daniel Sanders as chronicler of the language of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have not yet been properly recognized and that his materials are not yet sufficiently used by many modern scholars (Dr. Heller, on p. 60, does not mention the *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 4 vols., Lpzg., 1876–85, among his references), any statement like the one quoted above, with me, is tantamount to a "suggestion" to turn to the four volumes of Sanders, which I always keep at my elbow.

In this case, the three volumes of the original work, just like the rest of the dictionaries from

Frisch and Adelung to Heyne and Paul, seemed to confirm Dr. Heller's statement. They contain *Steckenreiter* solely in the sense of *Steckenpferdreiter*. Somewhat crestfallen, I turned to the *Ergänzungs-Wörterbuch*. But here I found what I was in search of: "*Ich schlage mich mit e-m Dutzend Stecken-R.* [vgl. *Knecht*.] *Schücking, Staatsg. 1, 96.*" Referring to *Steckenknecht* I found "*Liktor; Gehülfe des Profoszes; Aufseher über Baugefangene, etc.*"

Thus we see Sanders not only knows *Steckenreiter* (of course, he makes no special entry of the archaic doublet *Steckenreuter*) in the sense used by Schücking in Dr. Heller's edition, but he even quotes an additional instance from the same author (*Das Staatsgeheimnis*, 3 vols., 1854).

I should hardly think it worth while to call the attention of your readers to this additional proof of the wealth and usefulness of Sanders' *Wörterbuch*, were I not anxious to contribute what I can to a more general exploitation of this remarkable store-house of information for the German language of the last two centuries, and especially of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. I recently made a similar appeal in a brief notice in the *Zs. f. d. U.* (vol. 15, p. 600 ff.) As there, I will admit here that Sanders is very hard to use, and the *Ergänzungs-Wörterbuch* even far more so than the three original volumes, and that the *Unübersichtlichkeit* of the typography is little short of tantalizing. But in spite of all that, it must be admitted that we possess so far nothing that can faintly compare with the four volumes of Sanders as a dictionary of actual modern German usage.

Steckenreiter = "police"—suggests to me, however, a similar term that I actually cannot find in any of the dictionaries accessible to me, old and new, Sanders included: *Zuchtknecht*. The word, to be sure, is obsolete; but yet, strange to say, it occurs in Schiller (*Die Räuber*, version of 1781, act II, scene 3, Goedeke's edition, vol. 1, p. 83): "*du ziehst bey den Bettelvögten, Stadt-Patrollanten und Zuchtknechten Kundschaft ein.*" Even Goldbeck-Rudolph's *Schiller-Lexikon* does not contain the word, as, in fact, it hardly ever contains anything that one is really likely to look for. Nor is it recorded in the seventeen columns which in the fifth volume of *Grimms Wörterbuch* Hilde-

brand devotes to *Knecht*, where it should be mentioned under 6, g, 8.

The meaning of the word [= *Büttel*; cf. Sanders, s. v. *Knecht* (4)] is tolerably clear from the context in which it occurs, and it is evidently connected with the older meaning of *Zuchtmeister*, about which Campe (*Braunschweig*, 1811) states: "*Gewöhnlich gebraucht man es nur noch in engerer Bedeutung von dem Vorgesetzten in einem Zuchthause.*"

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COLERIDGE'S FATHER.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The Rev. John Coleridge was a character so ingenuous and unusual as to merit the notice of posterity even if he had not been rendered celebrated through the fame of his son. The son mentions the father more than once in better known writings, and evidently spoke frequently about him to Gillman, De Quincey and other friends in private conversation. Gillman devotes five pages or so of his *Life of Coleridge* to the learning, innocence, and oddities of the estimable clergyman. De Quincey in his somewhat irresponsible maliciousness of fun embellishes the most ridiculous of the stories concerning him, in a thoroughly characteristic way. One has only to compare Gillman's tale of the gaping waistcoat with De Quincey's fable of the obstreperous shirt, in order to understand something of the opium-eater's poetic license. His embellishment here, however, is a minor matter. His essential description of Coleridge the elder comes from the poet:

"His father was described to me, by Coleridge himself, as a sort of Parson Adams, being distinguished by his erudition, his inexperience of the world and his guileless simplicity."¹ De Quincey's words sound almost like a direct quotation from one of Coleridge's letters, which, it is probable, the opium-eater never saw. Coleridge must have been in the habit of referring to his father in a rather stereotyped anecdotal way, always with uniform respect, paying honor always to his simplicity and wholeness of heart, and treating his

¹ *Works*, ed. Masson, 2, 164.

unworldliness, together with its frequently amusing consequences, as a correlative almost inseparable from the laudable virtues which the old gentleman possessed. Thus he writes to Poole: "The truth is, my father was not a first-rate genius; he was, however, a first-rate Christian. . . . In learning, good-heartedness, absentness of mind, and excessive ignorance of the world, he was a perfect Parson Adams."² Again: "He was an Israelite without guile, simple, generous, and taking some Scripture texts in their literal sense, he was conscientiously indifferent to the good and the evil of this world."³ One gathers from reading Gillman⁴ that the son was accustomed to apply such phrases as 'a sort of Parson Adams', 'an Israelite without guile' to his father, usually laying more emphasis upon the pastor's real ignorance of the world than upon his self-accredited knowledge of it.

In this connection the following parallel may be of interest to lovers of the Coleridge family. It is in Leigh Hunt's *Tatler* for May 24, 1831, where is given a fragmentary report of Coleridge's ninth lecture in the course of 1818. This report is more accessible in Dykes Campbell's reprint in the *Athenaeum* of May 4, 1889, from which I quote. Coleridge happens to be discussing the difference between the humorist and the man of humor:

"The Humourist is one who erroneously supposes himself calculated for certain things which occupy his mind, and whose deficiencies in the very particulars on which he prides himself are obvious to all about him. I knew, said Mr. C., a man of this description. He was fond of giving advice as to the best way of addressing the great, and of escaping the arts of the designing. He was one of the most simple-hearted men in the world, one of the most undesigning and disinterested, and much less fitted to contend with the subtleties of mankind than to become himself their dupe."

Who can doubt that we have here a new miniature of the Rev. John Coleridge? I commend the picture to the attention of those who may be interested.

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²Letters, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1, 7.

³Letters, 1, 18.

⁴Life, 2.

FRENCH *son* > *seon* > SECUNDUM.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The *Dictionnaire Général* says that *son* < *seon* is of uncertain origin. In the second edition of his *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, Körting cites under *SAETA* and *SUMMUM* the four etymologies that have been proposed, to wit:—*SUMMUM* by Dietz (now recognized as impossible in view of *SEONNUM* in Du Cange and of the Old French form *seon*), *SECUNDUM* by Littré, **SAETONEM* by the late Gaston Paris, and *seon*, verbal substantive of *seoner*, *saoner*, by Tobler of Berlin. Of the last three etymologies Körting appears to favor that of Gaston Paris and even makes no mention of *son* < *seon* under the word *SECUNDUM*. Yet Gaston Paris (*R. VIII. 628*) did not himself feel quite sure of his etymology and suggested the possibility that Littré might be correct.

In support of the filiation *son* < *seon* < *SECUNDUM* (*second product of the grinding*), there exists a dialectic word the argument of which is decisive. In *Le patois de Petit-Noir, canton de Chemin, Jura, by F. Richenet, Dole, 1896, (page 207)*, is found the following entry: "*sondo, son moulu*."—in other words, the finer variety of bran, which is popularly called in France "*petit son*" as opposed to "*gros son*." The ending *-o* in the patois of Petit-Noir is the usual suffix of masculine diminutives, and corresponds to the French suffixes *-et, -ot*. The presence of the *d* shows clearly the origin from *SECUNDUM*, and the preservation of this consonant proves that the diminutive *sondo* is of very ancient formation, that it existed before the *d* had disappeared from *SECUNDUM*, and goes back to **SECUNDITUM*, which fact differentiates it from the form *sonnet* (= *son*) that is found in the *Glossaire du patois de la Forêt de Clairvaux (Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Aube, t. LI. p. 52.)*

Under the article "*sondo*," F. Richenet refers to *Désiré Monnier, Vocabulaire de la langue rustique et populaire de la Séquanie (Annuaire du Jura, 1857 et 1859)*. This work is not accessible to me, but if the reference means that the word appears there in the same form, it is remarkable that it has never attracted the attention of any one.

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Obituary.

LOUIS EMIL MENDER.

(June 29th, 1871—August 4th, 1903).

When the Johns Hopkins University opened in the fall of 1890, there appeared in the Department of Romance Languages a new graduate student, who at first sight gave no great promise of being a valuable acquisition. Over six feet tall, excessively slim, with a head even larger than the proportions of his great stature required, to a casual observer he did not appear to be, at the age of barely nineteen, a strong, healthy young man who could stand the years of hard study that were before him. And surely he would need to study hard. Two years before, he had received the degree of A. B. at Mississippi College, and although he had thereupon taught Latin and German in a female institute at Vicksburg, his preparation did not seem to be of great value for one about to enter upon the work he had chosen to do in Baltimore. Of French he knew no more than the rudiments; as for the other Romance languages, he had never even touched them. Truly, judged from these facts, he was far from being hopeful material for the making of a Romance scholar.

But, coming from good North German stock, he was strong and hearty, had been carefully brought up among simple, healthful surroundings, and well understood his obligations to his parents for the thorough schooling they had given him, the best that it had been in their power to provide. And the quiet gravity of his manner, the bright gleam of his eyes, the firm determination stamped in the lines of his striking face, called for respect when one looked at him more closely. Seeing him in the lecture room, keenly watchful not to miss a word that could add to his knowledge, or hearing him give forth, in pointed and precise words, what he had carefully worked over, you could but say that if earnestness of purpose would do it, he was bound to succeed in mastering the difficult subjects with which he would have to deal.

Thus, one year after he had come to the University, I found him, and the year's work had

done wonders. He had gained a firm grasp upon the first principles of the philological study of languages; had been well started off in Modern French; had occupied his summer in further training with Fortier at New Orleans, and in those few months had acquired considerable familiarity with the language. When his second year began, the work in Old Provençal poetry brought him and me together, and well I remember how he never would think of rest until the task had been done to absolute perfection.

In the class-room, no one was as well prepared, and a fact once brought forward there never was allowed to slip from his memory. When Christmas came and the scholarships were awarded, he felt keen disappointment at not receiving that distinction; but in his characteristic manner, and in blunt language, he announced to his intimates: "All the same, I shall earn the Fellowship in June, or die in the effort." Earn it he did, with a paper on a point of Italian philology that later was worked out more fully in his Doctor's dissertation; but the strain of the exertion came near being too great. What bore him up through it all and enabled him to cast off weariness, illness even, was the one thought: "Won't my father be happy if I get the Fellowship." It is no betrayal to his memory if I quote this from a letter found among his papers, which began: "This is the proudest day of my life, and the happiest letter I shall ever write to anyone even if I live a hundred years."

A short time before the University thus expressed its approval of his progress, he had given proof of his enthusiasm for his studies. The Department celebrated Dr. A. M. Elliott's promotion to full Professorship, with a dinner at which speeches were made in several of the Romance languages. In those days, the predilect subject of Dr. Elliott was Marie de France's Anglo-Norman, and most appropriately Menger read us a toast in Anglo-Norman when his turn came.

In the summer of 1892 he studied phonetics and improved his French with Paul Passy, and one more year of work in Baltimore sufficed to see him obtain the Doctor's degree, for which he offered a dissertation: *The historical development of the possessive pronouns in Italian*. His characteristic energy showed itself once more in printing the dissertation before the degree was conferred.

The monograph is dedicated to his father, with a tribute the more touching for its simplicity.

In full realization of the great good that his student years at Johns Hopkins did him, and eager that others should share in the benefit of his experience, he ever afterwards animated young men to the pursuance of graduate studies, and not a few have to thank him for thus being started upon a more fruitful career.

In 1893 Dr. John E. Matzke left Johns Hopkins University for Leland Stanford, and Menger was put in charge of his work. He spent the summer studying in Italy, and from that time on made that fair land his summer home whenever he could. From the first he showed that if he could acquire and assimilate knowledge, he knew how to impart it to others as well. His courses in phonetics, Old French, Italian, Italian philology, and Italian literary history were inspiring, not only for the information to be gathered from them, but also for the earnestness and the modest assurance of the teacher. He spared no pains to perfect his equipment, and by rapid degrees he added to his store of knowledge. Especially was he training himself to test dogmatic statements, even when they came from persons high in authority, in order thereby to be more fitted for the training of others. No wonder that he was held in highest regard by his colleagues and his students alike, and many an older and more learned man was ever ready to give careful attention to his words. Nor was it strange that when in 1897 Bryn Mawr College decided to establish a more complete department of Romance Languages, Menger was the first man thought of, and with his appointment as Associate Professor in Romance Philology and Italian the College had at once gained distinction and respect for the work that was to be done there.

The encouraging compliment of being chosen for that position even increased his devotion to his chosen work. His success as a teacher was rewarded by promotion to the Professorship after three years of service; and in the hopeful brightness of the future he founded a home that was a delight to all who saw it. In Baltimore his published work had been confined to shorter articles;¹ at Bryn Mawr he undertook what was to be a

task of many years: a series of manuals on Old French dialects, upon the preparation of which he entered after long meditation on the need for, and the importance of, such a synthetic treatment. Steadily, untiringly, he gathered and digested his material, and after six years he felt that he had reached the point when it became desirable to submit a section of the work to Romance scholars, in order that in the continuation of the series he might profit by their criticisms. After printing a preliminary article² to indicate his purpose and method, he placed the manuscript of *A Manual of the Anglo-Norman Dialect* in the publisher's hands. The first proof reached him and he corrected it.

He was not destined to see his work in book-form. Death came to him suddenly, without warning. When life was joy indeed, in the fullness of healthy, manly strength, on August 4th, 1903, he was drowned in Lago Maggiore. They laid him to rest in the little churchyard at Ghiffa, a beautiful spot in the land he loved so well. A young wife, a loving mother, and many admiring friends, mourn him and cherish his memory.

F. DE HAAN.

Bryn Mawr College.

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1893. "The Historical Development of the Possessive Pronouns in Italian." (Publications of the Modern Language Association, VIII, 141-209).
[Also published separately as dissertation. Reviewed: G. Paris, *Rom.* XXII, 615-616; Parodi, *Rom.* XXV, 137-141].
1894. "Modern Italian Readings." [review]. (*M. L. N.*, IX, 180-185).
"The Bible in Phonetic Script." (*M. L. N.*, IX, 316-318).
1895. "French Pronunciation." [review]. (*M. L. N.*, X, 57-58).
"Free and Checked Vowels in Gallic Popular Latin." (*M. L. P.*, X, 306-341). [Reviewed: Behrens, *Z. R. P.*, XXI, 304-305; Meyer-Lübke, *LgrP.*, XVII, 340-341].
1896. "On the Development of Popular Latin *e* into French *ei, oi*." (*M. L. N.*, XI, 116-120).
"German *w* into French *gu*." (*M. L. N.*, XI, 252-254).
1897. "Early Italian Poetry." [review]. (*M. L. N.*, XII, 182-186).
- ²1903. "Notes on the History of Free Open *o* in Anglo-Norman." (*M. L. N.*, XVIII, 106-111).

¹1892. "Some Notes on the American Pronunciation of English. (*Maître phonétique*, 1892).
"E in tutti e tre, tutte e tre." (*Modern Language Notes*, VII, 495-501).

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 8.

TENNYSONIANA.

1. *The Lady of Shalott.*

After some correspondence with Professor G. L. Kittredge on the subject, I think that I am able to add a few considerations which increase the probability that the Novella quoted by Professor L. S. Potwin, in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1902, is the actual source of *The Lady of Shalott*. In the first place, neither Mr. J. Churton Collins nor Professor Potwin states with entire accuracy what this story is. It is not only Novella LXXXI in Vol. I. of the *Raccolta di Novelle*, printed at Milan in 1804, but it is Novella LXXXI in the *Libro di Novelle e di bel parlar gentile, contenente Cento Novelle Antiche, i. e.*, the famous collection commonly known as the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, made towards the end of the thirteenth century. At least it is No. LXXXI in the edition of Gualteruzzi (1525). I am told that in the Borghini and Vettori version an altogether different story takes its place. Now, Vol. I. of "the collection of novels printed at Milan in 1804" is in fact nothing more than a reprint of Gualteruzzi's edition of the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, or *Il Novellino*, as it is often called in Italy, with notes by Ferrario.

This Novella LXXXI was twice referred to by J. C. Dunlop in his *History of Fiction* (1814), ch. VII. See Henry Wilson's edition of this work, Vol. II., p. 1:—"In the *Cento Novelle Antiche* there exists the story of King Meliadus and the Knight without Fear; as also of the Lady of Scalot, who died for love of Lancelot du Lac." (Cf. p. 50). It was, moreover, translated by Thomas Roscoe in his *Italian Novelists* (1825), Vol. I., pp. 45, 46, with the title *We here learn how the Lady of Scalot died for Love of Launcelot of the Lake*. It is possible that Tennyson saw Roscoe's version (notice the rendering of *Damigella* as *Lady*, not *Damsel*, as in Professor Potwin's translation), but Palgrave's note would indicate that

Tennyson had read the story in the original. We know that he was able to do this, for he studied the Italian poets with Arthur Hallam during their college days at Cambridge. (See *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by his Son*, Vol. I., pp. 45, 71, 77; *In Memoriam*, LXXXIX.) The form *Shalott* seems to be the poet's own invention, arrived at by softening the Italian *Scalot*.

Roscoe says in his Introduction (pp. 4, 5):

"That Italy is indebted for her 'Novelle Antiche' to foreign sources, would further appear, from many of the stories being founded on incidents drawn from the romance of the ROUND TABLE, a beautiful copy of which was known to be in possession of Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, a great admirer of its marvellous adventures, and probably the author of those pieces we find taken from the materials of that romance. Such are the novels of the 'Lady of Scalot,' and of the 'Good King Meliadus.'"

The fact that this Novella appeared in the old, famous, and easily accessible *Cento Novelle Antiche*, and not merely in a rare and random collection printed at Milan in 1804, greatly increases the probability that Tennyson was acquainted with it.

One striking point of resemblance between Novella LXXXI and *The Lady of Shalott* seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Collins and Professor Potwin. It is in the account of the arrival of the corpse at Camelot. Malory (Book XVIII, ch. 20) says that King Arthur while talking with Queen Guenever at a window espied the black barget, and despatched Sir Kay, Sir Brandiles and Sir Agravaine to discover what it was. Upon their report he himself went to the waterside. The Italian story gives a different impression. I quote from Roscoe:

"A rumour immediately spread through the court, and a vast train of barons and cavaliers ran out of the palace, followed soon by King Arthur himself. They stood mute with astonishment, on observing the strange vessel there, without a voice or a hand to stir her out of the dead calm in which she lay."

Tennyson's narrative is much closer to Roscoe and

the Italian than to Malory. There is no essential difference between his 1833 version and the one finally adopted, but I quote the former as more difficult of access:—

Knight and burgher, lord and dame,
To the plank'd wharfrage came:
Below the stern they read her name
 'The Lady of Shalott.'
They crossed themselves, their stars they blest,
Knight, minstrel, abbot, squire and guest.

Says Professor Potwin, "The mirror, the weaving, the curse, the song, the river and island are all absent from the Novella." The curse I think can be safely assigned to Tennyson's invention, for Tennyson was fond of allegorizing his material. The song is also probably his; it afforded him an opportunity for comparison with the song of the dying swan,—a poetic fiction which appealed to his early imagination. (Cf. *The Dying Swan*, 1830, and *Morte d' Arthur*, 1842, *ad fin.*) The island may be Tennyson's, though it is worth noticing that Rhys would identify Astolat with Alclut, the old Welsh name for the rock of Dumbarton in the Clyde, which is practically an island. (*The Arthurian Legend*, p. 393). The river is, of course, Malory's. The web presents a more complicated problem. It is represented in the Idyll of *Lancelot and Elaine* by the case which the lily maid embroiders for the knight's shield (ll. 7-12),—apparently developed from Malory's simple words (xviii, 14), "It is in my chamber, covered with a case." This leaves only the mirror to be disposed of, and the mirror can be attributed beyond reasonable doubt to Spenser's influence. The resemblance which it bears to the magic mirror made by Merlin, in which "shadows of the world appeared," and in which Britomart saw "A comely knight, all arm'd in complete wize," for whose love she almost died, is too striking to be accidental. (See *The Faerie Queene*, III, ii, sts. 17 ff.) The indebtedness of Tennyson to Spenser in this poem is further seen in the description of Lancelot in Part III, which owes many of its details to the elaborate portrait of Prince Arthur in *The Faerie Queene*, I, vii, sts. 29-33.

I am strongly inclined to believe, therefore, that the extraordinary elements in this strange rendering of the legend of Lancelot and Elaine are due partly to Novella LXXXI in the *Cento Novelle*

Antiche, partly to Spenser, partly to Tennyson's own creative imagination.

2. *The Charge of the Light Brigade.*

The Light Brigade made its famous charge on October 25, 1854. On December 2, Tennyson wrote his galloping ballad in a few moments. (See the Tennyson *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 381.) One week later it was published in *The Examiner* with this foot-note: "Written after reading the first report of the '*Times*' correspondent, where only 607 sabres are mentioned as having taken part in the charge." The report in question was printed on November 14. In addition to the number of men in the Brigade (according to Kinglake there were really 673), it seems to have supplied Tennyson with some poetic material. The following passages clearly influenced him:—

"When Lord Lucan received the order from Capt. Nolan and read it, he asked, we are told, 'Where are we to advance to?' Capt. Nolan pointed with his finger to the line of the Russians and said, 'There are the enemy, and there are the guns, Sir, before them; it is your duty to take them.'"

This incident was explicitly referred to in the *Examiner* version of the poem:—

"Forward, the Light Brigade,
Take the guns," Nolan said.

The proper name was replaced later by the very impersonal personal pronoun "he," probably because the poet did not wish to lay any suspicion of direct blame for the tragic error upon a gallant officer who was the first to lose his life in the charge. The alteration in the text was fortunate, because the official and private investigations which were made at the end of the war showed that the weight of responsibility belonged less to the aide, Nolan, than to the commander of the cavalry division, Lord Lucan, himself.

The report of the *Times* correspondent continues, after a little:

"They swept proudly past, glittering in the morning sun in all the pride and splendour of war. We could scarcely believe our senses! Surely that handful of men are not going to charge an army in position? . . . They were exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as to the direct fire of the musquetry.

Through the clouds of smoke we could see their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns and dashed between them, cutting down the gunners as they stood." (Compare Stanza iv.)

But the main source of suggestion was undoubtedly an editorial in *The Times* on the day before, that is, Monday, November 13:—

"How far the order was itself the result of a misconception, or was intended to be executed at discretion, does not appear, and will probably afford the subject of painful but vain recrimination. It was interpreted as leaving no discretion at all, and the whole brigade advanced at a trot for more than a mile, down a valley, with a murderous flank fire of Minié muskets, and shells from hills on both sides. It charged batteries, took guns, sabred the gunners, and charged the Russian cavalry beyond; but, not being supported,—and, under the circumstances perhaps it was fortunate it was not,—and being attacked by cavalry in front and rear, it had to cut its way through them, and return through the same cavalry and the same fire. . . . A French General who saw the advance, and apprehended at once its fatal issue, exclaimed, 'C'est très-magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.' . . . Causeless and fruitless, it stands by itself, as a grand heroic deed. . . . The British soldier will do his duty, even to certain death, and is not paralyzed by feeling that he is the victim of some hideous blunder. Whatever the case of the common soldier, and however little he might know the full horrors of his position till death had done its work all around him, the officers who led him on, with a conspicuous gallantry that extorted the admiration of the foe, well knew what they were about. . . . Splendid as the event was on the Alma, yet that rugged ascent in the face of heights blazing with destruction was scarcely so glorious as the progress of the cavalry through and through that valley of death, with a murderous fire, not only in front, but on both sides, above and even in the rear."

It has often been pointed out that the metrical prototype of *The Charge* is Michael Drayton's *Ballad of Agincourt*. But Tennyson told Willingham Rawnsley (see his reminiscences in Canon Rawnsley's *Memories of the Tennysons*, p. 139) that he did not take the rhythm from that poem, but built it up by repeating over and over to himself the words "Some one had blundered," which he said had occurred in *The Times*. This expression he worked twice into the original version of the poem, and it is still "precisely the most tragical line," as Ruskin once declared, the line which

makes it something more than a "mere wild gallop in verse," or a piece of declamation well suited for schoolboys. When Tennyson ventured to eliminate the phrase from the revised form which he published in *Maud, and Other Poems* (1855), a great uproar was raised and he was compelled to reinstate it. I was therefore exceedingly anxious to find the famous expression. But a most careful search (conducted both at the Library of Congress in Washington and at the British Museum), in all the files of the paper covering the discussion of the incident, failed to discover it. The nearest approximation was "Some hideous blunder," in the passage quoted above, and as this passage contains much of the poem's ground-work I am tempted to believe that Tennyson's memory played him a trifle false. Let me say too that the strong word "blunder" was a very rare one in the vocabulary of the loyal, urbane, and conservative editor of *The Times*. Before and after this 13th of November his regular term is the mild "misconception of the instructions" or "unfortunate error."

One comes across many of the phrases of the poem in looking over these old newspapers. "Shot and shell" is a collocation of frequent occurrence. A letter from on board H. M. S. *Himalya* (printed November 15) says, "They charged *right through* the Russian cavalry." An editorial on the 14th remarks, "The Light Cavalry Brigade, in a most critical position, and *under the eyes of the whole world*, throws itself deliberately into the hands of the enemy."

3. *The Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava.*

This fine war-ballad was published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in March, 1882. It celebrates an exploit even more glorious, though less famous, than the charge of the Light Brigade, which was made on the afternoon of the same day, October 25th, 1854. It was an attempt on Tennyson's part to outdo in his maturity a popular success won in his earlier years by an occasional poem. He himself thought the metrical effect of *The Heavy Brigade* much better than that of *The Light Brigade*, but few people have agreed with him. In preparation he used the long, detailed, but stirring narrative of his former fellow—"Apostle," Alexander William Kinglake (*The Invasion of the*

Crimea, Harper & Bros., 1875, II., pp. 478-586), with probable reference also to that account of the correspondent of the *London Times*, printed November 14th, 1854, which had been so helpful to him in writing *The Light Brigade*. In the *Times* he found the phrase, a "forest of lances" (cf. l. 49), and the following seems to have suggested to him the words at the end of stanza III.: "In another moment we see them . . . dashing on with diminished numbers, . . . against the second line, which is advancing against them as fast as it can to retrieve the fortune of the charge—It was a terrible moment. 'God help them! they are lost!' was the exclamation of more than one man, and the thought of many."

The poet compressed Kinglake's minute narrative with great skill (though he failed to impart a very coherent idea of the military manœuvres) and worked into swift and spirited music many of the graphic details of his source. Thus: "By this time Scarlett was in a hurry. He turned to his trumpeter and said at once, 'Sound the charge!' . . . He turned partly round in his saddle, shouted out a 'Come on!' to the Greys, and invoked them with a wave of his sword. . . . It was by digging his charger right in between the two nearest troopers before him that Scarlett wedged himself into the solid mass of the enemy's squadrons." A great part of the allied armies observed the battle from the Chersonese. When the wings of the Russian column wheeled around, "there was many an English spectator who watched this phase of the combat with a singular awe, and long remembered the pang which he felt when he lost sight of Scarlett's 'Three Hundred.' To such a one the dark-mantled squadrons overcasting his sight of the red coats were as seas where a ship has gone down. . . . While [the Scot's] right arm was busy with the labour of sword against swords, he could so use his bridle-hand as to be fastening its grip upon the long-coated men of a milder race, and tearing them out of their saddles. . . . There were, all at once, heard British cheers sounding in from outside of the column. . . . Presently, from the south-east, there sounded the shout of a squadron which Inniskilling men knew how to recognise, and with it a crash—a crash prolonged for some moments—in the direction of the Russian left front. . . . The Russians who had hitherto

maintained their array caused or suffered their horses to back a little. . . . In the next instant, the whole column was breaking. In the next all the horsemen composing it . . . were galloping up the hillside and retreating by the way they had come."

4. *Recollections of the Arabian Nights.*

The source is erroneously given by Collins (*Illustrations of Tennyson*, p. 29). The poet's "recollections" seem to have centered principally on the following passages:

From the *Story of Nouredin and the Fair Persian* (at the end of the Two Hundred and Thirty-Sixth Night): "They rambled a considerable time by the gardens that bordered on the Tigris; and keeping close to one of them that was inclosed with a very fine long wall at the end of it, they turned into a street well-paved, where they perceived a garden-door, and a charming fountain near it. The door, which was very magnificent, happened to be shut, but the porch was open; in which there was a sofa on each side. . . . The garden belonged to the caliph: and in the middle of it there was a pavilion. . . . The stately hall within this pavilion was lighted by fourscore windows, with a lustre in each. . . . They made a glorious illumination, and could be seen at a great distance in the country on that side, and by a great part of the city. . . . Nouredin and the Fair Persian . . . stood awhile to admire [the pavilion's] wonderful structure, size, and loftiness; and after taking a full view of it on every side, they went up a great many steps of fine white marble, to the hall-door. . . . Besides lustres that were fixed to every window, there was between each bar a silver arm with a wax candle in it. . . . The caliph had seated himself upon a throne that was in the hall. . . . Scheich Ibrahim saw the caliph upon his throne, with the grand vizier and Mesrour on each side of him. He stood awhile gazing upon this unexpected sight, doubting whether he was awake or asleep. The caliph fell a-laughing at his astonishment."

From the *History of Aboulhassen Ali Ebn Becar* (One Hundred and Eighty-Sixth Night): "The walks were of little pebbles of different colours. . . . The prospect round was, at the end of the

walks, terminated by two canals of clear water; and curious pots of gilt brass, with flowers and shrubs, were set upon the banks of the canal at equal distances. These walks lay betwixt great plots of ground planted with straight and bushy trees, where a thousand birds formed a melodious concert."

A comparison of these passages with the poem will illustrate how concrete, realistic, and *derivative* (if one may so call it) is Tennyson's imagination, even when it seems to be acting with least restriction. I had always supposed the *Recollections* a pure phantasy until I came upon these descriptions in the *Arabian Nights*. In diction the poem is little more than a gorgeous florilege of poetical words and phrases culled from Spenser, Shakespeare, and Keats. Thus from Spenser come *braided blooms*—originally *breaded blossms* (*F. Q.* II. ii. 15 and IV. viii. 2); *shallop* (*F. Q.* III. vii. 27); *rivage* (*F. Q.* IV. vi. 20); *engrain'd* (*Shepherd's Calendar*, Feb., 131); *marge* (*F. Q.* IV. viii. 61); *coverture* (*Shepherd's Calendar*, Julye, 26); *counterchange* (*F. Q.* III. ix. 16); *pleasance* (*Epithalamion* 90); *diaper'd* (*Epithalamion* 51). In Keats, Tennyson found *rillels* (*Endymion* II. 945) and *gold-green* (*Endymion* III. 878); also, with *argent-lidded* compare *azure-lidded* (*Eve of St. Agnes* xxx), and with *twisted silvers* compare *wreathed silver* (*Eve of St. Agnes* xxxi). Shakespeare supplied *golden prime* (*Richard III.* I. 2. 248), *stilly sound* (*Henry V.* Prologue to Act IV. I. 5), and with . . . *stars inlaid* (*Cymbeline* V. 5. 352).

5. *Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere.*

"And fleeter now she skimm'd the plains
Than she whose elfin prancer springs
By night to eery warblings,
When all the glimmering moorland rings
With jingling bridle-reins."

This looks like a commonplace reference to Mab or Titania, but I was for a long time unable to lay my finger upon a satisfactory source. In the ballad of *Thomas and the Fairy Queen* (Hazlitt's *Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, p. 104), the mysterious "ladie" is described as riding on a beautiful horse.

"Hir bridulle was of golde fyne,
On every side hong bellis thre."

But this is far enough from Tennyson. Perhaps the poet had a faint recollection of a passage he once saw in Carlyle's *Essay on Goethe's Helena* (1828), or else, apparently, he and Carlyle must have had a common source: "Sorry are we that we cannot follow him through these fine warblings and trippings on the light fantastic toe: to our ears there is a quick, pure, small-toned music in them, as perhaps of elfin-bells when the Queen of Faery rides by moonlight."

6. *Lucretius.*

The tragic story of Lucretius's death, on which Tennyson bases the action of this poem, is generally stated to come simply from the following sentences in St. Jerome's additions to the Eusebian Chronicle (under 94 B. C.): "Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur. Postea amatorio poculo in furorem versus, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscribisset, . . . propria se manu interfecit anno aetatis xliiii." The quotation of these words seems to have satisfied most commentators. Mr. J. Churton Collins, whose wide Classical scholarship has enabled him to elucidate many of the recondite references in Tennyson, alone seeks for further information. Says he (*Illustrations of Tennyson*, p. 71): "That the name of the woman who administered the philtre was Lucilia, and that she was the poet's wife, rests, I believe on the authority of a single sentence ascribed to Seneca, but not to be found in the works of either of the Senecas: 'Livia virum suum occidit quem nimis oderat, Lucilia suum quem nimis amaverat.' See Bayles's Dictionary, article *Lucretius*. None of the editors of Lucretius whom I have consulted, not even Munro, throw any light on this mysterious quotation of Bayles's."

Mr. Collins is always so dogmatic and frequently so correct that one takes a sort of malicious pleasure in discovering a flaw in his omniscience. The elusive passage is not to be found in the works of either of the Senecas, because it occurs in a letter of St. Jerome's, and the whole point lies in the full quotation of it. See *Epist.* xxxvi. *Ad Rufin.*, ch. 23: "Livia virum suum interfecit, quem nimis odiit: Lucillia suum, quem nimis amavit. Illa sponte miscuit aconitum: haec decepta, furorem propinavit pro amoris poculo." Mediæval writers connected this passage, solely on circumstantial

grounds, with the one in the additions to the Eusebian Chronicle, and on such shadowy foundation grew up the legend of Lucretius's death.

Almost all the allusions in this poem (it is a marvelous interweaving of allusions, a sort of concentrated *De Rerum Natura*, with cross references to many Classical writers) have been pointed out by Professor R. C. Jebb (*Macmillan's Magazine*, June, 1868) and Miss Katharine Allen (*Poet Lore*, vol. xi., pp. 529 ff.) One error has been frequently repeated. See ll. 93, 94:

"the great Sicilian called
Calliope to grace his golden verse."

The reference, says Dr. W. J. Rolfe (Cambridge Edition, p. 846), is to Theocritus, and in this opinion he is followed by Professor Eugene Parsons (Farrington Edition, II. 314). "The great Sicilian" is, of course, not Theocritus, but Empedocles, the philosopher of Agrigentum, so lavishly praised by Lucretius in the *De Rer. Nat.* I, 716-733. A fragment of his (in Hippolytus, *Refutatio Hæresium*, VII. 31), which probably began the last book of his poem, contains the words: ἀμβροτε Μοῦσα . . . νῦν αὖτε περίστασο, Καλλιόπεια, κ. τ. λ. (See Ritter and Preller, *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, p. 146).

The epithet "mulberry-faced" applied to Sulla (l. 54) is from a skit quoted in Plutarch's *Life of the dictator*, II.,—συνκάμινδον ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον.

7. In the Children's Hospital.

Palgrave said that 'this was absolutely the most pathetic poem known to him,' and again that it was 'almost more pathetic than a man has a right to be.' Its pathos and tenderness still affect very strongly almost all sorts of readers. But one wonders whether such a direct appeal for tears as is here made will not in time seem somewhat banal, somewhat overdone, and so, also, somewhat false. *The May Queen*, which Tennyson's contemporaries thought so true, now appears forced and sentimental. Perhaps *In the Children's Hospital* belongs properly in the same class as *The May Queen*, and perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the source of the poem was a "true" story of the Sunday School variety, which had served as a

religious tract. Material of this kind is not easily moulded by the poet.

An account of the central incident was sent to Tennyson by Mary Gladstone in a letter which is quoted in the *Memoir* II., p. 253. "St. Swithin," in *Notes and Queries* (Sixth Series, III., p. 85), pointed out that the story was first told, under the title *Alice's Christmas Day*, in *St. Cyprian's Banner*, a localized periodical, published at 2 Park St., Dorset Square, London, in December, 1872. Later on it appeared in pamphlet form, and it was finally printed in *New and Old* (III., pp. 289-91), a parochial magazine under the same editorship as the defunct *St. Cyprian's Banner*, that of the Rev. Charles Gutch, B. D. I have obtained a transcript of *Alice's Christmas Day* from the British Museum. It seems to me that Tennyson must have read it (though the account in the *Memoir* might lead one to suppose otherwise), and Dr. Henry Van Dyke tells me that he has a faint recollection of being shown the magazine during his visit at Aldworth in 1892. At any rate, *Alice's Christmas Day* contains elements which reappear in the poem and which are not found in Miss Gladstone's letter. Tennyson said that the two children are the only characters taken from life. But here the story is told by "Sister Lydia," a pious, devoted, tender-hearted nurse unmistakably like the one in the poem, and the characters of the two doctors are slightly differentiated. The child heroine is introduced in the following commonplace passage: "I soon grew very fond of most of the children, but among them all I think little Alice [Emmie] most won my love; she was so young and weak to bear the terrible pain she suffered, and she was so sweet and patient under it; no one ever heard her say a cross or fretful word." (Cf. stanza IV.) She is not, however, an orphan, as in the poem—this is one of Tennyson's heightening touches—but the child of a drunken mother. In *Alice's Christmas Day* it is the rough stranger called in for consultation who makes the unfortunate remark, which Alice [Emmie] overhears, that the operation must be performed on the morrow. In this particular it seems to me doubtful whether Tennyson's rehandling of the narrative is an improvement. In other cases his genius is shown as much in what he changes or rejects as in what he adopts.

The expedient of hanging the arm out on the counterpane is suggested in Mary Gladstone's letter by Annie, as in the poem (stanza VI.) But in *Alice's Christmas Day* it comes from Alice [Emmie] herself.

"Suddenly Alice exclaimed, 'Polly! [Annie] what shall we do, we have quite forgotten one thing! If our Blessed Lord comes to help me tomorrow, how *will* He know which is Alice among so many children?'

"Can't you tell Him you are the next one to Polly?' suggested her little friend.

"No, Polly, because He might not know which was you; what can I do to let Him know?"

"In great perplexity they discussed this difficult point: at last Alice said, 'I know what I will do, Polly; when I go to sleep I will leave my arm hanging down out of bed, and I will tell Him that it is the little girl with her arm hanging down who wants Him to help her, and then He will know, and will not let the doctors hurt me.'"

The conclusion presents perhaps the closest parallel to the words of the poem:

"There she lay just as I had left her, one hand under her cheek, the other hanging down, 'to show our Blessed Lord which was the little girl who wanted Him to help her.' And—He *had* helped her!"

All this is simply fresh illustration of the assimilative tendency of Tennyson's genius, a tendency which has long since been demonstrated with great fulness of detail by Mr. J. Churton Collins. I have attempted to demonstrate it anew in the notes of the Athenæum Press edition of Tennyson, to which the reader is referred for much of the material of this article. What the dogmatic Mr. Collins and his friends sometimes refuse to realize is that Tennyson brought a creative imagination to bear upon his old material, and interpenetrated it with a new light. He found his own on the premises of many another man, but he proved conclusively that it was his own. The borrowed phrase becomes his in fee simple. It is subtly improved in the borrowing. "Some hideous blunder" is far from being as good as "Some one had blundered."

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LENAU-LITERATURE.

On the 13th of August, 1902, Germany celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the birth of one of her foremost lyrical poets and literary artists—of Nikolaus Lenau. This event called out a large number of books, monographs, and essays, some of which should be discussed in these columns.

By far the most important contribution of the year to the study of Lenau is:

EDUARD CASTLE: *Nikolaus Lenau. Zur Jahrhundertfeier seiner Geburt. Mit neun Bildnissen und einer Schriftprobe.* Leipzig, Hesse, 1902. 8vo., 120 pp.

For some time C. has been publishing articles on Lenau which proved him to be a master of his subject. This monograph attempts in a small space to give us a discussion of L. the man and the author, based on all the material which the latest investigations have brought to light.

The initial chapter describes the intellectual forces at work in Vienna at the beginning of the 19th century:—the time when L. received his first impressions. This chapter is valuable as compiling with extreme care widely scattered material, and hence proves important not merely for the study of L. We regret that in the body of the book no references are made to this introductory study: it is only with some difficulty that the reader can become aware of the connection between the forces moulding Austrian life and the artistic ideals of our poet.

On the pages that follow the author traces the evolution of L.'s development. Intimate acquaintance with the details of the subject characterize the entire book. The notes are full of valuable bibliographical references.

A few statements here and there seem to me infelicitous. From what C. says about L.'s cheerfulness in his early youth, and especially from some remarks on p. 33 concerning L.'s unwillingness to recover from the grief caused him by the unfortunate affair with Bertha, one is almost compelled to believe that to C. Lenau was essentially a poser. "So wurde er seiner Umgebung ein interessanter Mann, und da er das um jeden Preis bleiben wollte, hielt er an seiner Pose fest, bis es

ihm endlich mit Weltschmerz und innerer Zerrissenheit heiliger Ernst war." This implies that much of L.'s unhappiness was purely imaginary. Yet C. would doubtless grant that although L. was tinged with the vanity which makes so much of Byron well-nigh intolerable to us, he had abundant reason to be one of the most honest sufferers in the world and therefore a true interpreter of a vital side of human life. I furthermore cannot agree with C. in his attitude towards Sophie. Ernst in his recent book ("L.'s Frauengestalten") is surely wrong in his pitiless condemnation of her, but C. does not sufficiently appreciate her vanity and heartlessness. For that she often played with L.'s feelings and opposed his marriage with Marie Behrends partly for reasons of jealousy seems to me evident beyond a peradventure. Lastly I miss in the book a sense of form which would make the study of it more easy. Here and there one has difficulty in following the author.

These bits of criticism are not meant, however, to prejudice anyone against the book, the merits of which are apparent and give it lasting value.

The importance of what might be called intellectual honesty becomes more than ever evident when we compare C.'s treatise with another contribution from the pen of a Frenchman, viz :

JACQUES SALY-STERN: *La Vie d'un Poète. Essai sur Lenau*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, s. a. (1902). 8vo., 224 pp.

The method of this author becomes evident merely from a perusal of his "sources" on pp. 223-4. Here we read among other things: *Deutsche Runds*, (sic!) 1889, *Artikel Über Marie Behrens*. Or again: *Lenaus Biographie, L-A. Frankl*.

These specimens will suffice to show that S.-S. has but a faint conception of modern bibliographical technique. But worse than that his method throughout lacks every vestige of the scientific spirit. Among his "sources" are wanting works like Koch's and Roustan's biographies, Schlossar's edition of L.'s letters to the Reinbecks, &c.

A study of this "essay" only corroborates our impression that the author is a dilettante of the worst order.

To begin with, the dedication "Au souvenir de

ma Mère" reveals a complete misconception of L.'s inner life. Here we read: "La vie d'un poète qui chercha le Vrai dans le Scepticisme, dans l'Amitié, dans l'Amour, and qui le trouva dans la Foi." As if poor L. had found lasting solace in the tenets of any creed.

The book itself shows not merely a tendency to misinterpret the poet, but in it we discover on all sides inaccuracies and even wilful distortions for the sake of theatrical effect.

I will not lay great stress on the fact that S.-S. speaks of "Hoethy" for Hölty, of "Kovesdy" for Kövesdy, of "Brauthal" for Braunthal, &c., nor that on p. 179 the date of the letter quoted should be 1838 instead of 1835, that on p. 98 he speaks of a menuet of Krieger when he should speak of Kreutzer, that on p. 66 he translates "Walzergeiger" by "compositeur de valse pour violon", or that on p. 56 we read of "Schönenwerk" when Schottenwiese is meant, nor that the passage quoted on p. 24 was not from the lips of Frankl, but of Seidl, and that on p. 214 Reinbeck is mentioned as the person who saved the ms. of Don Juan, when as a matter of fact it was Emilie, &c., &c., &c. It is, however, more serious and rather amusing that honest Godenberg, who happened to hail from Friaul, should appear on p. 15 as "Godefroy de Frioul", as if he were a knight of the Table Round; furthermore that S.-S. should make L. address the following lines to Kerner (p. 102): "Pour nous, frère, le temps d'aimer est passé, crois m'en", &c. Of course, it was not Kerner, but Klemm to whom these lines were directed (cf. Schurz I, 155).—Poor old Kerner who for many years had been most happily married, would have been no little surprised at receiving from Lenau this suggestion of even the possibilities of new conquests in the domain of love. It is no less entertaining to read (on p. 139) L.'s name spelled "Streh Lenau." Even more delightful as a piece of almost pastoral innocence is the explanation offered on p. 16 for the spread of the romantic nature-sense in Austria at the end of the 18th century. Rousseau and Bernh. de St. Pierre, S.-S. tells us, had made France familiar with "cet amour débordant de la nature" and it was the soldiers of the French Revolution who introduced it into the German-speaking countries! Amusement ceases and irritation begins when

one sees with what unconscionable carelessness S.-S. deals with some of the facts of L.'s life. He asserts with great assurance that L. was the father of Bertha's child, although there is little proof to sustain that view. He then builds up a whole tragedy on his theory. L. is made to suffer agonies on account of his unfortunate scion. To help prove his point he quotes the poem "Das tote Glück" in translation and exhibits lamentable ignorance of German. The word "Kind" which evidently refers to "Schmerz", S.-S. refers to Bertha's—and, therefore, L.'s—child. Hence "quelle image saisissante," our author exclaims. Perhaps even more absurd and confusing are some of the translations from Schurz. Everywhere in his renditions S.-S. shows an exasperating tendency to insert lines and paragraphs of his own invention.

The most objectionable portion of the book, however, are the very first pages of it. In order to give color and "atmosphere" to the introductory chapters S.-S. invents a long scene which is supposed to have preceded L.'s birth, and which doubtless to the author's mind does much to heighten the attractiveness of his work.

Although there is no excuse from any point of view for S.-S.'s method of procedure, yet we might be inclined to excuse even some of his most obvious mistakes, if the book were conspicuous for originality. But, as it is merely an inexact repetition of what has been said before and as the author knows nothing of the important publications of recent years (not even of the work of his own countryman, Rouston), it must be characterized as the most glaring piece of dilettantism that has appeared in Lenau literature.

As the "essay" is written in a facile style, it might mislead. Hence it seemed necessary to lay bare its worthlessness.

Extreme care, carried even to the point of pedantry, is the salient feature of a book the purpose of which is to discuss the women who played a part in L.'s life. The title: "*L.'s Frauengestalten*" (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 8vo., VI + 410 pp.) is unfortunate, for it suggests a study of the heroines of L.'s works. The author, ADOLF WILHELM ERNST, has for years added to our knowledge of the poet by his publications in the *Grenzboten*,

the *Gegenwart*, &c. The work before us reflects familiarity with L.'s life and with the literature which concerns itself with him. In this latest contribution E. discusses L.'s mother, Bertha, Lotte Gmelin, Sophie Schwab, Emilie Reinbeck, Sophie Löwenthal, Karoline Unger, and Marie Behrends.

E. reprints all the passages in L.'s letters, &c., referring to these persons, and comments on them. In the chapters on Lotte and Sophie Schwab he offers material not found in Schurz or any of the collections of letters.

The book is an interesting bit of biography and a commentary on the inner life of one of the most sensitive of men. It must be granted that the student of L.'s letters finds little that is absolutely new, yet he will get a correcter idea of the importance for L. of these women to whom he was attached in friendship or in love. E. is eminently satisfactory as a collector of material, less excellent, however, as an interpreter. His personal likes and dislikes strongly control his judgment. For, though he does full justice to L.'s mother, to Emilie and Sophie Schwab, although he gives us an adequate picture of the sad part Lotte played in L.'s life, he is at least very severe on Karoline and positively unjust to Sophie Löwenthal. I agree with him in believing that vanity was a powerful factor in her attachment to him, and now, after reading E.'s book, I feel more than ever that her behavior during L.'s engagement to Marie Behrends deserves severe censure, but I refuse to go the lengths to which E. goes. To him she seems the very incarnation of heartlessness and selfishness, and therefore the evil spirit of L.'s life. I attach little importance to L.'s complaints of her coolness and harshness. So great was his sensitiveness that occasional quarrels, more or less serious, with even his most trusted friends, were inevitable. Even his warmest admirers, like Emilie, had at times good reason to complain of his behavior. And however much Sophie may have objected from reasons of jealousy to L.'s marrying Karoline Unger or Marie Behrends, let us not forget that a union with either would have been disastrous for all parties concerned.

The chapter on Marie Behrends gives us a pathetic picture of the sufferings of this delicate person, who unwittingly was drawn into the mael-

strom of Lenau's existence. E. should not altogether suppress the wrong implied in L.'s behavior towards her. To me the whole affair was an additional proof of his decaying judgment.

E.'s hatred of Sophie Löwenthal is of a piece with a strong element of philistine morality in him, which in many cases strikes one as distinctly unpleasant.

I cannot suppress the belief that a less garish cover would at least not have injured the book.

THEODOR GESKY: *Lenau als Naturdichter*, Leipzig, 1902, aims at interpreting the attitude towards nature found in some of Lenau's works. The material on which G. bases his investigation is entirely incomplete, and hence his investigation, in spite of some good points, has no scientific value.

I have attempted the same task as G. in a monograph: *The Attitude towards Nature in the Works of Nikolaus Lenau*, Chicago, 1902.

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NOTES ON DAVENANT'S LIFE.

Concerning the early life of the poet William Davenant but little is known; and concerning his later life reliable information is scant enough. Aubrey¹ and Wood² perhaps give the most authoritative sketches. Aubrey indeed counted the poet among his "learned familiar friends and acquaintance."³ But his account is not, for all that, to be relied on: it is neither full nor entirely accurate. And Wood's account, while richer in detail, is either inexplicit or silent on more than one important point. Nor does the rather lengthy sketch prefixed to the relatively recent edition of the poet's dramatic works, by Maidment and Logan,⁴ supplement or correct the earlier sketches, it must be said in defense of the Edinburgh editors, as faithfully as might have been hoped,—though

¹ Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men* (printed with Aubrey's *Letters*), London, 1813, vol. II, pp. 302-310.

² Anthony A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, London, 1817, vol. III, cols. 802-809.

³ Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, vol. II, p. 629.

⁴ *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant*, ed. Maidment and Logan, Edinburgh, 1872-1874, vol. I, pp. v-lxxxix.

that easily available sources for the poet's life were more meager at the time of the appearance of their memoir than at present.⁵ Still they omit some not unimportant matter which must surely have not been wholly inaccessible to them. They have not gleaned all that was available about Davenant's early military career; nor do they make any effort to work out the poet's pedigree. And in common with their predecessors and a very firmly established tradition, they report quite incorrectly one interesting episode from their subject's life,—viz., the projected voyage to America in 1650.

Davenant's Pedigree.

In an attempt to establish a pedigree for Sir William, I found my first clue in a letter from John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, to one Nicholas, an abstract of which letter appears in the Calendar of State Papers for 1628-9.⁶ This letter establishes, in my opinion, a connection between the poet and Bishop Davenant.⁷ The abstract of the letter reads as follows: "Recommends to him [Nicholas] 'this young gentleman, Mr. William Davenant, who has been employed in the wars abroad. He is my near kinsman. He has the place of an ancient or lieutenant already, and when new regiments are raised hopes for further advancement.'"

A connection between the poet and Bishop Davenant being apparently established, it occurred to me that I might establish the poet's pedigree through that of the Bishop's, which I felt confident could be found with little difficulty. Accordingly I made an examination of the various genealogical sources and authorities for the period, with the result that I found not only a number of more or less incomplete tables of the Davenant family, most of which include Bishop Davenant, but ultimately came across, in Hoare's *Wiltshire*,⁸ a lengthy Davenant pedigree in which the poet Davenant also appears.

⁵ Some of the Calendars of State Papers from which I cite later, had not then been published.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers for 1628-9*, ed. Bruce, London, 1859, p. 67.

⁷ Bruce, who refers to this letter in his preface, p. xiii, is unwilling to identify this William Davenant with the poet Davenant.

⁸ Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, London, 1837, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 85.

Hoare's table is inaccurate, however, in some respects, as there is abundant evidence to show. In the first place, John Davenant, Mayor of Oxford and father of the poet, did not die, as Hoare has it, in 1662, but just forty years before that date—in 1622. This is conclusively proved by his will,⁹ which went to probate October 21, 1622; and is also borne out by tradition, which represents the famous tavern-keeper as having 'pined and died'¹⁰ shortly after his wife's death, which in turn is shown by the will to have been 1622 also. Add to this that Hoare mentions among the offspring of John Davenant (of Oxford) only the poet, Sir William, and gives *Jane Shepard* as the name of John Davenant's wife, while the will gives her name as *Elizabeth*, and we have further evidence of Hoare's fallibility here.

But Hoare is in accord with the fullest and most reliable of the other tables down to William Davenant of Davenant's-lands. Here, instead of giving the aforementioned William Davenant only two sons, viz., John (merchant of London and father of Bishop Davenant) and William (from whom descended a William, a John, and an Edward), Hoare adds a third son, Ralph, whom he makes father of John Davenant of Oxford and grandfather of Sir William Davenant, the poet. This, so far as I can find, he has done arbitrarily.

We should have the correct tree, I believe, by finding in John (the second son of William, himself the second son of William of Davenant's-lands) none other than the renowned vintner and mayor of Oxford and the father of Sir William Davenant, dramatist and laureate. Evidence supporting this view may be found in a brief Davenant pedigree in Harleian ms. 1542,¹¹ where the wife of this John is given as Elizabeth: while evidence of a negative sort is to be had in that none of the manuscript tables, among which may be enumerated Harl. 1398, Harl. 1137, Harl. 1432, and Baker 30, support Hoare either in deriving the poet from

a third son (Ralph) of William Davenant of Davenant's-lands, or in the unwarranted substitution of the name Jane Shepard for the authentic Elizabeth (mother of the poet).

The balance of evidence, then, would seem to support the pedigree given on p. 238.

Early Military Career.

Shortly after his father's death in 1622, Davenant left Oxford—where, during the previous year at least, he had been a student at Lincoln College—and went to London. In London, according to Aubrey, he was first employed as a page to the Duchess of Richmond; later he was connected with the court of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke.¹² How long he remained in the service of Brooke we do not know,—Aubrey says, until Brooke's death in 1628. Nor do we know how he was occupied during these six years; Aubrey and the rest of the sketch-writers are silent here. It would appear, however, partly from the letter from Bishop Davenant referred to above in connection with the Davenant pedigree, and partly from certain complimentary verses by Thomas Ellis prefixed to the folio edition of the poet's *Albovine*¹³ (printed in 1629), that Davenant was employed at this time in the military service of England on the continent. Bishop Davenant's statement is to the effect that his young kinsman, William Davenant (whom I venture to identify with the poet), had "been engaged in the wars abroad" and already held the place of "ancient or lieutenant." The lines prefixed to the *Albovine* are as follows:

"Wise Fame shall sing the praise of thy deserts,
And voice thee glorious both in Arms and Arts;
Whilst thou, released from the wars sad mishaps,
Rests in soft dalliance on the Muses laps."

Davenant's subsequent rapid advancement and his prominence in the civil wars of the '40's lend further support to this view.

The Projected Voyage to Maryland.

But the gravest sin of Davenant's biographers is not one of omission. It has to do with the poet's projected voyage to America in the winter

⁹ Reprinted by Halliwell, London, 1866.

¹⁰ See the verses "on the death of Mr. John Davenant, Maior of Oxford," reprinted in *The Dramatic Works of D'Avenant*, vol. I, p. xxviii.

¹¹ I have to note, however, that this piece of evidence is somewhat weakened by the fact that the date 1634 follows this John Davenant.—See *Harleian Soc. Publications*, vol. XIII, p. 338.

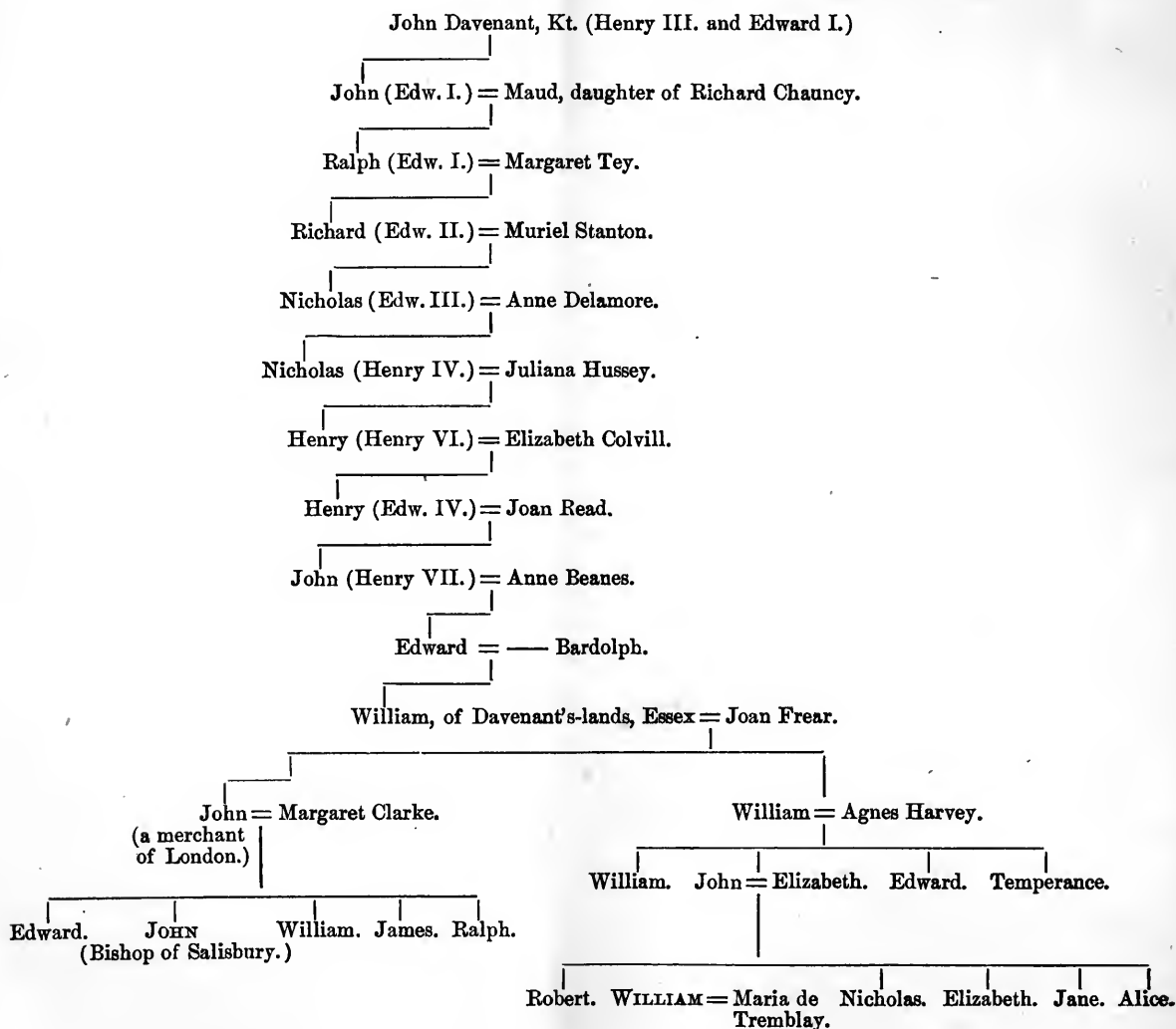
¹² Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, vol. II, pp. 303-4.

¹³ *The Dramatic Works of D'Avenant*, vol. I, p. 16.

of 1650. Aubrey tells us¹⁴ that Davenant, while in Paris (1648 or 9, presumably), "layd an ingeniose designe to carry a considerable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) to Virginia," and, by authority of the King of France, having secured some thirty-six weavers from the prisons of Paris,

in his sketch of Davenant in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The facts in the case are, that Davenant had set out, not for Virginia, but for the Colony of Maryland, and with a commission to supersede Lord Baltimore as Lieutenant-Governor of Mary-



set out on a voyage thither; to be captured by the English, however, shortly after leaving France. In this account Aubrey seems to have been followed by all who have come after him, including the editors Maidment and Logan, and Knight

¹⁴ Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, vol. II, p. 307 f.

land and to strengthen as best he could the cause of the Royalists in America. He may have given it out, as a sort of ruse, that he was going to Virginia, but there can be no doubt that his mission was to Maryland. Proof of this view is found in the commission itself, a printed copy of which is

to be seen in the British Museum.¹⁵ This copy is attached to a document entitled "The Lord Baltimore's Case concerning the Province of Maryland." The commission reads, in part, as follows :—

"Whereas, Lord Baltimore doth visibly adhere to the Rebels of England . . . , know ye, therefore, that we, reposing conduct loyalty and good affections to us, of you, Sir William Davenant, do by these presents nominate you our Lieutenant Governor of the said province of Maryland. . . . We give you all power and authority to do all things in the said plantation which shall be necessary for our service, and to comply and hold due correspondence with trusty Sir William Berkley of Virginia. Given at our Court in Jersey 16th Day of Feby. 1649/50 in the second year of our reign."

To supersede Lord Baltimore in Maryland, then, and not to carry weavers to Virginia, was the purpose of Davenant's would-be voyage to America.—The fate of the expedition I have already told: the poet was captured in the Channel, and taken to Cowes Castle, Isle of Wight, where he was imprisoned.

Imprisonment During the Commonwealth.

For the period immediately following the capture of Davenant, in 1650, the Calendars of State Papers afford a number of interesting notices not so far made use of in any of the various memoirs of the poet. From one of these notices, bearing the date May 17, 1650,¹⁶ we learn that Davenant was at that time imprisoned at Cowes Castle. And as the postscript to his *Gondibert* dates from the same place on the 22d of the following October, we know that he was still at Cowes when the order for his trial was drawn. This order bears the date July 2, 1650.¹⁷ On the following day, July 3, 1650,¹⁸ there was an order that Davenant be excluded from the number to be tried according

to the above first-mentioned order, Milton's influence,¹⁹ perhaps, having been exerted in his behalf. October 7, 1652,²⁰ over two years later, Davenant was granted the liberty of the Tower, whither he had been removed, perhaps in the winter of 1650–51,—this time, tradition has it, through the influence of Whitelocke.²¹ There are a number of other notices for the years 1653 and 1654, the most important of which is that of a petition to the Protector, dated April 18, 1654,²² in which Davenant sums up his history for the preceding four years. This petition recites that "on 9 July, 1650, Parliament appointed him to be tried by the High Court of Justice for treason, but no proceedings were taken." On Nov. 12, 1651, it was agreed that he be exchanged for a Capt. Clarke, yet he has been retained a prisoner for two years and afterward let out for one year on bail. He has recently been "arrested for debt and made a double prisoner." June 27, 1654,²³ an order is entered that Davenant be set at liberty and a pardon prepared. August 4²⁴ of the same year an order is entered, signed by Cromwell, for his discharge from the Tower.

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NOTES ON SCHILLER'S *Eroberer*.

The lines 51–54 of Schiller's poem *Der Eroberer* have always presented great difficulties to the commentators. Especially has the expression "Flammen der Königsstadt" been the occasion of much speculation; it has been connected either with the conflagration of Rome in the time of Nero (Düntzer, *Erläut.*, etc. I², 15 ff.; Jonas, *Erläut. d. Jugendged. Schiller's*, 12), or with the burning of the royal castle at Persepolis by Alexander the Great (Jelp, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. und Päd.*, 100. Band, 1869, 2. Abt., 421 ff.). Neither of these

¹⁵ "Calvert Papers," numbers 19 and 20. A copy may be found in the library of the Maryland Historical Soc., Baltimore.—See Browne, *George and Cecilius Calvert*, New York, 1890, pp. 141–2, and *Maryland*, Boston, 1888, p. 73, for references to this in connection with Maryland history.

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers* for 1650, Domestic Series, p. 167.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁹ See Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. III, col. 805, and Richardson, *Explanatory Notes on Paradise Lost*, London, 1734, p. lxxxix f. See also any edition of Johnson's *Life of Milton*.

²⁰ *Cal. of State Papers* for 1651–2, p. 432.

²¹ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, Oxford, 1853, vol. III, p. 462.

²² *Cal. of State Papers* for 1654, pp. 106–7.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 438–9.

explanations is satisfactory. Against the second interpretation it may be said that "Königsstadt" and "Königsburg" (royal castle) suggest somewhat different notions and that we know of no especially remarkable atrocities committed in connection with the destruction of the castle of Persepolis. The first explanation is deficient in this regard that Rome could only have been referred to by Schiller as "Kaiserstadt" and that Nero, had he been in the poet's mind, ought to have been called a tyrant and not a conqueror; yet the idea which underlies the poem is the wickedness of the sanguinary, conquering warrior. On the other hand, it is true, the explanation connecting ll. 51-54 with Persepolis finds a support in the fact that the question whether Cæsar and Alexander have to be considered as benefactors or as enemies of the human race, has been discussed in the *Schwüb. Magazin*, and in a paper read by Schiller in the Karlsschule. Likewise the connecting of the passage with Rome is sustained by the lines in *Fiesko* II, 12th scene: "So steh' ich wie Nero auf dem Berg und sehe dem possierlichen Brande zu", and also by the mention of Nero in *Räuber* V, 1st scene. Neither of the two parallels, however, is conclusive and I should like, therefore, to propose the reference of the passage in question to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasianus and Titus.

This explanation, in the first place, would be in perfect harmony with the expression "Königsstadt", although it must be admitted that this word has been used by Schiller also without any reference to the city of David (in *Der Abend, Die Herrlichkeit der Schöpfung*). The horrible events which took place during the last struggle of the Jews against the Romans are well known. The stubborn resistance of the Jews was overcome by burning the castle, the temple, and the city of Jerusalem; and further, the Romans thought it wise to make an example of the whole Jewish population: many thousands of them perished during the fight and in the flames; others famished; those who remained were, after the capture of the town, partly killed on the spot and partly sold as slaves or reserved for exhibition later on in the triumphal procession in Rome (cf. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 1888, II. vol., 669 ff.).

The model for *Erob.* 51-54 seems to have been

Messias xx, 439 ff., especially 445-452, where the angels of death thus describe the great judgment of Jerusalem:

Geh unter! geh unter, Stadt Gottes!
In Kriegsschreyn! In Rauchdampf! und Glutstrom!...
Sey Trümmer, Stadt Gottes!
Todsworte sprach Jesus! Rom thut sie!
Zum Aas' eilt mit Gierblick der Adler!
Den Feldherrn, die ihr Gott ruft zu verderben,
Flammt's ernst vom Racheuge!

It is true, Rome appears here only as the mandatory of God; in the speech of Cnæus in *Mess.* xvii, 617 ff., however, Rome is called the conqueror and carefully contrasted with the Saviour.

The resemblance between Schiller's *Eroberer* and *Messias* xx is not confined to these few lines. The passage of *Mess.* xx, quoted above, is immediately followed by the line:

"Pflugtreiber streun schreckend Salzsäaten!"

Compare this with *Erob.* 61, where the conqueror is called a bloody "Sämann." Furthermore, the 200 lines preceding *Mess.* xx, 439, describe the fate of such conqueror nations as Assur, Elam, Edom, and Egypt, which is represented by Pharaoh. About Pharaoh it is said in 432-34:

Ihn
Erblickte sein Volk, und es war
Ihm Erquickung dies Entsetzen!

This reminds one of *Erob.* 37-40:

O ihr wisst es noch nicht, welch ein Gefühl es ist,
Welch Elysium schon in dem Gedanken blüht,
Bleicher Feinde Entsetzen,
Schrecken zitternder Welt zu sein.

The 200 lines after *Mess.* xx, 439, contain a description of the hymn on Christ and his triumphal procession through the heavens sung by the seraphim and those who have risen from the dead. The earths, the suns, the stars, the waters of the moon and the seas of the earth are urged to praise the Saviour. The news of his triumph resounds through the universe. Christ is now the Lord over all, but at the same time "Quelle aller Beseeligung" (488); he "strahlt in dem Chor hoher Throne" (546). The immortals see his "strahlenden Heerzug" (583). The groves say to the groves and the mountains to the mountains: "Vollender!"

A comparison of these lines with those in *Eroberer*

describing the position of the conqueror in the world suggests the idea that Schiller gets the material for this description chiefly by an antipodal use of Christ's triumphal procession in *Mess. xx*, although other models may also have been before the poet's mind (e. g. for *Erob. 44* possibly the figure of Adrameleck in *Mess. II*, 841 ff.). In *Mess. xx* the universe is united in the praise of the triumphant Christ, while in *Erob.* the universe is united in indignation against the conqueror: the oceans, the orkus, the dying ones, the old men, the women and children call down curses on his head. Both Christ and the conqueror are rulers: the former, one of blessing, the latter, one of evil. The parallel extends even to single expressions; cf. *Mess. xx*, 517-518 with *Erob. 17-18*; "Siegs-gang" in *Mess. xx*, 551 with "Blutgang des Siegs" in *Erob. 22*; "Der Engel Hallen" in *Mess. 559* with "Hallen des Todes" in *Erob. 15*.

While too much importance must not, of course, be attached to resemblances in such isolated passages, nevertheless the hypothesis that Schiller used the part of *Messias*, quoted above, as a model for *Eroberer 51-54*, seems fully justified. And if this be so, then one may infer that in using the expression "Königsstadt," he had in mind Jerusalem.

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THE RULE OF CHRODEGANG IN OLD ENGLISH.

Whilst working through the Old English version of the enlarged *Rule* of Chrodegang which is contained in ms. 191 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and which I am editing for the Early Engl. Text. Soc., I came across a passage that called to mind a fragment which I published in *Modern Language Notes*, XII, (Feb. 1897) col. 111, from ms. Addit. 34652 in the British Museum, consisting of (1) a short piece of Old English on drunkenness, followed by (2) a Canon in Latin 'De clericis,' followed in its turn by (3) an Old Engl. rendering of (2). The source of (2) and (3) I stated to be Isidor's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, bk. ii, ch. 1, but that of (1) I was unable to determine. I now find that the whole

is taken from Chrodegang's *Rule*, (1) being the end of Ch. lxii, (2) and (3) corresponding to Ch. lxiii, whilst the last two lines (in Latin) form the beginning of Ch. lxiv. Chrodegang took Chapters lxiii and lxiv word for word from Isidor, but his Ch. lxii 'De ebrietate' is not in that author's work, which shows that the British Museum fragment formed part of a ms. containing Chrodegang's *Rule*, and not Isidor's *De eccl. off.*

The Old English portions agree word for word with the corresponding passages in the Corpus ms., so that ms. Addit. 34652 is a leaf of a lost ms. of the same English translation of Chrodegang's *Rule*.

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NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH PROSE TEXTS.

I. BOETHIUS.

[The references are to Sedgfield's edition (1899) and translation (1900).]

(1). 7,12.—*se wæs in boccræftū ȝ on woruld-peawum se rihtwisesta*. The sense of 'worldly custom' assigned to *woruldpeaw* in the Glossary does not seem quite appropriate. Better is Toller's entry *weorold-peawas* 'conduct in the affairs of this world.' It might be freely rendered by 'character' (Lat. *mores*), and the above phrase may be taken as an approximate equivalent of the modern 'a scholar and a gentleman.' It is true, the two nouns do not go very well together with the one adjective *se rihtwisesta*, which can hardly mean 'the most wise' (Cardale, Fox), 'most truly wise' (Sedgfield's trans.); we should expect something like *se gleawesta* or *se gelæredesta* after *boccræftum*. (There is no ambiguity in the metrical version, *Met. Boeth. I*, 49-52). The use of the superlative would seem to suggest a Latin model; cf. e. g., *wæs he se wer æghwonan se gelæredesta*, *Bede 448,6* = uir undecumque doctissimus; *ib. 434,17f.*; 466,24.

(2). 12,2. (*Swiðe rihte þu seofodest þa wóon wyrd ægþer ge on ðara unrihtwisra anwalda hean-*

¹ Goodwin's translation of *he wæs gestæppig on his peawum*, *Vita Guthl. 92,18*, "he was steadfast in his duties," also needs correction.

esse ge on minre unweorþnesse 7 forsewennesse) ge on þara manfulra forðforlætnesse on ðas weoruldspeda. Glossary: forðforlætennes 'licence.' Translation: "... and in the licence of the wicked as regards the prosperity of this world." This is hardly quite satisfactory. Certainly misleading is the interpretation of Wülfing (II, 466), who records on ðas weoruldspeda as an example of on denoting "den Ort, wo etwas stattfindet." The verbal force of forðforlætnes should be brought out more strongly: the wicked are — forð forlætan on ðas weoruldspeda = 'sent forth to . . .', or 'allowed to enter upon [the possession of] worldly prosperity.' Cf. Bede 200,5 sona instæpe se wind gestilleð 7 sæs smyllnes æfterfylgeð, 7 eow eac bliðe on eowerne wilsid hām forlætað; and see Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s. v. forlætan.—A short, literal translation seems indeed impossible.

(3). 12,10.—Ne meaht þu win wringan on mīde (B; Junius; midne) winter. Midne should be adopted as the textual reading. Cf. Menol. 1 Crist wæs acennyd, cýninga wuldor, / on midne winter, etc.

(4). 14,14.—Hwæt, eac se broc, þeah he swiþe of his rihtryne, ðon þær micel stan weakwiende of þā heohan munte oninnan feaþ 7 hine todæls 7 hī his rihtrynes wiðstent. Sedgefield's emendation of swiþe to swife does not effectively remedy the passage (in spite of Wülfing, *Engl. Stud.* xxxi, 275), which looks in fact quite hopeless, and the editor himself remarks: "Some words appar. omitted here, vid. Metr." Unquestionably one line at least must have been skipped by the scribe (of B), after or before swiþe (which may as well be authentic). (*Dial. Gr.* 192,23 ne mihton hi hwæðre pone stream of his rihtryne abygan; 193, 15, 19).

(5). 29,28.—Wenst þu mæge seo wyrd þe gedon þ þa þing þin agnu sen þa ðe heora agene (better J.: agnu) gecynd þe gedon fremde? We see no reason why gedydon (J.) has not been put in the text in place of gedon.

(6). 37,3.—ða wearð he [Erculus] strengra, 7 adrehte hine. Trans.: "But Erculus was the stronger . . ." A little better would be 'turned out (or proved) stronger.' Cf. Brunnanb. 47 hlihan ne þorftan, / þæt hi beaduweorca beteran wurdan.

(7). 45,6.—forðæm he hine swa orgellice up ahof 7 bodode þæs þ he wðwita wære. bodode is to be

changed to bode, i. e., bōde = 'boasted' (which may after all have been the reading of C), as first observed by Cosijn (*Beitr.* xxiii, 125) with reference to *Liber Scint.* 152,2 se þe hyne bogað 7 tobrætt = qui se iactat et dilatat, and *Mod.* 28 boð his sylfes / swiþor micle þonne se sella mon. Cf. Ben. R. (ed. Schröer) 22,17 bode (var. bodude), 139,2 bogie. The same verb is probably to be recognized in *Boeth.* 42,15 (Ac hwæt rumedlices oððe micellices oððe weorðfullices hæfð) se eower gilp þe ge þær bogiað on þā fiftan dæle healfū londes 7 unlon-des, whereas Sedgefield enters bogiað under bugian: 'dwell, inhabit' (J. reads bugiað).

(8). 45,28.—(sio sawl . . .) for (B: of) þæm carcerne þæs lichoman onlesed bið. Wülfing in *Engl. Stud.* xxviii, 107, lays his finger on this (unique) use of for in the sense of 'from,' as mentioned in Sedgefield's Glossary. But it is decidedly safer to hold the scribe responsible for this syntactical phenomenon and actually read from (frō). The same remark applies to 11,3f. (B) þ þu wære ut afaren of þines fæder eðele, þ is for (J.: of) minum larum; to all appearances also to *Dial. Gr.* 188,19 þa he nolde for (read from) his biscopphade hi aweg adrifan.—Conversely, for has been misspelt fro by the Ca-scribe of Bede, 22,27; likewise wrongly fram in *Dial. Gr.* 320,19 se wæs togen fram (C; for O) þam yflum ofdune be þam þeon 7 for þam his goddædum upp be þam earmum.

(9). 49,27.—Ac þonne ær þe he þ gewældleðer forlæt para bridla . . . þon forlætað hi þa sibbe. This use of þonne ær deserves to be pointed out. Cardale was inclined to take ær as a contraction of æfre. However, it is simply the adverb ær, appearing redundant, it is true, but used also in hwonne ær: *Par. Ps.* 40,5 Hwonne ær he beo deað, oppe hwænne his nama aspringe? (= quando); *Riddl.* 32,12 sæles bideþ, / hwonne ær heo cræft hyre cyþan mote; likewise in hwan er in Old Saxon (beside und er), wanneer in Dutch, and wann eher (wenn eher) in Low German dialect. The analogous combination þonne ærest has been cited by Pogatscher, *Anz. f. d. A.* xxv, 4. Also swa ær swa: Bede 248,25 him geheht, swa ær swa heo gefun-genne mon 7 hades wyrðne metan meahton, þæt heo hine woldon to biscope gehalgian (equal to sona swa) is to be mentioned as a proper parallel.

The customary rendering (Cardale, Fox, Sedgefield) "but whenever he shall (loose the bridle-

rein . . .)” may be improved by substituting ‘as soon as.’

Perhaps the same interpretation holds good of 25,18 *wið þæs ic wat þu wilt higian þon ær þe ðu hine ongiteſt* (*þon* may stand for *þon*=*þonne*), though the translation “before even thou perceivest it” (Sedgefield) does not seem impossible. The latter should not, of course, be based on Cardale’s remark that “*þon ær þe* seems put for *ær þon þe*,” with which the same scholar’s (erroneous) rendering “until thou obtainest it” is strangely at variance.

(10). 50,18. *ac þeah me giet mare freceſes on becume, ne cwiðe ic næfre ma þ hit butan gewyrhtū sie*. The anomalous *cwiðe*—provided the *i* is considered short—is paralleled by *cwiðo*=*dico*, *Rit.* 19,7 (following *wið*!). Otherwise it might be taken as *cwiðe* ‘lament, complain’ (used with reference to *aretne*, l. 15, *afrefredne*, l. 13). Of other texts belonging to the Alfridian cycle, Gregory’s *Dialogues* offer several examples of this verb—sometimes confused with *cweðan*, especially in ms. O—, thus 89,34, 191,19, 243,3, 244,26, 245,10; besides *cwiðnes* 207,8, 257,5. We admit that we do not recall another instance of the same construction.

(11). 119,14. . . . *habbað sū yfel hefigre 7 freceſlicre þonne ænig wite swa on piſſe worulde*. The B-reading *sie* should take precedence before the *swa* of C.

(12). 121,21. *ac wenað on hiora unnettan willan*. Certainly not *wēnað*, but *wendað* (so B) is meant.

(13). 136,26. *þær se an geſtæþþega cyning gif he ne ſtaþelode ealla geſceafta, þōn wurdon he ealle toſloþene 7 toſtenece. gif he*, written above the line, is obviously nothing but a gloss—*þær* being comparatively rare in the sense of ‘if’—and should be treated as such.

(14). In a considerable number of instances Sedgefield has corrected the text by inserting consonants which in normal, ‘grammatically’ faultless spelling cannot indeed be dispensed with. Yet those cases do not appear to be mere blunders. At any rate they are of sufficient phonetic interest to be noted. To show that such dropping of certain consonants is by no means an isolated phenomenon, we subjoin analogous examples from other texts collected incidentally in our reading and extracted from the well-known grammatical monographs.

a) Loss of t.

Boeth.: (*þu*) *meah* (*secgan*) 115,3 C (*Sedg. meah*). (*þæm*) *ælmihgan* (*Gode*) 149,8 C (*Sedg. ælmihgtan*). *unrihwisa* 39,18 B (*Sedg. unrihtwisa*). *lyf* (*þonne*) 80,7 B (*Sedg. lyft*). *cræf* (*þæs modes*) 116,29 B (*Sedg. cræft*). *geſceaf* (*tiohhode*) 98,14 B (*Sedg. geſceaft*). *geſceafa* 136,28 B (*Sedg. geſceafta*).

seldos (*geſieħð*) 126,22 B (*Sedg. seldost*).

On this point Bülbring remarks (*Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 533): “Von drei unmittelbar aufeinander folgenden Konsonanten fällt der mittlere manchmal aus . . . ; t namentlich vor s (*fin(t)st, mil(t)ſigan*, etc.); auch nach Spiranten (WS. *ryh(t)lice, soðſæs(t)nes*, K. Gl. *droh(t)nian, aſes(t)nade, gelus(t)fullad, ðris(t)nes*).”

Nearly all of the following instances show the dropping of *t* after spirants.²

gewyrh (*þæt*), *Oros*. 70,20. *ryhlice*, *Cura Past.* 369,25. *unryhwisnesse*, *ib.* 327,21. *unrihlice*, *Solil.* (ed. Hulme) 336,34. *rehwisnisſe*, *Vesp. Ps.* 35,11,13. *beorhnyſſe*, *Assm. Hom.* x (N), 578. *byrhm-hwile*, WS. Go., L. 4,5. *Berhwald*, *Bede* 420,14. *Wichred*, *Sweet*, *O. E. T.*, p. 512. *drihne*, *Benet* (ed. Logeman) 1,8. *drihnes*, *Solil.* 355,45. *drihnes*, *Assm. Hom.* XIII (S¹), 242. *gedihnað*, *Kent. Gl.* 551. *ehnesse*, *Benet* 20,12. *staltihlan*, *Ælfr.-Ine Laws*, cap. xc (G; *stælyhtlan* E); *wertihlan*, *ib.*, cap. cxv (G; *wertyhtlan* E); *tihlan*, *Cn. Laws* i, 5 (A; *tyhtlan* G). *geþeah*, *Benet* 17,14. *drohgende*, *Benet* 24,12. *drohniað*, *Kent. Gl.* 630. *gedaeh* (*þin*), *Vesp. Ps.* 19,15. *genihsumiað*, *Kent. Gl.* 36.

ymbhwyrſ, *Vesp. Ps.* 97,9. *giacæf*, *Rit.* 51,3. *efſones*, *Chron. A. D.* 1140. *of[t]rædlice*, *Oros*. 142,9.

soðſæsnesse, *Cura Past.* 129,14. *soðſes[t]nis*, *Vesp. Ps.* 88,3. *gefasnoð*, *Solil.* 341,30. *wæsmas*, *Benet* 82,3. *wæsm*, *Bede* 366,31; 34,11 B. *unwæsmbærnyſſe*, *Interr. Sigew.* 346. *blosma*, *Bede* 430,3 O B, 432,10 Ca B, 38,27 B. *eaſwerd*, *Interr. Sigew.* 136. *grisbitung*, *Assm. Hom.* xiv (S), 115. *Wessexum*, *Bede* (B) 16,19; 18,30; etc. etc. *cristenessa* (= *christianissimus*), *Bede* 110,3. *duſ*, *Vesp. Ps.* 34,5. *ðurs*, *Vesp. Ps.* 103,11. *gas*, *Vesp. Ps.* 50,19; 77,8,39; 142,4; 148,8. *gaas*

² In our quotations we make in general no distinction as to grades of stress.

Lind., Mt. Pref. 7,17, Mc. 13, 11, J. 6,63. *higeleas*, *Benet* 75,17. *siðas*, *Beow.* 2710.

mildheornesse, *Cura Past.* 99,1, *Solil.* 339,32, *Blickl. Hom.* 87,33, *Vesp. Ps.* 16,7 (24,7). *hatheornesse*, *Cura Past.* 185,22. *sceornesse*, *Benet* 39,13. *gemylsa*, *Solil.* 334,31.—*weal*, *Solil.* 350,45.

Canwarum, *Bede* (C) 116,14; 116,25.—*stunra*, *Kent. Gl.* 504.

b) Loss of d.

Boeth.: *anweal* 37,14 B (Sedg. *anweald*). *moni-feal* 9,7 B (Sedg. *monifeald*). *worul* 13,25 C (Sedg. *woruld*).

geon 147,3 B (Sedg. *geond*). *anweardan* 24,14 B (Sedg. *andweardan*). *anwearda* 35,26 B (Sedg. *andwearde*).

Cf. *worul[d]cundra*, *Cura Past.* 3,4. *worðin-gum*, *Cura Past.* 186,23. *worulspedū*, *Bede* 66,10 B. *worlcundra*, 'Crist' 285. *gewealnum*, *Solil.* 341,48. *scylgan*, *Cura Past.* 117,12. *geðylgian*, *Cura Past.* 217,6. *forðelgiað*, *Kent. Gl.* 1018. *milheortniss*, *Vesp. Ps.* 22,6. *forðhal*, *Bede* 144,16 C. *forheol*, *Chron. A. D.* 1114. *gol*, *Chron. A. D.* 1064 E. *gol*, *Diplom. Angl.* 568,1. *hol*, *Beow.* 1229.

feonscype, *Solil.* 340,22; 340,6. *freon^ascipe*, *Bede* 454,21 O. *geonscán*, *Bede* 430,7 B, 188,28 O Ca. *geon^agongendra*, *Vesp. Ps.* 67,22. *Wen-lum*, *Wids.* 59. *Wænla*, *Dial. Gr.* 179,20 C. *anwerd*, *Ælfr. Hom.* II 292,21. *answarede*, *Solil.* 355,4. *lanferde*, *Chron. A. D.* 1066 D. *anwlitan*, *Bede* 96,10 B (O). *ærenwracon*, *Bede* 116,6 C. *erenwreca*, *Lind.*, Mc. Pref. 2,8. *pusen*, *Chron. A. D.* 1137. From the Kentish Glosses Zupitza quotes (*Z. f. d. A.* XXI, 11): *angað*, *anlifene*, *anmitta*, *behealdendra*, *unaseðenlic*, *gewilnienlic*.

ger, *Vesp. Ps.* 44,7. *wearnesse*, *Bede* 144,13 O. *sacerhade*, *ib.* 162,20 T. *Wighear*, *ib.* 252,16 B. *hearne*, *Wald.* I, 4 (unless it be *hearde*, M. Förster, *Engl. Stud.* XXIX, 108). *Heaðobearna*, *Beow.* 2067. *æfwyrle*, *Ine Laws* 40 (B).

þeogestreona, *Beow.* 1218. *gesceawis*, *Solil.* 336,46; 337,38; etc.

c) Only a few examples of the dropping of ð have been noted.

Boeth.: *weorscipes* 56,1 B (Sedg. *weorðscipes*). ? *deorwyrre* 72,24 B (Sedg. *deorwyrðre*).

Cf. *wearscype*, *Solil.* 355,37. *wurscipe*, *Chron. A. D.* 1132. *arwyrlic*, *Bede* 144,17 T.

d) Loss of r.

Boeth.: *fopam* 44,20 B (Sedg. *forþæm*). *fopan*

136,30 B (Sedg. *forþam*). *fohwam* 128,5 B (Sedg. *forþæm*).

hwefð 126,5 B (Sedg. *hwerfð*). *ymbhwyrft* 126,4 B (Sedg. *ymbhwyrft*).

beohtost 21,2 B (Sedg. *beorhtost*). *beohtnes* 21,3 B (Sedg. *beorhtnes*). *orsohnes* 47,25 B (Sedg. *orsorhnes*).

andysne 61,6 B (Sedg. *andrysne*).—*geb^ringan* 7,24 B (Sedg. *gebringan*).

Cf. *foloren*, *Cura Past.* 123,11; *focorfen*, *ib.* 308,2; *folët*, *ib.* 467,11; *foswelge*, 439,3; *folegen*, 405,13; *fo[r]bær*, 295,3. *forðon*, *Bede* 416,2 T; *forðon*, 202,18 Ca. *foletende*, *Rush.* 4,20. *foa-hrædigende*, *Benet* 106,11. *forðferde*, *Bede* 270,28 O.

hweaf, *Bede* 242,13 O. *hwea^f*, *ib.* 402,18 O. *hwufon*, *ib.* 270,25 Ca. *ymbhwyrft*, *Wr.-Wü. Vocab.* 428,10. *ðafond*, *Lind.*, L. 16,20. (*gedu(r)fon*, *Oros.* 38,33.)

fyhtu, *Vesp. Ps.* 118,25. *forwyhtne* (r inserted a. l.), *Ben R.* 31,13 (var.). *gewohte*, *Assm. Hom.* XIII (N), 63. (cf. *gesohte*, *Bede* 366,13 T, *geworhte* B C O Ca). *ðuhteon*, *Oros.* 30,22. *ðoh*, *Vesp. Hy.* 13,7. *beo[r]htnes*, *Assm. Hom.* III (J), 488. *Betti*, *Bettu* (proper names of *Liber Vitae*, cf. R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae*, § 18, n. 2); *Totta* (*ib.*, § 24, n. 1).

noþernum, *Oros.* 12,35. *noðdæle*, *Bede* 460,14 O. *noðdæles*, *Vesp. Ps.* 47,3. *arwuðlice*, *Assm. Hom.* XIII (F), 10.

do[r]ste, *Oros.* 208,27. *hoscne*, 'Crist' 49. (cf. *Disc. of Soul* 117 Ex. *horsclice*, *Verc. huzlicum*.) *æst* (= *ærest*), *Oros.* 112,22; 124,8; 130,21; 174,2; 182,18,

bændon, *Bede* 214,31 B. *onbændest*, *ib.* 216,8 B. *benete*, *Ælfr. Laws*, cap. XIII B (Turk's ed.; E *bærnette*). *Beonna*, *Beonnu* (proper names of *Liber Vitae*, cf. R. Müller, § 18, n. 2). *gronunge*, *Lib. Scint.* 20,1.

sea[r]we, *Oros.* 52,27. *bea^rwe*, *Bede* 388,3 O. *deowurðum*, *Assm. Hom.* XIII (S'), 174.

gereodnisse, *Vesp. Ps.* 22,2.

stongeste, *Kent. Gl.* 224 (according to Zupitza mere scribal slip, unlike *specan*). *st^angum*, *Bede* 430,31 O. *tobedde*, *Benet* 109,15; *bæd*, *ib.* 54,7.

For the loss of r in posttonic syllables Bülbring quotes the following examples (*Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 563): late WS. *cwearten*, *beren*, *sceapheorden*, late Northumbr. *ondesne*, *Merc.*

geendebyrdan.—So *cweartene*, *Assm. Hom.* xvi (D), 185. *beren*, *Blickl. Hom.* 39,24,25; 41,11; *Dial. Gr.* 290,20,24. Further *wundolican*, *Dial. Gr.* 286,26 O. *wuldelicestan*, *Chad* (ed. Napier) 69. *wundelice*, *Peri didax.* (ed. Löweneck) 9,6 (no. 11); *Leechd.* I, 132,10 var. *undefehst*, *Solil.* 344,37; *Lib. Scint.* 19,5. (cf. *arwuðlice* above.)

In ms. O of Bede the *r* has been omitted very freely, but has generally been inserted above the line by a correcting hand. It is true, the same has happened with other letters, but the omission of the *r* is particularly striking by its frequency.

If the foregoing lists are made up of mistakes, there seems at least to be method in this blundering. Most of the examples cited may indeed be assumed to represent 'Spoken English' of the Anglo-Saxon period.

II. ANGLO-SAXON HOMILIES, ED. BY ASSMANN.

(Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa. Vol. III.)

(1). I, 26f.

*Englas he gesceop on ænlicre fægernysse
manega þusenda, on micelre strengðe.*

Assmann, in a foot-note, vouchsafes an explanation which is not needed, and which moreover is wrong. For why should, or how could *manega þusenda* be "genetiv"? Cf. II, 115f.

(2.) X, 603 (J). *heo wære orwelges mægðhades and unwemme*. In the Glossary we are informed of the existence of an adj. *orwelig* 'keusch.' This looks rather like a guess, which is still awaiting confirmation. What we expect is, of course, *onwealges*, as we read e. g., in 'Crist' 1420 *wæs hyre mægdenhad / æghwæs onwalg*, or in Bede 316,17 *mid ecre onwalhnesse mægðhades* (= perpetuae uirginitatis integritate), and as furthermore the variant (X, 602 N) *andwealdes* plainly suggests; cf. Bede 32,9 C *onwald*, Ca *onwealhne* (= integram); 154,1 C *anweald*, B *andweald*, T (*eall ger*) *onwalg* (= anno integro). The adjective, which is common in Bede (32,9; 154,1; 192,12; 292,26; 322,13; 350,9; 364,9; 374,29, always = integer), in *Cura Past.* (220,22; 355,12; 393,31; 403,23),³ and occurs also in *Oros*.

³ M. Deutschbein's query if the word should be considered 'Anglian' (*Beitr.* xxvi, 214) is thus answered in the negative.

(62,23, = incolumis) and elsewhere, shows normally the vowel *a* or the 'broken' *ea*. But an undoubted instance of an *e*-variant is found in *Dial. Gr.* 241,14 *hi spræcon fullum ȝ onwelgum wordum* C (= plena ad integrum uerba formabantur), the O-reading *unweligum* being easily accounted for by the confusion between *on*- and *un*-, which is not infrequent in this text. Thus very likely in the above case, *onwelges* should be read.

As an explanation of this collateral form we would suggest that it results from analogy with the 'umlauted' noun *anwelhnes*, which exists by the side of the ordinary *anwealhnes*. Cf. Napier's *Old English Glosses* 1140 *anwelhnes* = integritas; 627 *ancwelnyse* = integritate, .i. castitate. This umlaut of the noun is on a level with that observed in words like *untrumnes*, *fyrhtnes* (Sievers, *Zum angelsächsischen Vocalismus*, p. 31, n. 2). [At the same time, it does not seem impossible that an irresponsible scribe had in mind Northumbr. *wælig*, *wealig*, = *welig* (Bülbring, § 270).]

(3). XIII, 1 ff. *Sægeð on ðysum bocum . . . hu arfæstlice he on ðysum dæge manncynne eadmodnysse bisne onstealde. Swa he us æghwylces godes bisne beforan onstealde, dyde he, swa se soða lareow don sceolde*, etc. We should like to improve the punctuation by placing a comma after *bisne onstealde*, and a period after *beforan onstealde*. The second part of Assmann's second sentence is to be closely connected with the statement that follows. *Dyde he, swa se soða lareow don sceolde: he æghwæðer ge he us mid his wordum, lærde, ge eac mid his bisenum beforan tacnode, hu we don sceoldon*.

(4). XVIII a, 18. *and hine oft rædlice mid mænigfealdum costnungum costnode*. If we could trust the Glossary, *oft* is followed by *rædlice*, adv., = 'überlegt, schlau.' But it is in fact evident that the well-known *oftrædlice* = 'frequently' was meant.

(5). XVIII c, 345 f. Assmann prints *hwylcne hwugudæl*, assigning to the spurious compound *hwugudæl* the imaginary meaning of 'kleiner Teil.' It should of course be *hwylcnehwugu dæl*.

The same piece ('Malchus') has also been reprinted in the *Journal of Germ. Philol.* I, 431-441 by Hulme, who seems to have overlooked Assmann's text. *syllan* in Hulme's print 432,14,

gefegon, *ib.* 437,36 are easily corrected to *syllan* (Assmann 137), *gesegon* (*ib.* 307).

III. BLICKLING HOMILIES.

(1). 189,24. *pe læs he me yfel-sacode wið God.* M. Förster (*Archiv* xci, 190) plausibly suggests the change of *me* to *mā* 'amplius,' on the basis of the Latin text: *ne tantas deo ad multiplicationem supplicii sui inferret blasphemias*. Perhaps it is worth while to add that *mē* = 'amplius' may, after all, be taken as a legitimate reading. We beg to refer to our note on *Bede* 36, 4 ff. (comparative forms *me*, *mæ*) in *Anglia* xxv, 283 f.

(2). 195,3. & *mon þonne nohtes wyrþe his saule ne deþ ne his goldes, ne his seolfres, ne his eorþwelenā.* Morris' translation "And then one will not do anything profitable for his soul, of his gold, silver, or earthly riches," though expressing the general meaning well enough, seems to be somewhat misleading. *Saule* is acc. sing., *wyrþe* agreeing with it; and *wyrþe*—as is readily seen from the Laws and Charters—is used in the sense of 'entitled to' (with an implication of the title being made good); for a familiar illustration see *Boeth.* 7,7 *He gehet Romanū his freondscipe, swa þ hi mostan heora ealdrihta wyrðe beon*, cf. *Met. Boeth.* I, 35 ff.; *Beow.* 2185 *ne hyne on medobence micles wyrðne/drihten wereda gedon wolde*.—A translation is difficult to be sure. "And then one does not let his soul have the [use or] benefit of anything it is entitled to, either his gold or his silver or his earthly wealth" may be ventured as an approximate rendering, inelegant as it is.

Morris' translation suggests rather the expression *nyt gedon*, as in *Sweet, O. E. T.* (Charters) 444,27 *aec mon ðæt weax ágæfe to ciri[ci]can, 7 hiora sawlum nyt gedoe*; *Diplom. Angl.* 123,27 f; 472,9 f.

IV. VITA GUTHLACI, ED. BY GOODWIN.

(1). 28,10. *gemunde þa érran synna 7 leahtras þe he gefremede and gewyrht hæfde, and þa mǣran and unmǣttran him sylfa dyde þonne he wende þæt he hi æfre gebetan mihte.* Goodwin's interpretation " . . . and how that he himself had done greater and more enormous sins than he thought he could ever compensate for" misses the force of *don* 'make out,' 'consider.' Cf.

Hexam. Basil. 6, 2 *Loca ðu nu georne ðæt ðu swa swyðe ne dwelige ðæt ðu gedon wylle ðone sunu læssan ðonne his leofa fæder is.* The phrase *bet(e)ran don* = 'præferre' occurs in *Cura Past.*, *Bede, Dial. Gr.*

V. EPISTOLA ALEXANDRI AD ARISTOTELEM.

(Ed. by Baskervill, *Anglia* IV, 139-167).

(1). 380. *þa hit ða on morgendæg wæs.* So l. 503 *Ða hit þa on morgendæg wæs.* Toller, in the *Ag. Dict.*, approves of this *morgendæg*, citing the former instance (from Cockayne's edition). In both places we should read, however: . . . *on morgen dæg*, as is sufficiently proved by similar passages.⁴ Thus, in the same text, l. 714 *ða on morgne, mid þy hit dagode*; *Vita Guthl.* 40,23 *Ða hit þa on mergen dagian wolde*; *ib.* 22,21 *Ða þæs on mergen mid þan hit dæg wæs* (and accordingly *ib.* 58,21 *þa hit þa on mergen dæg wæs*; 86,23); *Bede* 26,23 *hwæðer hit si þe æfenglomung ðe on morgen deagung*; *ib.* 182,28 *þa hit þa wæs on marne* (B O Ca *morgen*) *dæg geworden*; cf. *ib.* 174,11 f.; etc.—So in Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, B 4215 *For on the morwe as soone as it was day.*

On the other hand, *morgendæg* (*mergendæg*) = *crastinus dies*, as in *Lind.*, Mt. 6,34, *Blickl. Hom.* 213,21 ff, *Vita Guthl.* 14,28 is, of course, not to be challenged.

(2). 584 f. A simpler and more satisfactory emendation than that offered in the printed text would be: *ða cwæð ic eft 7 him spæc liðum wordum to: Seegað, la, mec [dat.], git ealdon, hwæt etc.* After *wordum co* (Baskervill: *wordum cō[stnode]*) no space is left at the end of the line, according to Holder's collation (*Anglia* i, 511), nor, it seems, at the beginning of the following line.

(3). 758. *Ðas þing ic write to þon, min se leofa magister, þæt þu ærest gefeo in þæm fromscipe mines lifes and eac blissige in þæm weorðmyndum, ond eac [þæt]te ecelice min gemynd stonde. [Ic] leonige oðrum eorðcýningum to bysne ðæt hie witen þy gearwor etc.* Toller—followed by Hall—doubtfully explains *leonige* from a verb *linian*, *leonian* 'to leave', arguing perhaps merely from the context of this passage. Conjecturally we suggest some such reading as the following:

⁴ Similarly, *tolore* (*wurde*) in l. 285 should be separated into *to lore*.

... ond eac þætte ecelice min gemynd stonde untweonde ge oðrum eorðcýningum to bysne . . . In l. 7 there occurs (*betweoh*) *tweondan* (*frencisse*).

As Cockayne's edition of the Old English text together with the Latin version cannot be consulted here, the remarks on ll. 584 f. and 758 ff. have merely the value of guesses.

VI. AN OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY, ED. BY HERZFELD.

(1). 20,21. *ond his lichoma resteð on þæmtune Ferano, ond his gearnunga þær wæron oft beorhte gecyðed.* Herzfeld: "... and there his [St. Fursey's] merits were often gloriously proclaimed." Rather: 'manifested,' 'revealed' [that is, by miracles]. See the corresponding passage in Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* III, 19: *ubi merita illius multis saepe constat deo operante claruisse uirtutibus*; and in the OE. version (218,30): *Ond þær his gearnunge oft þurh godcunde wyrcnesse mid mīclum mægenum scinað 7 beorhtað.*—Cf. *OE. Martyrol.* 150,14 *he wæs on þam felda bebyrged in lytlyre cytan ond hwæðre mid heofonlicum mægnum* [not = "by the heavenly powers"!] *swa gecyðed, þæt þa hæðenan selfe hæfdon his wundor on þære mæstan are*; *ib.* 72,13; *Bede* 90,29 *Ac se ælmihti God wolde gecyþan, hwylre gearnunge se halga wer wære* (= "... demonstraret"); *ib.* 282,18 *swa þætte eac swylce mid heofonlecum wundrum æfter gecyþed wæs.*

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ROMANCE LITERATURE.

L'Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France, by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. The University of Chicago Press, 1903. 4to., 95 pp.

This second edition of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France* is of interest to all Romance students, but of special interest to all American students as coming from one of their own number who succeeded by his first edition of this work in winning the commendation of the lamented master of us all, Gaston Paris. Much valuable matter is found in this volume which did not appear in the first edition. The Harleian MS. of the Latin original of Marie's *Espurgatoire*, a

manuscript which proves to be closer to the text which Marie translated than any of the known manuscripts, is here for the first time published. The arrangement of this Latin work alongside, passage by passage, of Marie's verse translation, in large type, on pages with ample margins, will be heartily appreciated by all scholars.

That part of the Preface to the first edition containing a study of the language of Marie has been omitted in view of the detailed treatment given to it by Warnke in his volume of Marie's Fables. Thus the Preface to this second edition is comparatively short, treating principally of the relation of the Latin manuscripts of Marie's original to each other and to her translation. In the revision of the text of the latter, the editor says he has not only availed himself of the readings of the Harleian MS., but profited by the criticisms of his first edition. The text is followed by three pages of remarks upon it, and a glossary. An appendix, containing the publication for the first time in full of a Royal MS. in the British Museum, containing the *De Purgatorio Sancti Patricij*, completes the volume. In addition to the printed list of *errata*, few typographical errors have been noted; *der* in l. 947 is evidently for *de*; l. 1404 should be numbered 1405, and in the glossary, the first occurrence of the word *veille* is in l. 278, and not 298. Perhaps also it was intended to adopt the full emendation suggested by Gaston Paris and replace the colon after l. 133 by a comma, since the text is thereby much improved. The reading of this new edition suggests immediately a few questions, which may seem trifling, if not impertinent, at first glance, but which are of importance to those who aspire to editing an old French text of which, as in this case, only one manuscript has come down to us: Why, for example, is *estot* of the manuscript changed to *estoet* in l. 1139 and to *estuet* in l. 1243, or *floue* to *flueve* in l. 1251 and to *floeve* in l. 1363? Why is *poent* emended so as to read *poent* in l. 1320 and *pueent* in l. 2110, or *voil* changed to *veil* in l. 3 and *vueil* in l. 616? The manuscript reading *feseit* is changed in the edition to *faiseit* in l. 284, and left unchanged in l. 2225. Granted that the two forms in every case are equally good, and that both are used by Marie, would not a juster impression of the original have been made if the editor had emended similarly similar forms?

Perhaps *cumpagnie*, l. 853, is a misprint, since in the other three cases in which the word occurs, ll. 1544, 1956 and 1789, the edition follows the manuscript and has *-paignie*. In l. 596 of the manuscript we read *nos conseilz*, which has been changed in the edition to *noz cunseilz*, while *nos* with the same word in l. 864 remains unchanged. Similarly the manuscript reading *ces* is kept in l. 1407, but changed to *cez* in ll. 1668 and 1700. Questions of somewhat more importance are suggested by syntactical emendations. It is well known that in all the works of Marie de France, there is evidence that the old declension of nouns, adjectives and participles was breaking down. Exigencies of rime frequently prove this. Aside from these exigencies of rime, would it not be better to consistently respect the form of the manuscript, or else regularly emend? In other words, on what grounds is *fichiez* in l. 1127 left untouched:

"Fichiez furent espessement,"

while in l. 1158

"Que nuls ne poeit cels, pur veir,
Qui pendu i erent, veeir."

the manuscript *penduz* is changed to read *pendu*; or *nuz* in l. 1049 kept, and in l. 1228 emended to *nu*?

The reading of the difficult passage 643-646 is kept as in the first edition, although, as G. Paris says, "*despit* n'a aucun sens," for the reason (cf. Remarks, p. 73) that it is supported by the Latin manuscript. But "*Culpe que ab eo sentiuntur intrinsecus contempnunt tormenta que audit exterius*," can hardly be said to support the reading:

"Kar la force de la dolor
Des pechiez, dunt il a poür
Despit, qu'il nes voleit oïr
Ne sun purpensement guerpir."

Despit, like *contempnunt*, is an active verb, and is so used by Marie in ll. 757, 885, 970, 1029, 1294 of this work, as well as in the Fables. To consider the following clause its object, or to consider that a direct object pronoun is understood and that the clause expresses the result, is equally trying.

In the glossary "only such words are included as are not listed in Warnke's glossaries to the Lays and the Fables." Besides the corrections to the list made in the "errata," there should be stricken out: *colur*, *enclore*, *hermite*, *miedi* (*midi*), *recover*,

and *testimonier*, found in the glossary to the Lais, and *emprendre* (*enprendre*), and *humain* (*umain*), found in the glossary to the Fables. In addition, *romanz* is found in the Fables under "Eigennamen" and *adenz*, which our editor writes as one word is written as two words by Warnke, and found under *denz* in the glossary to the Fables. Here also is *apert* used as an adjective, under which the *apert* of the *Espurgatoire* would naturally fall as another use of radically the same word. Warnke gives also in the glossary to the Fables, *nuire*, of which *nuisir* of the *Espurgatoire* would be but a doublet. *Paraïs* and *Parewis* are given as two words, but surely they are but variants of the same word, translating the same word of the Latin, *paradisus*. The form with *e* is that which appears regularly in the *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland* of Gaston Paris. The *w* is but a device to cover the hiatus.

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Dante Society (Cambridge, Mass.). Boston, Ginn & Co. (for the Dante Society), 1901.

Twentieth Annual Report, etc., 1902.

Twenty-First Annual Report, etc., 1903.

Beginning in 1882, the Dante Society has published twenty-one Annual Reports, with accompanying papers. Through the devotion of its members it has also been the means of publishing Dr. Fay's *Concordance of the Divina Commedia* (1888), of offering annually a Dante prize, which has been awarded eleven times, and of building up the Dante collection in the Harvard Library. There will soon be published a concordance of Dante's minor Italian works, prepared by members of the society. All this has been accomplished with a relatively small list of members, which should be increased. Persons interested are invited to correspond with the Secretary, Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University.

In the double Report representing the years 1899-1900, issued somewhat tardily in 1901, is "a list of Danteiana in American Libraries, supplementing the Catalogue of the Cornell Collec-

tion," compiled, like the Cornell Catalogue, by Mr. T. W. Koch. As was to be expected, the Harvard collection furnishes the largest number of titles in this supplementary list. We note that although he mentions several manuscripts in the Harvard Library, Mr. Koch fails to include two fifteenth century manuscripts of parts of the *Divina Commedia*, which are described in Mr. Lane's catalogue of the Harvard collection (1890). The Lenox Library, it seems, has a copy of the *Divina Commedia* printed at Mantua in 1472; Cornell has the Foligno edition of the same year. The supplementary list mentions no edition of the *Divina Commedia*, from that year until 1795. This fact indicates the extraordinary richness of the Cornell collection, while in general the list shows the impossibility (may we add, the needlessness?) of making an absolutely complete collection of Dante literature. Meanwhile, the Cornell Catalogue, taken in connection with this supplement, is now the most comprehensive Dante bibliography in existence. Mr. Koch proposes to publish in a future Report a list of additional titles from European libraries; and it is understood that Mr. Lane will, as in the past, contribute lists of the books added to the Harvard Dante Collection.

To the same Report Mr. Paget Toynbee contributes an "Index of authors quoted in the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola," the pupil of Boccaccio, and friend of Petrarch and Salutati. The index, with its accompanying notes, is extremely interesting, particularly in connection with the history of Classical studies in the fourteenth century. Dr. G. L. Hamilton contributes to the Twentieth Report a paper on a pupil of Benvenuto, Giovanni da Serravalle, who in 1416 translated the *Commedia* into Latin prose, with a commentary. The paper is full of information gathered from many sources; one part is a discussion of "a distressing literary heresy—Dante's visit to England", Serravalle being apparently the originator of the myth. This Report also contains a reproduction of a fifteenth century portrait of Dante, now in the Louvre; and a paper by Professor Norton on the history of the epitaph of one Dietzmann of Thuringia, who died in 1307. The epitaph in question, in a church in Leipzig, has by some writers since the end of the sixteenth century been without warrant ascribed to Dante.

The Latham prize, available since 1890, was awarded in 1902 to Mr. Alain C. White for an essay entitled: "A Translation of the *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*, with a discussion of its authenticity." This essay, regarded by the judges as worthy to rank with Mr. Latham's translation of the Letters, is printed in the Twenty-First Report. After an account of the controversy over the *Quæstio*, the text and translation are given on opposite pages, accompanied by an elaborate commentary, which in large part is based on Dr. Moore's essay in his *Studies*, vol. II. The translation is a distinct improvement in accuracy and in elegance over that by Mr. C. H. Bromby (London, 1897), and it is also much clearer; indeed, Mr. White has for the first time made the reading of the *Quæstio* a comparatively easy task. Herein is the great value of his essay. His argument in favor of the authenticity of the work adds little to Dr. Moore's valiant defense of it. The important evidence is, of course, purely internal; while the chief argument on the other side is still the absence of external evidence. It is frequently assumed that Moncetti, who edited the work in 1508, also wrote it. Possibly neither side takes sufficient account of the possibility that it may have been written in the fourteenth century by some other person than Dante. Mr. White expresses his opinion clearly, and without undue positiveness. We note that he does not make quite clear which side Stoppani was on; the famous "anticipations" become less ridiculous when we remember that Stoppani did not use them as evidence against the authenticity of the *Quæstio*; it was of course Scartazzini who used them in that way, guilelessly accepting them at their face value. Mr. White expresses surprise that Scartazzini should have been numbered among the defenders of the treatise in 1890; but we must remember that in his earlier works he said nothing against it. On the whole, so long as the *Quæstio* is not definitely proved a forgery, Mr. White's essay will remain a valuable contribution. It must be said, however, that many scholars now regard the case against the treatise as conclusive. Mr. White does not refute the arguments advanced by Boffito in his important articles published in 1902 (on which see *Giornale Storico*, xli, 427).

The Twenty-First Report concludes with "Seven

Notes," all brief, by Professor Grandgent, on passages in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divina Commedia*.

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PROVENÇAL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. I.

1. *Mirèio, poème provençal de Frédéric Mistral*. Édition publiée pour les cours universitaires par EDUARD KOSCHWITZ, avec un glossaire par OSKAR HENNICKE et le portrait du poète. Marburg, Elwert; Paris, Le Soudier; Marseille, Ruat, 1900. 8vo., pp. vii A, xliii, 436. Price, 7.20 marks (bound, 8 marks).

I think that one of Professor Elliott's scholars already gave, some years ago, in the *Modern Language Notes*, an account of Professor Koschwitz's Grammar of Modern Provençal (No. 2). But it seems to me necessary and very desirable to mention here once again this extremely useful book in connection with the other works in which the learned professor of Königsberg treats, in German or in French, of Provençal literature.

There is apparently something quite inspiring and exalting in the study of the poetry and language of modern Provence. Even Mr. Koschwitz, generally cool, reserved, critical, often severe, harsh and aggressive, when he speaks of French literature, of phonetics and phoneticians, of reform and reformers of modern language instruction, seems to be carried away in some measure by the charm of those gentle poets who like to be called, rightly or wrongly, the successors and heirs of the troubadours. He appears to forget the natural tendency or inclination of his critical mind, whenever he deals with their works and describes their genius and talent. He doubtless submits joyfully to the softening influence of the powerful sun of Provence, whose glory his friends, the *Felibres*, never tire to sing in their beautiful verses.

"Lou soulèn me fai canta"

(Le soleil me fait chanter).¹

¹ Mistral, the greatest of the Provençal poets, has chosen these words for his motto or device. He sings in praise of the "Great Sun of Provence" in his famous *Chant du Soleil* (Lou Cant dêu Soulèn):

"O Prouvènço, toun sòu, ta lengo, toun soulèn,
Noun i'a rên de plus gai, de plus dous, de plus bèu."

(Oh Provence, il n'y a rien de plus gai, de plus doux, de plus beau que ton sol, ta langue, ton soleil).²

No wonder that Mr. Nicolaus Welter, the biographer of Mistral and Aubanel (Nos. 4, 5), a genuine poet, *ein Dichter von Gottes Gnaden* himself, shows that inspiring influence of the "Great Sun of Provence" in every line of his prose, in every verse of his metrical translations. Indeed, both of his works are delightful books, exceedingly well written and worthy, in every respect, of a poet and scholar. The reader's interest never slackens; he cannot help being fascinated from beginning to end, and unwillingly lays them aside without finishing them at once. I read Mr. Welter's books in two long, uninterrupted sessions, which has rarely happened in my experience as a reader and critic.

The first time my attention was called to Mistral's *Mirèio* and other works of the *Felibres* was in Professor E. Böhmer's *Colleg* or lectures upon Provençal at the University of Halle. This distinguished Romanist was, I think, the first foreigner who studied the language and literature of modern Provence thoroughly and was able to speak intelligently and with authority about the *Felibres* and their poetry. He published his interesting and well known monograph upon *Die provenzalische Poesie der Gegenwart* in 1870 (Heilbronn). Since that time, the literature of the *Felibres* has grown and developed immensely in quantity and in quality, their cause (*la causa*) has passed through

Wenn auch deine Gluten sengen,
Nahst du auf dem Flammenthron,
Feiern dich mit Hymnenklängen
Arles, Marseille und Avignon.
Steig' empor, o Sonnenpracht!
Scheuch' die Seuchen und die Nacht!
Schnell, schnell, schnell
Sprudle, goldner Strahlenquell!

—Welter, "Frederi Mistral," p. 167.

I have quoted these verses in German, because I have not the Provençal text at hand, and, also, in order to give the reader a sample of Welter's translations.

² This is the motto of the *Felibrige*, placed near a star, the emblem of this society of Provençal poets, on the "Provençal national envelopes," which Victor Lieutaud tried to spread among the peasants of his native country. See Welter, "Frederi Mistral," p. 276.

many various phases, the reputation or glory of the principal poets of the *Félibrige* has been firmly established in France and abroad,—and the conditions under which the language and literature of modern Provence could be studied by foreigners, have changed considerably and to great advantage.

1. I remember that, when I read *Mirèio* in the original for the first time, I found it very hard work. I was glad to be aided by my knowledge of old Provençal, which, however, cannot be considered a very safe guide, on account of the origin of the modern literary language (see No. 2), and to make use of the author's French translation, which fortunately is good, correct and literal at the same time. This translation accompanies every page of the Provençal text in Charpentier's edition.³ Such an arrangement is doubtless very convenient, and seems very practical. But it has its drawbacks. It is very likely and even certain that many readers, abroad and in the North of France, got or get their knowledge of Mistral's great poem only from the French text.

Prof. Koschwitz deserves our praise and gratitude for having given us the first suitable edition of *Mirèio* for university courses, and for having furnished us the means of studying the provençal text of the poem thoroughly and scientifically and of examining and understanding it under all its various aspects. It is no longer necessary to guess the meaning of grammatical forms; and there is scarcely any grammatical difficulty that is not fully explained in one of the paragraphs of his grammar (No. 2). I just notice one form about the use of which the author neglects to give us any information: *Anessias pas* (*N'allez pas*), *Mirèio*, vi, 417. It would be interesting to know why Mistral uses here the imperfect subjunctive of *anar* instead of the present subjunctive with the negation.

Apart from grammatical difficulties, everything is well explained in the edition itself.

The literary introduction (pp. i–xliii) is excel-

lent: it prepares the reader for a thorough study of many questions connected with *Mirèio*; it contains a short history of the *Félibrige* or Society of the *Félibres*, of which Mistral is one of the founders and the foremost and most illustrious champion, also some information about the condition of the Provençal language and literature after the invasion of the Northerners and the victory of the King of France in the thirteenth century, and about the precursors of the *Félibres*, and, finally, a good appreciation of Mistral, the poet, and *Mirèio*, the poem. But there is very little original work or research, on the part of the author, in the whole introduction. This is frankly admitted by Koschwitz himself in his Preface (pp. iv A, v A). According to his own statement, the first part of the Introduction (pp. i–xx) is nothing but an almost verbatim reproduction of an article upon the *Félibrige* written by M. Mariéton, published in the *Grande Encyclopédie* and reprinted by this author, with additional notes, in his *Précis de l'histoire des Félibres*, the third chapter of his *Provence Nouvelle*, 1550–1900. Moreover, the second part (pp. xx–xxviii), which treats briefly of Mistral's life and works and presents him as poet, chief of the *Félibrige*, inaugurator of a "national" cause, scholar, and creator of a new literary language, is an extract of a part of Gaston Paris' brilliant essay, that appeared in the *Revue de Paris*, 1894, I, 478 ff. and II, 58 ff., and was reprinted in his *Penseurs et Poètes*, Paris, 1896.

In the last and most important part of the Introduction (pp. xxviii–xliii), which deals with *Mirèio*, the editor cannot help expressing some personal views and opinions about the literary value of the poem and other questions connected with it. But also here, he apparently owes a great deal to Gaston Paris' essay. "Je l'ai fait," says he in the Preface, p. v A, "non sans marcher, ici encore, sur les brisées de M. G. Paris." I will mention a few of the interesting points treated briefly, but with very good judgment in this part: the epical and descriptive character of the poem; the narrative, and the description of the natural scenes of Provence, and the life of its people; the sentiment of nature, and the primitive conception of animals and inanimate objects; influence of Homer; the epical style, repetitions, comparisons, epithets; the supernatural; the language, syntax, vocabulary; versification, verse and strophe; the

³The first edition of *Mirèio* appeared in 1858, Seguin, Avignon. Prof. Koschwitz says in his introduction, p. xl, that Charpentier published his first edition of the famous poem in 1888. I possess a much earlier edition: *Mirèille, poème provençal de Frédéric Mistral, avec la traduction littéraire en regard*; Paris, G. Charpentier, éditeur; Avignon, Roumanille, libraire, 1878.

lyrical character of *Mirèio*; the three lyrical poems inserted in the epical narrative: the song of the *Baile Sufrèn* (I, 204 ss.), the song of *Magali* (III, 393 ss.), and *Mirèio's* prayer (X, 190 ss.); the artistic unity of the epopee: Mr. Giesebrecht's vain attempt of comparing *Mirèio* with Dante's *Divine Comedy* and of finding mystic and transcendental thoughts and symbolic truths hidden in Mistral's poem.

The text has been thoroughly revised in the new edition. It is as good and as well adapted to the needs of the student as the text of a living author can be arranged by the care and skill of a philologist of Dr. Koschwitz's capacity. The spelling has been regulated according to the standard of the official orthography of the *Félibres*, such as is followed by Mistral in his *Trésor du Félibrige* (Lou Tresor d'ou Félibrige, ou dictionnaire provençal-français, 2 volumes, Aix-en-Provence, Avignon, Paris, 1878-1888).

The foot-notes which accompany the text are excellent. They form a short valuable commentary giving exactly what a student, foreigner or Frenchman of the North, wishes to know about the topography, manners, customs, beliefs and superstitions of Provence in order to be able to understand immediately all the allusions of the poet. But many, perhaps most, of these notes are borrowed from Mistral himself: they are found at the end of the different cantos of his poem in Charpentier's edition. Dr. Koschwitz has added a large number of other explanatory notes taken from various sources, especially from Maass's useful thesis *Allerlei provenzalischer Volksglaube, nach F. Mistral's Mirèio*, Berlin, 1896, and from Mistral's large dictionary, *Lou Tresor d'ou Félibrige*.

The foot-notes, generally speaking, do not explain grammatical difficulties (see above). The editor sometimes refers, in them, to his grammar (No. 2). The foot-note, IX, 301, contains an explanation, regarding the syntactic use or omission of the negation, which seems to me highly objectionable. The text of the verse reads:

Coume un que, de sa vido, a touca l'estrumen.

["Comme un homme qui, de sa vie, n'a touché l'outil" or "comme un homme qui n'a jamais touché l'outil."] Dr. Koschwitz says: "La suppression de la particule *pas* (a *pas* touca) est permise dans les phrases relatives dont le sens négatif

n'admet pas de doute." This explains nothing. The adverbial expression *de sa vido* is used as *jamai* (French *jamais*) and does not require *pas*. Cf. I, 295:

E si vièi marin jamai l'an pu vist!

[et ses vieux marins jamais ne l'ont plus vu!]
I, 330:

Nautre, sourtèn jamai de noste pijouniè!

[Nous, nous ne sortons jamais de notre colombier!] The negative meaning of *de sa vido* is perfectly clear, since the expression precedes the verb. Cf. the rules concerning the negation in Spanish.

Every expert knows that Mistral's language is particularly difficult on account of its vocabulary. This vocabulary, although based on that of a popular dialect, the language spoken by the people in and near Orange, Avignon and Aix, is exceedingly rich; and many of its words are of unknown or obscure origin, of strange formation, and not to be found, it would seem, in French and other literary Romance languages. The *Glossaire*, therefore, must be considered a very valuable addition and a very important, perhaps the most important, part of Dr. Koschwitz's edition. It is the work of Mr. Oskar Hennicke. It is well done, and nearly complete. The author is indebted for a great many explanations and renderings to Mistral's *Trésor du Félibrige* as well as to the poet's French translation of *Mirèio*, which I have mentioned above. On the other hand, he seems to have worked independently in many ways. Prof. Koschwitz's aid and advice must have been of great service to him, in the composition of the glossary, in so far as he has generally refrained from giving hazardous and worthless etymologies, in which beginners, bibliophiles and dilettanti often delight. Mr. Hennicke is sincere and courageous enough to confess his ignorance very frequently, and to mark numerous words by adding *or (igine) inc (onnue)*.

My critical account of Prof. Koschwitz's new edition of *Mirèio* may be summed up in the following words, which we find at the end of his preface, p. vii A:

"D'après ce que nous venons de dire, notre édition est, dans toutes ses parties, une œuvre de collaboration, et je n'en suis pour ainsi dire que le rédacteur en chef."

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GERMANIC PHILOLOGY.

KARL VERNER, *Afhandlinger og Breve*, udgivne af Selskab for germansk Filologi, med en biografi ved MARIUS VIBÆK. København, 1903, (J. Frimodts Forlag.)—Leipzig, 1903, (Otto Harrassowitz.) 8vo., iv, xcii & 372 pp. M. 10.—

Karl Verner died in the autumn of 1896. Among the wreaths which decorated his casket, was one from a little coterie of young Danish philologists, who a year or two later founded the still flourishing "Selskab for germansk Filologi" (Society of Germanic Philology) in Copenhagen. There could have been no more fitting occasion for these young scholars to unite for the first time in expressing themselves than in paying homage to him who had done more than any other Dane to make the world of philological workers respect the contributions of Danish scholarship. There could have been no more fitting burden for the new society to take upon its young shoulders than to raise a monument to his memory. In 1899, a committee was appointed to undertake the work, and in the beginning of this year the work stood finished.

Like Thorwaldsen's Museum looming up on all sides of the sculptor's modest ivy-covered grave, this monument to Verner is also a collection of his works.

There has perhaps never been a scholar of equal importance in his line whose memory has stood in greater need of a collection of his works than Verner. His name might otherwise threaten to become mythical in the history of philology. It is almost incredible that this man whose work well-nigh marks a new era in his department and whose name is attached to one of the most important of the so-called laws in comparative philology should have published no single book. Those few articles of his which did see the light in philological periodicals and which had to be hauled out of him, as it were, by encouraging teachers and friends, fill in all no more than about 116 pages. No one will deny, however, that they make up in quality for what they lack in quantity, and students of comparative philology have reason to be thankful that they have now been made more accessible than

when buried in old series of Kuhn's and other Zeitschriften. The articles are reprinted in the same form in which they originally appeared, but the first two, *Eine ausnahme der ersten lautverschiebung* and *Zur ablautsfrage*, are supplemented by a few additions and corrections which Verner himself had made in his own copies of the articles. Most of these are additional examples. On the whole, this part of the "Verner Book" (as it is called in Copenhagen) contributes nothing new. It simply facilitates access to the articles and enables us more easily to get a survey of Verner's work as a whole.

That which is new in the Verner Book and which will be especially welcome to all students of Germanic or Slavic philology is the selection of Verner's letters. They have been selected with a view to giving us more opportunity to profit by Verner's philological work and more material by which to estimate it; those letters or parts of letters which are purely private are not included. It is necessary for any one who wants to be able to appreciate Verner's work to know these philological letters of his, of which he wrote very many, especially in proportion to the bulk of his publications. His biographer in the Verner Book accounts for this extensive letter-writing as follows:

"He did not find pleasure so much in the results that he might get out of his work, still less in publishing them, but in the process of investigation itself. He designates himself an 'Epikuräer des Erkennens.' He was happy when he was working and he put his whole soul into his work, forgetting everything else. And it almost seems as if he did not really enjoy his work until he had an opportunity to discuss the problem with some good friend. In Aarhus (his native town) and also partly in Halle, where he spent several years, he was cut off from personal intercourse with fellow-philologists, and he had to be content with letter-writing. Hence his numerous philological letters. At first it was his instructor C. W. Smith (Docent in Slavic languages at the University of Copenhagen) with whom he discussed problems of accentuation as with a comrade. Later it is Hoffory, 'dessen sprachwissenschaftlicher Amyntor ich seit seinem 12ten Jahre gewesen bin.' They were both from Aarhus and were for many years friends who kept up a correspondence on the freest

terms. Of a somewhat different nature is the correspondence with Vilhelm Thomsen. Verner writes to him more for the sake of asking an authority's opinion." Most of the letters were written to the three persons mentioned, but there are also letters to Brugmann, Sievers, Mogk, Jespersen and others.

A word or two to indicate the nature of the letters.

The first one in the collection (to Professor Smith) is an appropriate beginning, for it gives us some of Verner's ideas about the aims and methods of comparative philology in general. He says among other things: "According to my opinion, we have no right to speak about laws in language [Verner's "law"—the irony of it!], for there are no exceptions to a law, and you know the exceptions are often so numerous that they might almost just as well be considered as 'law'; if we were mere Kemplerian talking-machines, we might perhaps arrive at some certain formulas, such as laws for sound-changes and frictional wear and tear on the machinery, but there are also the psychical processes to be taken into consideration, which account for popular etymologies, analogy, etc. So we can probably get no further than to formulate rules, and first of all the old rule: *nulla regula sine exceptione*. In order to give the method firmness we may perhaps even go so far as to invert the sentence and say: *nulla exceptio sine regula*; I mean there must be some cause for any exception to a rule otherwise dominant in a language, if this cause be apparent to us or not."

The next letter (also to Professor Smith), which fills more than 25 printed pages, only escapes being a regular philological treatise because it is informal in tone and is interspersed with digressions. Verner himself felt this, for he says in closing the letter: "Finally, I beg you to read all this not as a treatise, but as a letter with all those inaccuracies in style and expression, that *légèreté*, without which it is impossible for me to write a letter, but which I should have avoided if I had been writing for publication." The main matter in hand is Servian accentuation and its relation to Russian accentuation. But in speaking of the difficulty of such investigations, Verner digresses to tell about how already as a school-boy he began to speculate about problems in language and especially about the inconsistency between ortho-

graphy and pronunciation. This is, in fact, a matter which always seems to have been a good deal on Verner's mind, and he would have been one of the first to enter upon any kind of campaign for the reform of the spelling-systems of the world. One of the few treatises which he has published and which is reprinted in the Verner Book, was written to advocate the discontinuance of the use of capital letters for beginning nouns in Danish (as in German). The question was at that time under discussion in the ministry of education, but unfortunately conservatism won the day and the capital letters are still "official."

Verner's letters to Professor Smith are almost always concerned with Slavic accent, but he frequently digresses on questions of Danish accent by way of illustration, for he feels keenly the difficulty of detecting the finest shades of accent in any other but his native language. On account of these digressions, these letters are valuable as well to students of Germanic as students of Slavic languages.

In Verner's correspondence with Hoffory, the discussions are naturally more often concerned with questions of Germanic philology. Thus, in one of his letters where he finds it necessary to begin in the conventional manner with an excuse for his not having written sooner, his excuse is that he had got hold of Wilh. Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, and his correspondence and everything else had to wait until he had devoured it. He is enthusiastic over the book and he then and there in his letter begins to discuss various points in it with Hoffory.

Verner's letters to Professor Vilhelm Thomsen will be for many the most interesting ones, for it was Professor Thomsen who encouraged Verner to publish *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, and it is in these letters that we see the wonderful monograph come into being, as it were. We have the whole monograph in little in a letter to Professor Thomsen dated May 1, 1875.

So much for the reprints and letters in the Verner Book. The third part of the book is the biography. The very beginning of it gives us the key to the biographer's method; he introduces it with one of the several sketches for an autobiography which were found among Verner's papers after his death. It runs as follows:

"I, Karl Adolf Verner, son of deceased hose-weaver Fritz Verner and his wife Katharine Dorothea, née Odense, likewise deceased, was born in Aarhus, March 7th, 1846. Having been sent to school when I was scarcely 4 years old, I had by the time I was 11 absorbed all the knowledge which the public school in Aarhus could give me. Then at the suggestion of our pastor it was de-

cided to send me to the 'gymnasium,' which at that time afforded every third pupil free instruction. From here I was graduated as 'student' in the year 1864 with the highest honors, and a year later I took 'examen philosophicum' at the university. It was my intention to study Classical philology, but since I had already in school become acquainted with modern comparative philology, and at the deceased Professor Lyngbye's lectures became still more interested in this subject, my attention was divided between Classical, Oriental and Norse philology. Finally in the year 1873, when my relatives insisted on my winding up my university studies with an examination, I took the 'magisterkonferens' (M. A.) in the Slavic languages and literature, for which examination I had prepared myself by a year's stay in Russia. During the involuntary leisure which I had in Jutland directly after my examination, I sketched the plans (in 1875) for a couple of philological articles which I published in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXIII, under the title *Eine ausnahme der ersten lautverschiebung* and *Zur ablautsfrage*. For these articles the Academy of Science in Berlin conferred on me a portion of the Bopp foundation for philologists, and at the same time I was offered a position of some kind or other which would be most suitable for my abilities. My circumstances did not permit me to refuse this offer. I preferred a library position and in the autumn of 1876 I received an appointment in the University Library in Halle, where I remained more than 6 years. Then having received encouragement from Denmark and being myself driven by a longing for my home, I sent in an application for the docentship in Slavic languages and literature at the University of Copenhagen, which had become vacant in the autumn of 1882 at the death of my instructor Professor C. W. Smith. My application was accepted and I entered upon my new duties January 1st, 1883.

"In addition to the above mentioned works, I have only published some small articles in various philological periodicals.

"On January 22nd of this year (1887), the philosophical faculty of the University of Heidelberg conferred upon me the degree of Ph. D. *honoris causa*—the aftermath of the appointing of honorary doctors which took place last summer on the occasion of the University's 500th anniversary.

"I am unmarried and childless."

Likewise throughout the biography, by means of extracts from his letters, Verner is allowed to speak for himself as much as possible. The missing links have been supplied by surviving friends and relatives. On the whole, the reader has the impression that he is becoming acquainted with Verner as he really was. We are allowed to glance into his workshop and to become acquainted with his methods.

One of the lessons that Verner teaches us in method is: Keep your eye steadily on your one small point and you will discover more than if you survey hastily a large field. As a young student he had become interested in Slavic accentuation, and after he had once determined to make it the subject of special study, he never abandoned this purpose as long as he lived; and this in spite of serious hindrances and discouragements. What could be more discouraging than for his own professor to advise him not to take up the study, for it was "difficult and would never lead to any results." Moreover, his material prospects were a loud protest against a study which could bring him no pecuniary profit. But he never gave up. After all digressions and in all the intervals between his duties he came back to his original purpose. One of the digressions was *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, and it is not too much to say that this great discovery was a direct result of that work which, according to Professor Smith, could "lead to no results."

But not only as a scholar, but also as a man, has Verner qualities to win our esteem. We respect his scrupulous conscientiousness in fulfilling duties which were not always exactly what he most desired to spend his time on. In the capacity of librarian in Halle, he worked as if the library and not Slavic accentuation was the interest of his life. Likewise when he became docent in Copenhagen, he had such exalted ideas about the duties of a university instructor, and he was so scrupulous in living up to these ideas, that not only did he not have much time left from his university duties for private work, but it is thought by many that it was this zeal which caused his early death. Not only did he hold more lectures than were required of him, but whenever one of his students desired to take up some special or advanced work which was not given at the university, Verner was always ready to give him free private instruction. If it did not suit the student to come to Verner, Verner trudged to the student's home.

Perhaps these few remarks will be enough to convince students of philology that the Verner Book is a new acquisition which deserves their attention. Not only is it a valuable book, but it is very interesting both from a philological and from a general human point of view.

The book is gotten up in pleasant form and contains three photographs, two of Verner himself and one of Verner, Hoffory and a third friend together. As a supplement to the book is given a description of the apparatus which Verner constructed and used for phonometrical investigations. Both the description and the illustrative drawings have been supplied by Verner's brother.

SOPHIA YHLEN-OLSEN BERTELSEN.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Le Théâtre français au moyen âge, par JOHAN MORTENSEN. Traduit du suédois par Emmanuel Philipot. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1903. Pp. xxi, 254, 12^{mo}.

The interest of the student of the theater in the French drama of the Middle Ages, and of the wider reading public as well, has suffered because of the lack of some authoritative account of its activity. The gaps in its records are unusual. For the period of its beginnings, the last of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the serious, or liturgical drama offers sufficient texts. But for the era of its development, the twelfth century, we possess two documents only, and these two incomplete. Nor are traces of the comic stage to be found at this time. In the thirteenth century there are a few plays taken from the legends of saints, while several excellent representatives of various kinds of comedy testify to a widespread cultivation of this branch of literature. But for the fourteenth, apart from hints of performances scattered through official archives, we know of the existence of a national theater only by the one manuscript which has preserved the forty Miracles of the Virgin. As a consequence of this dearth of material we are compelled to rely on the rather extensive dramatic literature of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries for our larger views of an epoch which embraces some six hundred years: so scattered are the annals of its stage and so disconnected. To unite them in a historical narrative was not an inviting task; but Dr. Mortensen, under the impulse of presenting the subject to the educated laymen of Gottenburg, undertook it, and performed it in so satisfactory a manner that he published his lectures. These are now given a wider circle of readers through the French translation of M. Philipot.

A principle was necessary on which to base the handful of facts and give them a consistent interpretation. Dr. Mortensen found this principle in the idea of evolution. He claims that the serious drama of the Middle Ages, taking its rise in slight additions to the church service, with the object of emphasizing truths of Scripture, fell away from that service in course of time, became secularized, created historical drama, on the one hand, and the comedy of character on the other, and thus paved the way to the classical stage of the Renaissance. The comic theater also—though its history may be only surmised—passed from pantomime and coarse jests to a keener satire and the comedy of manners. The steps in this evolution are pointed out with a considerable degree of detail, in spite of the paucity of material. From the short trope of the tenth century to the long mystery of the fifteenth, all the varieties of the sacred drama are made to pass

before us, together with their content, scenery, actors and audience.

Particularly interesting is the chapter on the "Miracles." There is a novelty in the author's analysis of the forty plays contained in the Cangé manuscript, an analysis which groups them in sections according to their moral import and their description of life and manners. Stress is laid on their popular tendency, on their freedom in choice of subject, on their psychological development—particularly the substitution of evil men for the traditional devils—and their realism. They mark thus the transition from the sacred mystery to the plays of the secular theater. Further than this, their unity of action, the compactness and symmetry of their structure represent the dramatic ideals of the French mind and foreshadow the classical stage of the seventeenth century. To this chapter should be added the pages on the mysteries in pantomime of the fourteenth century, and their descendants in the sacred drama, and the evolution of one kind of these pantomimes into the secular mysteries of the fifteenth, an evolution to which the secular "miracle" probably contributed.

But Dr. Mortensen's favorite among the representatives of the mediæval theater is the "moralité." Had the Renaissance intervened in France as it did in Spain and England, to elevate and strengthen and not to destroy, the "moralité" would have been the starting point of a new and higher form of theatrical composition, as it was the culmination of the old. The "moralité" became, in the fourteenth century, the dramatic legatee of the didactic and allegorical poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth. It produced of itself two distinct kinds of play, the purely allegorical "moralité," in which virtues and vices are personified, and the "historie," which points a moral by means of a dramatized story. The "moralité" at times called dancing and singing to its aid, and its capacity for striking decorations and brilliant costumes made it peculiarly the play for festivals and holidays. As ecclesiastical tradition does not survive in the "moralité," and as its subjects are often wholly secular, its moral teaching, enforced by studies of contemporary life, frequently give it the dignity of the higher comedy of manners.

The discussion of the comic drama takes up a comparatively small section of the book—one fifth, to the four fifths of the serious drama. In this part Dr. Mortensen's treatment of the "farce" is the most suggestive and novel. He explains it, in the light of its etymology, as an intermezzo—a scene between acts. It is well-known that the term "farce" was applied to interpolations in the liturgy of the church. These interpolations would naturally pass into the liturgical drama. They would finally fix their name to the comic scenes inserted between the serious episodes. Later simi-

lar comic scenes, acted apart by themselves, would be termed "farces." A vestige of the early use of the word is found in certain short "moralités," which are called "farces," though they do not contain anything of a comic nature. There are few texts, to be sure, which can be adduced to support this argument, derived as it is from etymology and analogy. The independent "farce" is practically the only kind which has been preserved. Yet Dr. Mortensen finds occasional indications of such a development. For instance, the devils were the comic characters of the serious drama, and quite likely held impromptu dialogues with one another or with some personage of the play. A "miracle" of the fourteenth century, in which one devil tells another of a trick he will play on an amorous monk, shows how this theory could be well supported by facts. Afterwards, when the *fableau* died away and made the "farce" its residuary legatee, there is no question of the juxtaposition of the comic scene and the serious play. This explanation of the "farce" seems scientifically sound and reasonable. It is certainly preferable to the older one, of the mixture of dialects.

Criticism of so excellent a work is invidious. Indeed, it safely challenges criticism. The general public should be satisfied with it, for its story is connected, clear and complete. Students of mediæval literature and the drama will find it useful, for it is exact and scholarly, as well as readable. The expression of personal views on the part of the author, the result of practical research, lend additional value to his statements, and form a distinct contribution to literary history. One might suggest that a short bibliography would not be out of place, nor a few details on the manuscripts which contain the early tropes and fragments of the liturgical drama. And we might take issue with Dr. Mortensen on the question of the influence he ascribes to the "moralité" on the comedy of character of the seventeenth century (pp. 251-252). Is it possible to connect the "moralité" with *le Menteur*, *Tartuffe*, and *l'Avare*? These plays, and their likes, personified vices (or virtues) much as the "moralité" had done. But would not this correspondence spring from the same cause, which is adduced in a previous chapter (pp. 91-92) to explain the likeness of Classical tragedy to the "miracle," namely, racial tendency?

Typographical errors are few. The year of Bodel's crusade should be 1202 instead of 1248 (p. 52); xii° should read xiii° (p. 85, l. 15 and p. 204, l. 5); xi° should read xv° (p. 232, l. 15). On p. 217, l. 15 "siècle précédent" seems to be a slip of the pen, for "siècle suivant."

F. M. WARREN.

Yale University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE *Three Days' Tournament*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—There are one or two points in Dr. Nitze's notice of '*The Three Days' Tournament*' to which I shall be glad if you will allow me to reply. Like many scholars unfamiliar with the practical study of folk-lore, your reviewer fails, I think, to realize the true bearings of the problem in question. Yet it is very simple—given an incident of frequent occurrence, alike in literary romance and popular folk-tale, how are we to explain the coincidences? Are the two groups of independent origin, or did the one borrow from the other? And if this latter, which, romance or folk-tale, is the lender, which the borrower?

For the student of literary sources such questions are surely important. Will Dr. Nitze, as an Arthurian scholar, venture to assert that it is a matter of indifference whether this great Romantic cycle be the product of conscious literary invention, or of evolution? I scarcely think so. And if it be not a matter of indifference the 'utility' of such studies is practically admitted; by these means alone can we solve the problem.

And why minimize the results? Here on the one side we have a group of romances, small, practically of one date, and closely interrelated. On the other an enormous body of folk-tale, widely-spread, of indefinite antiquity (I have quoted Mr. Joseph Jacobs' suggestion that the many colored horses find their origin in Indian mythology), and hailing from lands where no trace of Arthurian tradition has been found. Mediæval knights certainly were given to disguising themselves, and a romance *might*, as Dr. Nitze suggests, have invented this particular disguise, but it would be very curious had the hypothetical romance, whether Map or another, *independently* hit upon the same costume and colors as those adopted by the folk-tale hero. I am glad to see Dr. Nitze does not venture to suggest that this latter borrowed from the Arthurian knight. So far as I can gather he would prefer to believe that the two groups arose independently. Were he really familiar with the mass of evidence contained in the works of M. Cosquin, W. Campbell, Mr. Hackland, and others, of which I have only cited a part, he would I think admit that the '*gesammte beweisende Material*' is ready at hand. Or does he really think these writers deal only with 'modern' folk-tale?

Since writing my study I have discovered that the triplet red, white, black occurs also in '*Salomon and Markolf*,' the red, white, green variant I have noted as in the '*Queste*,' thus giving us

two instances connected with Solomon's wife and pointing to Oriental tradition. *Heraldry* will not explain this. - As I have pointed out in the opening words the credit of the discovery, if any, belongs to Mr. Ward, and not to me. I have only followed up his hints.

For the '*Sea Maiden*' incident, as Dr. Nitze must know, the position of Lancelot in the Arthurian cycle is a 'crux' to scholars. Romance knows him not at all, or as the first of knights. How explain his sudden rise to favor? The '*Sea Maiden*' story has enabled me to construct a theory, which, whether it win acceptance or not, at least conflicts with no known facts, and is in harmony with the general 'note' of the cycle, which I hold to be '*evolution*' as opposed to '*invention*.'

I purposely omitted any incomplete variants, such as that of *Perlesvaus*; I know several, for example the Prose *Tristan*; nor did I say the incident was only to be found in the romances cited, as Dr. Nitze's use of the word '*lastly*' would imply. It is in *Richard Coeur de Lion* and doubtless elsewhere.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

Paris.

ELIZABETHAN LYRICS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—As an additional illustration of the Italianate spirit of the Elizabethan lyrics, and of the relations that existed among them by reason of their continued use of common material, the following interesting facts may be cited.

Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia, or Passionate Centurie of Love*, was published, 4to, 1586. The caption to Passion 85 is this:

"The chiefest substance of this sonnet [*sic*] is borrowed out of certain Latin verses of Strozza, a noble man of Italy, and one of the best Poets in all his age: who in describing metaphorically to his friend Antonius, the true forme of his amorous estate, writeth thus:

Unda hic sunt Lachrima, Venti suspiria, Remi
Vota, Error velum, Mens malesana Ratis;
Spes Temo, Cura Comites, Constantia Amoris
Est malus, Dolor est Anchora, Nauita Amor."

Passion 91 repeats some of the ideas, figures, and phrases of number 85. It is thus introduced:

"In the latter part of this sonnet the authour imitateth those verses of Horace:

Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat viuda
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

Ad Pyrrham, Ode 5.

Whom also the renowned Florentine, M. Agnolo Firenzuola, did imitate long agoe, both in like manner and matter, as followeth:

O miseri coloro,
Che non prouar di donna fede mai;
Il pericol ch' io corsi
Nel tempestoso mar nella procella
Del lor crudel amore
Mostrar lo può la tauoletta posta
E le vesti ancor molli
Sospese al tempio del horrendo Dio
Di questo mar crudele."

(For the poems, see Arber's '*English Reprints*.')

This figure is a common one in early Italian poetry, repeated as a stock expression over and over again. There are many examples of its use in the poems included in Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo*, I (Tommaso di Sasso, Stephano Protonotario, etc.).

In the collection, *Diella*, by R[obert] L[ynich], 1596, sonnet 28 contains these same names and conceits that Watson uses, in a more original, a bolder, setting, however. (See Arber's *England's Garner*, VII). Somewhat different in expression, but still in the same strain, are the ideas of the sonnet, in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, Pt. II. p. 103 (Collier's Reprints), *Allusion to Theseus' Voyage to Crete against the Minotaur*.

The last, by no means weak, echoes of this harping on one string that I have found, occurs in the poems of Thomas Carew (Ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870). On p. 29 is a sixteen line poem of rimed couplets, *To Her in Absence: a Ship*. On pp. 30-31 is another poem, *Upon Some Alterations in My Mistress after My Departure into France*, in which almost the whole of the two eleven line stanzas is made up of these same ship-at-sea metaphors. And they are used again in *A Divine Love* (p. 153 f.) in the last stanza.

CLARENCE STRATTON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Obituary.

Charles Chollet, Professor of Romance Languages in the West Virginia University, was killed August 14, 1903, by the accidental discharge of a gun. He was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1863, was graduated from Harvard College in 1887, was called to West Virginia University in 1900.

FRED W. TRUSCOTT.

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